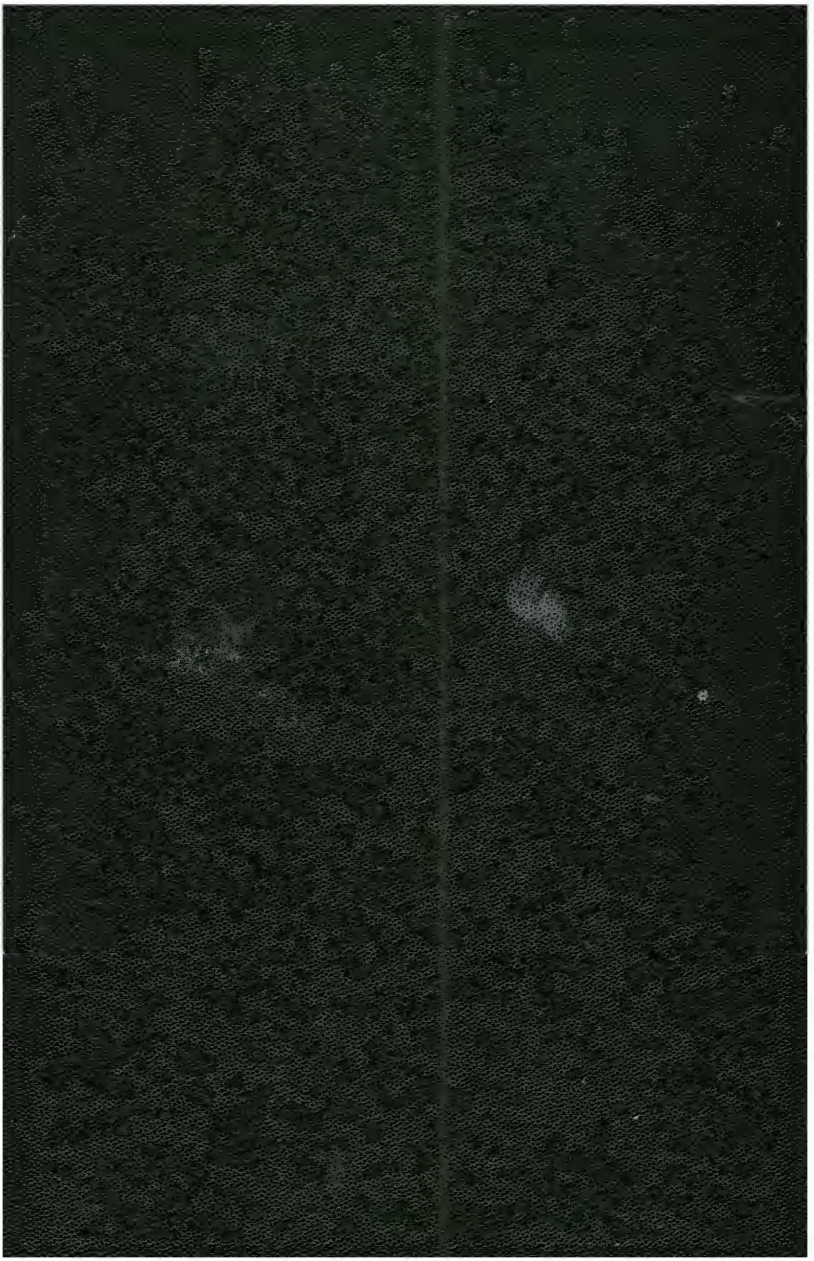

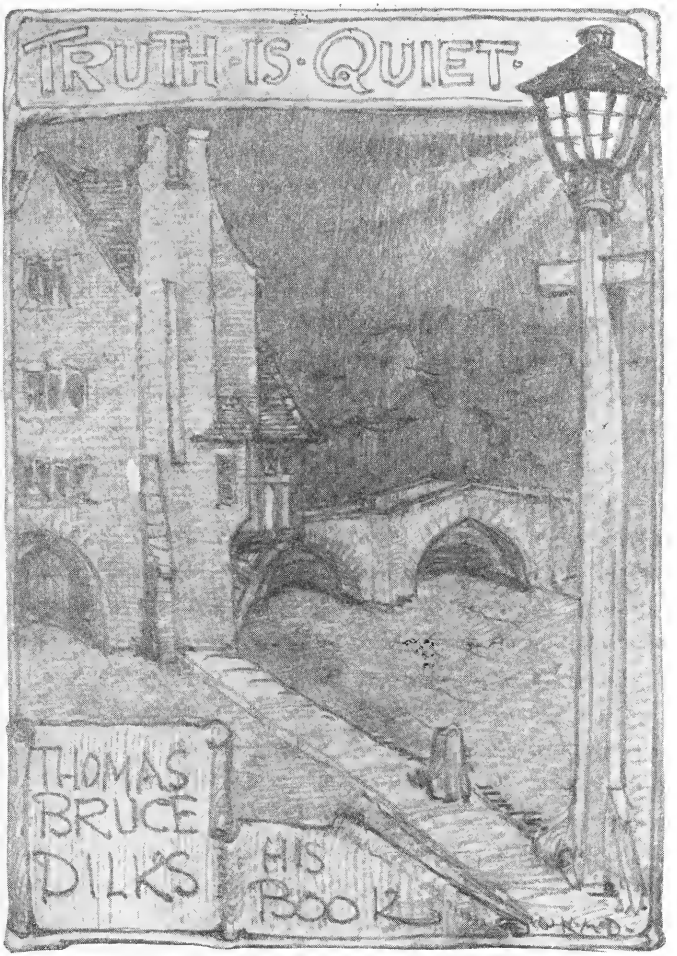
TRUTH·IS·QUIET·
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY THE FOURTH.

PRINTED BY JAMES CLEGG, ALDINE PRESS,

ROCHDALE.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY THE FOURTH.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY

JAMES HAMILTON WYLIE, M.A.,

One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

VOL. II.—1405-1406.

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PREFACE TO VOL. II.

WHEN I published Vol. I. of this History, more than nine years ago, I hoped to limit it to two volumes, but so much material has since accumulated on my hands, that I have been obliged to let it run over into three. The third volume will, I hope, be ready next year, and, in addition to the concluding chapters of the history, will contain appendices, index, and a long black-list of *Corrigenda*.

I have many acknowledgments to make for help received in working at the present volume—notably to Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office, and Mr. Edward J. L. Scott, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. To the latter gentleman I am indebted for generously placing at my disposal a transcript of Hoccleve's *Omnegadrum* (Add. MS. 24,062 A), which I hope that he may yet decide to publish for the benefit of historical students generally.

But my work could never have been carried even to its present stage but for the facilities afforded me by the Feoffees of the Chetham Library in Manchester, and I take this opportunity of again acknowledging my great indebtedness to them, especially to their Honorary Librarian, Sir Henry H. Howorth, M.P., who has done so much to maintain for this grand collection of books the premier place even in a City of Great Libraries.

Rochdale,
December 9th, 1893.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER HENRY THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GROSMONT.

THE kaleidoscope of King Henry's difficulties still shifts with tedious regularity. In Wales, the new alliance with France and the assumption by Owen of a royal style had not done much to advance the interests of the Welsh people as a separate nationality, but the slackening efforts of the English King must have driven many who were formerly half-hearted supporters into thorough-paced and pronounced rebellion. Few could long afford to look on while their homes were constantly plundered, and still keep up any semblance of respect for a distant power which held out to them no better prospect than a sharp spell of sudden raiding in the summer, to be followed by months of helplessness, during which they must submit to shut themselves up for their very lives, leaving their churches, houses, and lands a prey to unchecked ruin and pillage.

After the capture of Lord Grey at Ruthin in 1402, the border district called[1] Maelor on the banks of the Dee had been kept in constant dread of invasion, and the garrison of the castle of Hope had worn themselves out with "assiduous watching night and day." But a few summary executions had kept the disaffected[2] in check for a time. In the following

[1] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REP., page 337. [2] *Ibid.*, 247, July 13th, 1402.

spring (1403) the rebels poured into Hopedale.[1] They fired the town of Hope[2] under the very walls of the castle, and the loyal owners of property had to remove their cattle and goods out of harm's way. The Prince of Wales advanced from Shrewsbury to the relief of Harlech and Aberystwith, but still the rebellion gained strength, and by June, 1403, the Welsh had crossed the Dee by the fords in the night and were threatening Wirral[3] (June 26th, 1403) in spite of special precautions taken along the shores of the estuary in the hundreds of Coleshill,[4] Prestatyn, and Rhuddlan. Within five weeks[5] after the victory at Shrewsbury, the Cheshire men were alarmed by the presence of Owen on their western border. Orders were issued to put Chester[6] into a condition of defence, to dig trenches and place other obstacles in the way of his march, and to protect the flat lands around the estuary of the Dee, the necessary timber being cut in the woods about Basingwerk[7] and Holywell. In the early months of 1404 apprehensions were still entertained that the Wirral[8] district would be seriously invaded, and an order in council was issued calling upon all holders of lands in the marches to reside at once on their property and prepare to defend it. The fords across the Dee were to be closely watched from Poulton[9] to Eccleston. The castle of Denbigh was in urgent need of defence, the town[10] had been burnt in 1402, and the townsfolk were siding with the Percies and deserting to the enemy.[11] Sir John Stanley,[12] late Lieutenant of Ireland, now Steward of the Household of the Prince of Wales

[1] 36TH REP. 211, March 13th, 1403. [2] *Ibid.*, 475, May 21st, 1403, hostiliter crematum. [3] *Ibid.*, 253. [4] *Ibid.*, 261, June 14th, 1403. [5] *Ibid.*, 534, August 25th, 1403. [6] *Ibid.*, 447, September 16th, 1403. [7] *Ibid.*, 334, July 14th, 1406. [8] *Ibid.*, 162 (January 11th, 1404); also pp. 55, 181, 294 (February 15th), 170 (May 3rd). [9] *Ibid.*, 539, June 16th, 1404. [10] Q. R. ARMY $\frac{5}{7}$ App. G. [11] PAT. 8, H. IV., 2, 15 (May 3rd, 1407), has pardon to Griffin ap Meryth for joining Glendower from Denbigh, as others did after the battle of Shrewsbury. [12] 36TH REPT., 447, September 6th and 11th, 1404.

at Chester, had attended the meeting of the Great Council at Lichfield in August, 1404, to represent the desperate condition of affairs, with the sole result that twenty marks in gold were allotted to be distributed amongst the garrison, to stop their clamour for the moment. At Rhuddlan[1] the troops had to be supplied with provisions by boatmen, who threaded their way from Chester and Caldy among the channels and sand-banks of the Dee. All Flintshire and Denbighshire were exposed to the ravages of the rebels. In the neighbouring county of Cheshire alarms[2] and panics were abundant, and beacons were kept ready in the border hundreds of Broxton[3] and Wirral to warn the Cheshire men at any time of the coming of the enemy. At Wrexham[4] many English who were unwilling to join the rebels were forced to remove and settle in Chester. In retaliation the most drastic measures were taken against those unfortunate Welshmen whose business or other occupations required that they should frequent the border towns in England. At Chester the authorities had been seized with a panic of vindictiveness in their zeal for self-defence. No Welshman or Welshwoman was allowed to reside in the city at all, though we know of at least four[5] who got Englishmen to stand surety for their good behaviour. None were to enter the gates except within stated hours of daylight. Even then they were not allowed to "sit at nale"[6] in the taverns, no three of them were to be seen together under pain of imprisonment, and if found in the city after dark[7] or before sunrise, they were to be beheaded. All strangers coming in from the country were to leave their arms outside the gates, and none were to carry any

[1] 36TH REPT., 347, March 23rd, 1405. *Ibid.*, 55, 59, 66, 68, 86. [3] *Ibid.*, App. ii., 37, 55, 63, 108. [4] *Ibid.*, 125, May 10th, 1404. [5] *Ibid.*, 111., September 21st, 1403; in accordance with the Statute of Winchester, 13 ED. I., c. 4., 1285; STAT. i., 97. [6] PIERS PLOUGHMAN, 8, 19; FRERE'S TALE, 6931; COVENTRY MYSTERIES, 61. [7] Cf. Welshpool, 1406, in MONTGOM. COLL., I., 307.

weapon,[1] "except a knife to cut their dinner with." These exaggerated fears were destined, however, to pass away. They date from the alarmist times which succeeded the battle of Shrewsbury, and commerce could not long afford to close its natural channels.

Proclamations had been issued[2] in 1402, making it illegal for Englishmen to have any dealings at all with the Welsh, either in buying or selling provisions or any kind of goods. But the prohibition remained, as might have been expected, a complete dead letter. In spite of repeated warnings and confiscations,[3] the people of Cheshire, Shropshire,[4] Hereford,[5] and Gloucester, thought less of their patriotism than of their pockets, and contrived to evade the law by smuggling oats, beer, malt, grain, fish, and other necessaries into Wales, even buying back from the Welshmen cattle and other property[6] stolen in their raids upon English farms. At Oswestry,[7] such of the townsfolk as had not taken to begging, endeavoured to cover their losses by bartering and exchanging with the enemy. At Malpas,[8] a regular traffic was established in arms, horses, cattle, and general merchandise. Thence the goods were transferred across the Dee to the fairs and markets in Denbigh,[9] Hawarden, Hopedale, and the valley of the Clwyd, and in due course found their way on the tranters[10] cars into the heart of the rebel districts. In

[1] 36TH REPT., 102, September 4th, 1403; Cf. ST. DENYS, III., 232; BOUCICAUT at Genoa, p. 263, ne porter couteau fors á couper pain; also in treaty between England and Flanders in 1407; RYM., 8, 470, VARENBERGH 535, excepté Coutel Dague ou Espee qu'ils porront porter jusques a lour Hostielx; Cf. LIBER ALBUS, I., 388; SHARP, 169. [2] Vol. I., 284. [3] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., App. ii., 13, 24, 31, 60, 74, 76, 78, 83, 102, 108, 123, 185, 203, 211, 226, 255, 269, 323, 373, 407, 526. [4] PAT. 7 H. IV., 1, 30, 38. [5] DUNCUMB, I, 88. [6] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., App. ii., 340. [7] SHROPS. ARCHÆOL. SOC., II., 208. [8] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., App. ii., 103, 323; Cf. p. 63, dated January 28th, 1404, forbidding traffic with the Welsh in Bromfield, Yale, and Dyfryn-Clwyd. [9] *Ibid.*, 534. [10] *Ibid.*, 230, 523; for "traventer" see LIB. ALB. I., 565, or "traunter" 12 REPT. HIST. MSS.. IX., 433.

South Wales, a commission consisting of Sir John Oldcastle and others, had been charged to stop the traffic on the borders of Hereford (October 2nd, 1404), and while the Parliament was sitting at Coventry, they reported (October 15th) that cattle were still being bought from the Welsh; whereupon an impotent order[1] was issued requiring that all such cattle should be confiscated.

In June, 1404, the Prince of Wales was at Worcester, and he spent the rest of the year at Hanley,[2] Hereford,[3] and Leominster, except when he was called away to attend the meetings of the Parliament at Coventry. All through the following winter he was kept in constant alarm at Hereford, where Archdeacon Kingston[4] had been busy borrowing money from the neighbouring Abbots and Priors at Malmesbury, Deerhurst, Leominster,[5] Wigmore, Wormsley, and Llanthony near

[1] PAT. 6 H. IV., 1, 28, d. [2] NASH, I., 556. [3] See Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{95}{36}$, App. F., for expenses of his household from July 20 to November 21, 1404. [4] According to LE NEVE, I., 480 (not 118, as I., 347), Richard Kingston was admitted Archdeacon of Hereford, April 3rd, 1379, and resigned before January 22nd, 1405. He appears as Archdeacon of Hereford in 1387-8 (App. A, DUC. LANC. REC., Class xxviii., bundle 1, No. 1); also in 1391-2 where he is treasurer pour la guerre to Henry when Earl of Derby (DUC. LANC. REC., Class xxviii., bundle 1, No. 6; DEP. KEEP. 30TH REP., p. 36). On May 6th, 1390, he was appointed by Henry his treasurer for journeys in Barbary and Prussia. On July 31st, 1403, Kingston, Bachelor in Civil Law, is one of the envoys going to Portugal and Bayonne in reference to a treaty (TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3). In 1405 Kingston was made a prebendary of Beverley (RYM., VIII., 402, ROT. VIAG. 15). In the same year, November 19th, 1405, he received a prebend in St. Paul's (LE NEVE, II., 407), and in September, 1406, that of Cherminster and Bere, Salisbury (PRIV. SEAL, 648/6589, May 28th, 1410), which he held till his death in 1418 (JONES, 373). On January 17th, 1406, he became Archdeacon of Colchester (PAT. 7 II. IV., 1, 22; LE NEVE, II., 340), not 1407, as DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 260. On August 21st, 1406, one of those who were with King Henry at Bardney is Dominus Ricardus de Kyngeston, Thesaurarius Domini Regis et ipse erat Decanus castelli de Wyndesore (LEL. COLL., VI., 301). In CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 13 d (May 8th, 1408) and CLAUS. 11 H. IV., 9 d (May 25th, 1410) he is Custos of Free Chapel at Windsor, and at Christmas 1411, he is Dean of the College at Windsor (Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{68}{19}$, App. B). [5] In 1402 Owen had taken possession of the town, and laid the priory under heavy contribution (MONAST. ANGL., IV., 52).

Gloucester. But neither the poverty nor the will of the ecclesiastics would consent, and though their houses were all in imminent danger, the whole sum that could be raised amongst them amounted only to £96 13s. 4d.,[1] to which the Prior and Chapter of Hereford[2] added £53 more.

The great castle of Coity was still surrounded by the rebels in spite of the strong muster which had been ordered to proceed to its relief under Prince Henry and his brother Thomas[3] in November, 1404. The "rescue" had been undertaken by a special order[4] of the Parliament at Coventry, the citizens of London[5] advancing £733 6s. 8d. to the War Treasurers for that purpose on the strength of the next taxation. Haverford was blocked on the land side and had to be provisioned by sea from Bristol[6] and elsewhere. Nevertheless the question of help to Wales was certainly under serious consideration. On November 14th, 1404,[7] arrayers and officers were appointed to take command of troops which were to be called out for service in North Wales, and on December 13th,[8] messengers were sent out with proclamations calling up a muster with all haste. Orders were likewise given in the winter of 1404 to despatch from Tenby supplies of corn, barley, peas, beans, wine, beer, honey, fish, salt, and brine to the Englishry at Kidwelly,[9] Llanstephan,[10] and Carmarthen.[11] Kidwelly was defended by Thomas Ferncloughe[12]

[1] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 30, November 6th, 1404. [2] DUC. LANC. REC., XI. 15, 69, dated Aug. 29th, 1404, shows that Richard Kingston, Dean of Windsor, had spent 100 marks on the repair of the castle of Hereford. On February 27th, 1406, the Bishop of Hereford received £10 from the Exchequer for damage and loss caused by the Welsh (ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH). [3] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 20 (November 23rd, 1404). [4] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH. (May 9th, 1405). [5] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 24 (November 18th, 1404); LIB. ALB., I., 638. [6] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 20 (Dec. 4th, 1404). [7] *Ibid.*, 19, d. [8] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH. [9] For description of the castle see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR. 1852, pp. 1-20. [10] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 11 (January 23rd, 1405). [11] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 39 (November 4th, 1404); CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 28 (December 18th, 1404). [12] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 66[1] (November 30th, 1404).

or Fernyclough, who was appointed Receiver of Kidwelly, Carnwaltham,[1] and Yskenin on November 30th, 1403.[2] His account[3] is still extant and shows that in 1403, breastplates, basnets, vanbraces, gauntlets, lances, poleaxes, and jacks of fence for six men-at-arms were sent to him in a cart from London *via* Bristol, together with six arblasts, a windlass with a belt, two small cannon (costing 12s. each), 40 lb. of gunpowder in a cask and a bag, 40 bows, 80 sheaf of arrows, 2000 quarrels, and 12 dozen bowstrings packed in pipes, pruskists, and barrels. On November 6th, 1404,[4] the rents and tolls due by the inhabitants were remitted, as the town had been laid waste by the Welsh.

At Carmarthen[5] there was a large force of six knights, 75 squires, and 240 archers, under the command of Sir Rustin Villenove,[6] and we have still an account of stores sent to them from Bristol in 1404, including the cost of carriage from the quay to the Back and towage to "Hongerrode."

The Lord of Powys held Welshpool with a garrison of 20 men-at-arms and 100 archers, and a schedule[7] is still preserved recording all their names.

[1] Called Carnwallan in DEP. KEEP. 45TH REPT., 83 (1884), or Carnwallon in DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXI., 431. [2] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 35; before his appointment Walter Morton was Constable of Kidwelly, May 20th, 1403 (*ibid.*, 46); *ibid.* XI., 14, 40, 41, refers to the offices of catchpoll and under-steward of the Englishry in Kidwelly. [3] *Ibid.*, XXVIII., 4, 3, Appendix A; at the same time (1403) six cannon and 20 arblasts were sent to the garrison of Brecon from London *via* Gloucester. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 71, 92[III]. [5] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{56}{12}$, $\frac{56}{20}$, 37, 38, App. G., John and Henry Nevil were the captains of the town. [6] Called Villæ Noef in INQ. P. MORT, IV., 39; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 22, refers to Sir Rustinus Vylnagh, of Yorks. REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., M., March 8th, 1407, has repayment to him of loan, £361 5s. 6d.; see also PAT. 9 H. IV., 2, 29; also ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., M., for £161 5s. 6d. lent by him March 12th, 1408, repaid November 15th, 1412. Q. R. ARMY $\frac{56}{20}$, 34, has names of his retinue by indenture dated May 12th, 1404; *ibidem* 33 has John Morehay's account, with a small fragment of a seal showing muster of 101 men-at-arms and 290 archers for castles of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Newcastle Emlyn; *ibid.* I. (May 8th, 1404) shows that Lord Lovell had lent 500 marks to the Duke of York for the garrison of those castles. [7] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{56}{14}$, $\frac{56}{15}$, App. G.

The town and castle of Ludlow[1] offered a loyal resistance to the Welsh, and the townspeople were in consequence allowed a welcome remission of dues.

The Prior of the Austin Canons at Llanthony[2] remained loyal to the English, though he was suspected of leaning to the side of the rebels, and informers were not wanting who called for the confiscation of the lands in Drogheda[3] and County Meath which had been originally granted to the priory by the founder, Hugh de Lacy,[4] Lord of Meath, the first Viceroy of Ireland, and Walter his son. The priory[5] had proved far from a pleasant place to live in, and 28 years after its foundation the Canons betook themselves to a safer site just outside of the city of Gloucester, carrying off books,[6] relics, muniments, and even the heavy metal bells, to this "second Llanthony" by the Severn. Afterwards it was with the greatest difficulty that any of them could be induced to face the dangers of residence in their first home in Monmouthshire, and keep their cradle from decay. Still, inasmuch as the Irish lands were granted to it and not to the comfortable Gloucester settlement,[7] we may be sure they found some means of keeping themselves sufficiently in evidence there to secure a decent claim to their rights in Ireland. Now in their trouble the King stood their friend, and

[1] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 12 (February 6th, 1405). [2] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 33 (November 8th, 1404), and *ibid.* 2, 23. [3] For the house of Columb of Colpe (called Calp in MONAST. VI., 138), see CAL. ROT. HIB., 199. For appointment of attornies for their Irish estates (December 30th, 1401), see CAL. ROT. HIB., 162; also June 14th, 1409, *ibid.* 191. On July 21st, 1402, Prior John Welyngton is going from Ireland to England (*ibid.* 165, 169). An undated document (probably 1345) records that the King had got a judgment in the Irish Exchequer for 1360 marks against the prior, who was making excuses in England to get off (GRAVES, 314, 319). [4] MONAST. ANG. VI., 137. [5] For its situation see GIRALDUS, VI., 37; for view of it see MONAST. ANGL., VI., 568; D. WILLIAMS, 163. [6] MONAST. ANGL., VI., 133. [7] The Gloucester establishment did not secure superior rights over the 1st Llanthony till 1481.—MONAST. ANGL., VI., 139; see also MASON, 105, and DUBLIN ST. MARY'S CHARTULARIES, I., 184.

the Prior was allowed the use of a house in Hereford, as his priory in the vale of Ewyas had been wasted [1] by the Welsh.

In the Benedictine priory at Usk [2] the nuns were reduced to absolute want; and at Acornbury,[3] three miles to the south of Hereford, the nunnery buildings were destroyed, and the nuns were in great distress.

The whole of the western portion of Shropshire, including five of the sixteen hundreds of the county, was "burnt,[4] wasted, destroyed, and uninhabited." At Shrewsbury [5] the walls were in decay, and the Welshmen fired the suburbs unopposed. The abbey lands were over-run, and the hamlets of Frankwell, Newton, Brace Meole, Edgebold, Nobold,[6] Monk Meole, and Shelton, were all laid waste. Lower down the Severn, the Cistercian abbey of Buildwas [7] was burnt, the services were abandoned, and the monks brought to dire straits; and at Baschurch,[8] the old Norman church was totally wrecked. In Radnorshire, the noble abbey of Cwmhir,[9] near Rhayader, was fired and spoiled; and the abbey at Dore,[10] in the Golden Valley, was only spared when the monks had obtained the consent of the English authorities at Hereford to come to terms with the destroyer. No wonder that the churchmen with such prospects before them cried aloud [11] and put up

[1] PAT. 6 H. IV., 2, 3 (September 10th, 1405). [2] USK, 90. [3] PAT. 6 H. IV., 2, 5 (September 7th, 1405). [4] ROT. PARL., III., 637; for Whixall near Prees, see GIBBONS, ELY REC., 444. [5] PAT. 6 H. IV., 2, 20 (May 20th, 1405); *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 18; ROT. PARL., III., 597, 619; OWEN and BLAKEWAY, I., 201; for plan of old Shrewsbury see SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 99. [6] For Newbald, see SHROPS. ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 117. [7] PAT. 7 H. IV., 2, 23 (April 2nd, 1406); OWEN and BLAKEWAY, I., 201. [8] EYTON, X., 140; OWEN and BLAKEWAY, I., 314; RELIQUARY, VI., 19. [9] LEL. ITIN., V., 12, and LEWIS, s. v.; for recent excavations see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Series, VII., 150; for confusion with abbey of Kemmer or Kinner, near Dolgelly, see MONAST. VI., 458, 742. [10] ROT. VIAG., 19; in CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 6 (Aug. 1st, 1410), Richard, abbot of Dore, is going to a general chapter of his order at Citeaux. [11] See the Latin line on the wall in the choir at St. Alban's, quoted in ORIG. LET. II., 1, 43, from MS. of John of Tynemouth, in Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

special prayers to Christ, "the brightness of God," for the destruction of "Gleendor," and it is not surprising if some of their leaders began to see that the time had come for them to make terms for themselves with the enemy before all was lost.

At St. Asaph, the Bishop, John Trevaur (or Trevor), had been at first a strong supporter of King Henry. He had been employed at Rome as an Auditor[1] of the Palace and had thus secured his Bishopric in 1395. In 1397, he had been one of the English envoys[2] appointed with John of Gaunt to negociate with the Scots. Very shortly after King Richard's capture he was made Chamberlain[3] of Chester, Flint, and North Wales (August 16th, 1399). On the 24th August,[4] he received the seals from King Richard at Lichfield, "in presence of Henry, Duke of Lancaster," and he retained this office till after the battle of Shrewsbury.[5] In September, 1399, he was a member of the Commission[6] which had pronounced the sentence of deposition on the fallen Richard, and he was afterwards employed in King Henry's service upon diplomatic business abroad. In August, 1400,[7] he was with the English army which made the futile invasion of Scotland, headed by the banners of St. John of Beverley, St. Mary of York, and St. Cuthbert of Durham, and under all the misplaced sanctions of the Church. In 1401, he appears as Chancellor[8] for the counties of Cheshire, Flint, and Carnarvon, and he assisted the Government in the perilous times which culminated in the fall of Conway. In 1402,[9] he was one of the Lieutenants of North Wales appointed to govern the country during the temporary absence of the Prince from Chester. On April 22nd, 1403,[10]

[1] ERLER, 101, 102. [2] ROT. SCOT., II., 142. [3] 36TH REPT., App. ii., pp. 9, 99, renewed November 1st, 1399; *ibid.*, pp. 84, 100, 250; RAMSAY, I., 38. [4] 36TH REPT., p. 376. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 502. [6] ROT. PARL., III., 424. [7] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{12}$, App. G. [8] ADD. CH., 662, dated April 16th, 1401. [9] 36TH REPT., App. ii., pp. 10, 442 (January 15th and February 10th, 1402). [10] *Ibid.*, 10, 102.

the Prince of Wales made him his Lieutenant for the counties of Chester and Flint. From June 13th[1] to July 10th, 1403, he was with the Prince's muster in Wales, at the head of 10 esquires and 40 archers, and it is probable that he fought on the winning side at Shrewsbury.

But the nearness of his diocese to the head quarters of the rebel strength, must have made him reflect from the first on the personal risk that he would run if once the Welsh rebellion should make steady head, and poor as his possessions were, he had raised an interested note of warning before the Parliament[2] in 1401, to beware of entrance in a quarrel with the "barfoots,"[3] who for years afterwards defied the power of England. In due course the vengeance came. The Welshmen fell upon the town of St. Asaph as they had fallen on the lands of the neighbouring Bishop of Bangor.[4] They set fire to the cathedral,[5] and burnt the steeple, porch, choir, and vestry, with all their contents. The bells, books, vestments, stalls, desks, ornaments, and sacred vessels were all "burnt and utterly destroyed," while of the Bishop's palace and three of his manor houses, there was "no stick left." Bishop Trevor and a few attendants remained with the Prince of Wales, and for a time some decent maintenance was allowed him by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But he would not long consent to eat the bread of dependence. He

[1] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{36}$, App. F; Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{5}^{6}$, App. G. He built the bridge at Llangollen.—APPLEYARD, III., 70. [2] Vol. I., 171, and WILLIS, SURVEY OF ST. ASAPH, I., 75. [3] The symbol for Welsh documents in the Treasury represented a man with one foot bare (KAL. and INV., I., 118; H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 58). "Caliga Walliæ," *i.e.*, one shoe to fit either foot, had become a proverb (GASCOIGNE, 223). For "barfote," see HIST. MSS., 10TH REPT., V., 245. Cf. GIRALD, VI., 119; SMITH, GILDS, 81. 95, 98; COV. MYST., 58, 308; AUNGIER, 350, 352; PIERS PLOWMAN, X. 121, XXI., 9. Robt. Barefot occurs as a proper name in COLCHESTER RECORDS, p. 6; also Wm. Barefote, in CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 20. [4] Vol. I., 249. [5] 36TH REPT. DEP. KEEP., 10; WILLIS, II., 112, 116, contains orders of Henry V. and VI. for helping to rebuild it, dated November 5th, 1414 and July 23rd, 1442.

slipped away secretly[1] and joined himself to Owen, as others[2] of his cloth had already done. This must have been in the summer of 1404, for about Michaelmas[3] of that year his place as Chamberlain of Chester was taken by Thomas Barneby, and his name does not occur in the long list[4] of Bishops summoned to attend the Council at Westminster on January 15th, 1405. His property was forfeited as far as it could be got at. Some of his grain, valued at 20 marks was seized at Meliden,[5] near Rhuddlan, and Henry refused to acknowledge him any longer as a Bishop. The see[6] was declared vacant and placed under the charge of Thomas Prestbury,[7] Abbot of Shrewsbury, as keeper of spirituals acting on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The revenues, however, were too thin to attract any claimant for martyrdom from England. For five years Trevor remained a prominent figure amongst Owen's barefoots, burning, slaying, robbing, flogging, and imprisoning his former friends. He joined the rising of the Earl of Northumberland and fled[8] with him into Scotland in July, 1405. In 1409, the "claimant bishop"[9] is still referred to as a leader of the rebels, and he died unrepentant in Paris in 1410.

Hitherto the war had continued with varying fortune, but, as a rule, when English troops met the Welsh in the open, their better discipline and arms could put the Welshmen to rout,

[1] Latenter abiens, ANN. 396. [2] See the case of the chaplain, Thomas Leggeley, who twice went to Owen to treat for private interests (36TH REPT., 287, February 16th, 1406). PAT. 13 H. IV. 2, 26 d, April 17th, 1412, refers to Hy. ap David, parson of Chesilford (Chillesford) in Suffolk, as having long been an adherent of the Welsh and Scots; Cf. INQ. P. MORT. III., 40. [3] ARCH. CAMB., 127. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 98; nobody seems yet to have traced the charter of Henry V. dated 1415, which led Wharton (DE EPISCOPIS, 345) wrongly to suppose that the see was vacant in 1402. [5] Called Althmeladyn in 36TH REPT., 57, October 15th, 1406. [6] PAT. 6 H. IV., 2, 10 (August 27th, 1405); *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 1, 6 (February 24th, 1408). [7] PAT. 10 H. IV., 1, 16; *ibid.*, 2, 20 (June 12th, 1409); CONC., III., 304; LE NEVE, I., 71. [8] SCOTICHRON., II., 441; LIB. PLUSCARD., i., 348. [9] Episcopum prætensum.—RYM., VIII., 588.

while the latter took their advantage in all cases where time and climate wearied out their foes with starvation and disease. Thus, in the year 1404, a Welsh force engaged the Earl of Warwick in the mountains near Machynlleth,[1] on the western border of Montgomeryshire. The English were victorious and Owen[2] narrowly escaped capture; his banner was lost, and his bannerer,[3] Ellis ap Richard ap Howel ap Morgan Llwyd, of Alhrey, was taken prisoner, together with "much of his people." But, as a rule, the English kept within their castles and walled towns, and had enough to do to maintain themselves even there. One of their outposts was planted on the hills at Craig-y-Dorth,[4] about four miles to the south of Monmouth. They were attacked by the Welsh and driven back disastrously into the town. Now, however, the strongest castles in the country were yielding one by one, owing to the dilatoriness of the English council and the emptiness of the English exchequer. Caerleon,[5] Caerphilly, Newport, and Usk had already fallen. At Cardiff, in spite of the nearness of Bristol, the garrison of 24 men-at-arms and 479 archers had been reduced to dire straits, and one mutilated skin of parchment[6] remains recording their last purchases. It shows that they paid 18s. 2d. for 4 lb. of powder, 28 stones and 40 gads for their two guns and an iron pestle to firm them. The account also shows three barrels of salt meat, a pipe of salmon, some beans and some beer. But within a short while they yielded. Owen

[1] CARTE, II., 661, quoting ELLIS, calls the place Mynydd Camsdun; PENNANT, I., 367, has Mynydd Cwm du, possibly Mynydd-du,—north-west from Machynlleth on ORDNANCE SHEET, LIX., N.E. [2] ROWS, 360. DUGDALE, I., 243, places the engagement in 1403 before the battle of Shrewsbury. The Earl of Warwick was certainly employed in Wales in September, 1402, though the expedition is said to have failed.—Vol. I., 285. [3] PENNANT, I., 368, from Ancient Pedigrees, MS. penes Thomas Griffith, of Rhial. [4] T. ELLIS, 70. [5] Vol. I., 445. [6] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{16}$, App. G, refers the attempt at rescue to December 1404, though in EUL., III., lxiv., FOR. ACCTS., 1-6 H. IV., the date is December, 1403, as Vol. I., 445.

burnt the town and dismantled the castle, sparing only the house of the Grey Friars[1] in Crockerstone Street, though even they could not save their books and chalices from the general loot. Radnor was defended by Sir John Greindor,[2] with nine men-at-arms[3] and 22 archers, but in the spring of 1405 it capitulated to Owen, who "defaced" the town[4] and beheaded 60 men in the castle yard. The castle of Kevenlleece[5] on the Ithon was burnt, and the Earl of March's domains at Knighton and Cnwclâs[6] were destroyed. The King's lands about Ogmore and Ebboth[7] were laid waste, so that his revenues[8] from them for some years had to be entered as *nil.* The town of Montgomery[9] was "deflourished," the hill castle of Dinas,[10] near Talgarth, was abandoned and fired to prevent it from falling into Owen's hands, and the walled town of Hay[11] still bore marks of his vengeance when John Leland visited it 140 years after.

On the far-off western coast, Edward the First's great castles of Harlech and Aberystwith had at length given up the desperate struggle after being beset for more than two years,[12] and several times at the point of starvation. It is a striking evidence of the poverty of English resource, and a lasting disgrace to English enterprise and intelligence, that two

[1] MONAST., VI., 1545; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., April 1889, p. 99. [2] Spelt "Greindre" or "Greindore," ROY. LET., I., 17; "Greyndour," PAT. 7 H. IV., 1, 26 d; "Greyndor," *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 2, 22; "Greyndur," CLARK, CHARTÆ, II., 38; "Greyndore," PRIV. SEAL, 647/6445. He had been Sheriff of Glamorgan, and had represented the county of Hereford in the parliaments of 1401 and 1404.—RETURN PARL., I., 260, 267. [3] FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., has his account from August 9th, 1402, to January, 1405. [4] LEL. ITIN., V., 3, VII., 14, f. 67. [5] PAT. 7 H. IV., 1, 2 (January 27th, 1406); *ibid.*, 2, 8 (July 18th, 1406); called Keventhis in PAT. 8 H. IV., 1, 8 (December 8th, 1406). [6] Or Knocklace.—PAT. 10 H. IV., 1, 5. [7] PAT. 7 H. IV., 1, 22 (January 20th, 1406); 45TH REPT. DEP. KEEP., App. i., 86. [8] See LEVENTHORPE'S account in DUC. LANC. REC., Class xxviii., bundle 4, No. 4, App. A. [9] LEL. ITIN., V., 3. [10] *Ibid.*, 59, f. 69. [11] *Ibid.*, V., 62. [12] As early as December 14th, 1402, we have a notice that Harlech was besieged (DEVON, 290), and in May, 1403, it was believed that both castles would certainly fall if not relieved within ten days.—Vol. I., 343, where Aberystwith should be read for Lampeter.

such impregnable strongholds, posted on the very edge of an open coast, should ever have been allowed to fall, so long as English troops held Dublin and English ships commanded the western sea. Of the circumstances which brought about the fall of Harlech we have had a brief glimpse,[1] but of the fall of Aberystwith we have no details. We only know that from March 31st to November 13th, 1404, the castle was under the charge of Sir Thomas Burton, who was also Constable of Cardigan, and that his total force for manning the two castles amounted to only 12 men-at-arms[2] and 45 archers. It is certain also that Aberystwith had yielded before January 12th, 1405, on which day Owen confirmed[3] the league with France "in our castle of Lampadarn."[4] On January 10th, 1405, he was at Cefn Llanfair[5] with his sons Griffith[6] and Meredith, his Chancellor Griffith Yonge, and the brothers William[7] and Rhys ap Tudor. Here he granted a pardon to John ap Howel ap Jevan Goch, which was sealed[8] with a royal seal representing

[1] Vol. I., 431. In Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{6}$, App. G, Wm. Hunt is constable of Harlech, June 26th, 1403, with one man-at-arms and 23 archers. [2] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{9}$, App. G, has list of their names, almost all being English. [3] RYM., VIII., 382. [4] LEWIS, s. v., Aberystwith. Cf. RYM., VIII., 419, where it is called "castrum de Lampader," with *ibid.*, 497, "castrum de Arburustwich juxta novam villam de Lampadere situatum." For Llan Padarn super mare, see ANNALES CAMBRIÆ, 105, called "les chastielx de Abristwith joust Lampader" in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 221, REPT. ON FŒD., E, 65; see also WALS., I., 18, 21, and ACADEMY, 24, 3, 88, p. 210; not Lampeder as LINGARD, III., 443, nor Lampeter as Vol. I., 343, 377, 432; RAMSAY, I., 108. [5] Either Llanvair near Harlech (GIRALDUS, 438), or Cefn Llan, close to Llanbadarn Vawr, about one mile to the east of Aberystwith. [6] By January 10th, 1406, Griffith was a prisoner in the Tower. [7] They were natives of Penmynnedd in Anglesea. — ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBR. III., V., 145, XV., 380. [8] PENNANT, I., 381; T. ELLIS, 72; THOMAS, 147; BRIDGEMAN, 259. For Owen's great and privy seals with lions rampant, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXV., 616; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Series, VI., 274, 288; N. S., II., 121; TYLER, I., 251; and II. frontispiece; KNIGHT'S SHAKESPEARE, HIST., I., 210, from the Hôtel Soubise in Paris, now TRES. DES CH. CARTON, J, 623, pièce 96, in DOUET D'ARCQ., I., 285. A dagger with lion passant and three fleurs de lys (a plume of feathers ?) once preserved at Rug, near Corwen, now in University College at Cardiff, has been wrongly ascribed to Owen.—THOMAS, 172, ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., N. S., II., 120. It really belonged to Charles I.; see MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, February 23rd, 1889.

Owen seated in all the pomp of heraldic blazonry with a sceptre in his right hand and a coif on his head, though it is curious that he had already had to correct the date[1] from which his reign was supposed to begin.

But by this time many a Welsh patriot must have flagged in his zeal for so wanton a destroyer,[2] whose havoc and red ravage were written deep in every county in Wales.

It was rumoured that a formidable attack would be delivered in the spring of 1405 by the renowned Rhys Gethin, the captor[3] of Sir Edmund Mortimer. On January 27th, 1405,[4] the Prince of Wales wrote from Hereford for reinforcements, though he does not appear to have received much satisfaction in reply to his demand. Five hundred marks (£333 6s. 8d.) had been promised to him for his troops at Michaelmas last, but he did not get the money till ten months later.[5]

In North Wales, the castles of Flint, Rhuddlan, Conway, Beaumaris, and Carnarvon, were held by scanty garrisons, the whole provision for the safeguarding of all the five being only eight men-at-arms and 108 archers, showing an immense decrease from the numbers[6] employed two years before. In Conway castle, where the garrison had before stood at 15 men-at-arms and 60 archers, the numbers had been since the beginning of 1404 only three men-at-arms and 32 archers for the defence both of the town and castle. At Carnarvon, under

[1] Cf. RYM., VIII., 356 and 382. [2] IOLO MSS. 98 (493), from MS. of Rev. THOS. BASSETT, of Llan-y-lai, has list of some places destroyed by Owen, including the castles of Penllin, Llandochan, Thref-Flemin, Dindryfan Bwtler, Thal-y-Fanni, Llanfeiddan, Llancwyfan, Malffawnt, and Penmark, together with the villages of Llanfrynach, Aberthin, Lllanilltud fawr, and other places. He refers to a battle at Brynowain (now Stalling Down), where the English were defeated after 18 hours hard fighting, the horses being fetlock-deep in blood at a place called Bant-y-Wennol, "that separates both ends of the mountain." [3] Vol. I., 282. [4] VESP. F., XIII., 15. [5] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH., July 20th, 1405. [6] Vol. I., 342.

the command of Robert Parys,[1] who was now Constable of the castle, there had been 20 men-at-arms and 80 archers; the numbers were now 3 and 36 respectively. But even for these attenuated numbers the wages were all in arrear. There is extant a complicated statement[2] of the claim of the garrisons in these five places at the beginning of the year 1405, showing arrears amounting to £735, dating in some cases as far as twelve months back. At various dates the Constables made application to the Chamberlain at Chester for their wages, and received sundry trifling payments on account, but the gross total only amounts to £140, though paid at intervals dating from December 18th, 1404, to April 2nd, 1405.

At the close of the previous Parliament it had been ordered that the Earl of Arundel should receive 30 men-at-arms and 150 archers, with pay for eight weeks, for the defence of his castle at Oswestry. The eight weeks had almost passed and the promised support had not been sent. Believing that this order, like so many others, would be quite inoperative against them, the Welsh were becoming more "high and proud"[3] than ever before. On the 7th of February, 1405,[4] the Earl of Arundel sent messages to the Council remonstrating against the non-fulfilment of their promise, and urging that even now, if the supports were sent and continued for a whole year, the rebels must sue for peace or be smashed up *(gastez)* and destroyed.

Nevertheless the question of substantial help to Wales was certainly under serious consideration in London. Forces were

[1] Vol. I., 431. ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 1862, p. 125. Parys became Constable in 1404, Sir John Bolde being Constable of Conway. In another list dated 1403-4, the garrison at Carnarvon amounts to 10 men-at-arms and 60 archers, under Roger Massy, Wm. Tranmore, and Robt. Parys.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{6}$, App. F. [2] ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 1862, pp. 124-129. [3] Sy hautes ne sy orgoilouses. ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 247. [4] *Ibid.*, I., 246.

assembled at Hereford and Monmouth[1] under Sir Thomas Beaufort, and we have still a fragment of a memorandum[2] showing that it was intended that the King should proceed in person to Wales, accompanied by a force of 500 men-at-arms[3] and 2,650 archers from Cheshire and Shropshire,[4] whose wages would be paid for two months (from April 27th to June 22nd, 1405).[5] As early as March 2nd,[6] the arrangements were progressing, and various functionaries, such as minstrels[7] and "valets of the Queen's kitchen,"[8] were told off to soften the rigours of the royal campaign. At the same time supports amounting to 300 men-at-arms and 1,398 or 1,400 archers, under the command of the Duke of York, the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl Marshal (son of the late Duke of Norfolk), would be forwarded to strengthen the garrisons[9] in Brecon,[10] Radnor, Hay, Cardigan, Newcastle Emlyn, Aberystwith, and Abergavenny, or such of them as had not yet fallen. But before these arrangements were completed some cheering news came in, and subsequent events prevented the intended programme from being carried out to the full.

We have seen that the Prince of Wales was at Hereford making his plans for meeting the expected attack. At length

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., February 18th, 1405. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 253. It is certainly earlier than February 17th, 1405, when the Duke of York was denounced as a traitor. [3] Called "men-of-arms" *(sic)* in ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARMY, 1386, HARL. MSS., 1309, in NICOLAS, AGINCOURT, 107. [4] PAT. 6 H. IV., II., 29. [5] In FOR. ACCTS., 11 H. IV., is an account of Wm. Beauchamp, Lord of Abergavenny:—£1,274 for wages of 80 men-at-arms and 400 archers, from April 27th to June 27th, 1405. [6] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 2, 3, 7. [7] *Ibid.*, 2, 26. RAMSAY, I., 142, says "we seem to hear of only one King's minstrel at Court." [8] See GERSON, V., 608. Non ferebantur post eos ferrei furni aut stanneæ fornaces ut parvas facerent pastas aut placentas. [9] In PAT. 6 H. IV., II., 29, dated March 24th, 1405, the same list appears without Aberystwith, which had then capitulated. [10] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 51[1], 57[1], 58[1], has orders to spend 100 marks on repairs of walls, gates and ditches of Brecon, February 7th and May 2nd, 1404.

in the morning of March 11th, 1405,[1] a large rebel force from Glamorgan, estimated at 8,000 men, appeared before the castle of Grosmont,[2] in the upper valley of the Monnow. The castle was then under the command of Sir John Skidmere,[3] as the representative of the Constable Sir Hugh Waterton, and so wasted were the surrounding lands that in the previous November[4] half the rents due by the tenants to the Duchy of Lancaster had to be remitted. The Welsh force attempted to fire the town, but before they could carry out their purpose they were smartly attacked by young Gilbert Talbot.[5] His "few meinie"[6] was joined by Sir William Newport[7] and Sir John Greindor, who had recently commanded the castles of Usk[8] and Radnor. The whole of the English force amounted to only a very small number *(un très petit pouvoir en tous)*, but they did such execution that the undisciplined and panic-stricken Welshmen took to their heels, leaving from 800 to

[1] RYM., VIII., 390; ORIG. LET., II., 1, 39; APPLEYARD, III., 83. ANN., 399, says Ash-Wednesday, which fell on March 4th, in 1405, just a week too soon. [2] For view of Grosmont see D. WILLIAMS, 145; COXE, 336. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 48[1], Sir Hugh Waterton is Constable of the castles of Grosmont and Monmouth on June 5th, 1404. Monmouth was left in the charge of William Hamme.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 73 (January 27th, 1405). [3] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 31, February 20th, 1405. *Ibid.*, Class xxviii., bundle 4, No. 4, App. A, refers to executors of J. Skidmere, late escheator of Hereford. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 73[1], Nov. 26th, 1404. [5] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 3rd, 1405), refers to him as still under age, though DUGDALE, I., 328, says that he was 22. He was 13 years old when his father died, September 8th, 1392.—HUNTER, HALLAMSHIRE, 61. He had now been in the Prince's service for three years.—ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (December 13th, 1406). In REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (December 11th, 1406) and 10 H. IV., PASCH., Sir Hugh Waterton pays 100s. for custody of two-thirds of the lands of Sir Richard Talbot, in Irchenfield. [6] "Mon petit meigne de mon hostel," see WYNT., III., 32, 33; CHAUCER, MANCIPLE'S TALE, 17180; PROMPT. PARV., s. v., "meny"; PURVEY, REM., 31 (=meyne), HOCCL., DE REG., 133, 156; or "meynye," HOCCL., MINOR POEMS, 116; "maisgnie," PISAN, II., 32; "mesnie," DESCHAMPS, v., 27; or "mesgnie," *ibid.*, v., 216, 305; "mesgniée," *ibid.*, VII., 19. [7] He brought 29 men-at-arms and 150 archers to the Prince's muster at Shrewsbury, in April, 1403.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{6}$, App. F. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 68.

1,000 dead on the field. Not a single Welshman was taken alive with the exception of one "great chieftain," who was so badly hurt that he could not sit his horse. The loss on the English side must have been very trifling, and only four houses in Grosmont were touched by the fire. As a consequence of this success, the tenants in the valleys[1] of the Olchon, the Honndu, and the Dore, who had suffered frightfully from the ravages of the Welsh, together with those in the district called the Ffwddog in the Black Forest, and the northern banks of the upper valley of the Usk, sent in their submission to the Sheriff at Hereford.

[1] ROT. VIAG., 19, names Hotheney, Slad, Ffowothog, y Glyn, Olghan, and Stradewy, citra aquam de Usk. PAT. 9 H. IV.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Stoppage of Annuities.

During the previous year the King had been disheartened and crippled in health and purse, worried by Welsh, Scots, and French, and standing at bay in the midst of an irritated and grudging nation. He was now able to report himself as daily improving[1] in health, while his spirits rose on receiving news of the extraordinary successes against the Welsh.[2] The liberal grants made in the last Parliament were not long in producing a striking change in his finances. Now, at length, the War Treasurers had something like full hands, and, while personally friendly to the King, they were bound to employ their funds for the defence of the country alone. The pinch of the new financial regulations would be sorely felt by Easter, 1405,[3] the date at which the "ordinance"[4] for the restriction of grants would really begin to take effect, and it was becoming more and more essential that some definite steps should be taken at once to secure a return of confidence in the power of the new dynasty to crush opposition in face of the inevitable soreness that must follow on the coming confiscations.

How the trial was borne by those who thus suddenly found themselves deprived of a substantial slice of what they had been long accustomed to consider as their own, may be gathered from

[1] Beneficia convalescentiæ misericorditer *indies* operatur Deus Omnipotens in nobis.—Bekyngton, II., 374. [2] Regno nostro contra Walliœos rebelles nostros plus solito prosperante.—*Ibid.*, 376, 377. These letters were obviously written in the spring of 1405, when Frederick de Mitra had been some months in England. See Martene, Anec., I., 1707-1712. [3] Hoccleve, Minor Poems, XII, 38. [4] "It may not be, bycause of the ordynaunce; Long after this shall no graunte chargeable Oute passe."—Hoccleve, de Reg., 68.

the personal record of Thomas Hoccleve,[1] the London poet, who in this year[2] wrote his penitent ballad to the God of Health. For twenty years[3] he had been stooping and staring upon the sheepskin, copying documents under the Privy Seal, and "keeping in his song and his words" for a livelihood averaging £4 a year.[4] To this King Henry had added an annuity[5] of £10 per annum till he should receive a benefice. But he was too fond of the pleasures of Westminster and the Strand, and he ruined his chance when he married[6] a wife "only for love." His pouch[7] was now all void and empty,

[1] MORLEY, VI., 122, says that "the name is Occleve in the only place where we are nearly sure that he himself has written it," *i.e.*, "Occleve, fadir myne, men callen me" (HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 67; MORLEY, VI., 130). But in his OMNEGADRUM, ADD. MSS., 24062, f. 105 (101)—for contents see MINOR POEMS, XXIX.—he wrote "Hoclyf facta per manum suam ad finem libri." In *ibid.*, f. 2, a later hand spells it "Thos. Harkliff clerke du pryvy seal en le temps de Geffray Chaucer." The name is spelt "Hoccleve" in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 88, and in POEMS (MASON) p. 61, &c. also in his own handwriting in the DURHAM MS., see MINOR POEMS, 242; but "Occlyff" in ISSUE ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH. (November 22nd, 1409); or "Occlive," *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., MICH. (March 26th, 1406); 8 H. IV., PASCH. (June 12th, 1407); 9 H. IV., PASCH. (July 5th, 1408). For John "Hokclif" who was assessed for subsidy in London in 1412, see ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 75. The name is probably taken from Hockliffe or Occleve on the Watling Street, near Dunstable. — MONAST., VI., 758; LYSONS, I., 94; MORLEY, VI., 122. For extracts from SUBSIDY ROLLS temp. ED. II., III., see HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, VII. For picture of Thomas Hoccleve in BODL. DIGBY MS., 233, see STRUTT, ANTIQ., 77.

[2] Annus ille fuit annus restrictionis annuitatum.—HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 55; DE REG., X.; ROT. PARL., III., 601; STAT., II., 156.

[3] In 1410 he writes that he had been in the office of the Privy Seal 24 years "come Easter," *i.e.*, he must have joined in 1386. "Thou of the pryvé seal art old y-yerede."—HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 29, 34, 36, 37, 67; MINOR POEMS, IX, XVII.; MORLEY, VI., 127, 128.

[4] HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, XIV.

[5] *Ibid.*, LI.

[6] I gased longe first and waitede faste
After some benefice and when none came
By processe I weddede me atte last,
Onely for love I chese her to my make.
HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 53; MINOR POEMS, XV.

[7] For that alle voide and empty is my pouche,
That alle my luste is queynt with hevynesse.
HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 180.

his future years[1] were like to be sour, thoughty,[2] and woe-begone, and himself a cumberworld,[3] unsicker[4] of his scarce and slender livelihood in lickpenny[5] London, forced to beg,[6] steal, or starve, and gaping[7] after honest death. For twenty winters past he had plucked at his purse's strings and made them gape[8] and yawn. Excess had laid his knife with him[9] at board among the cooks and taverners at Westminster Gate,[10] rear-suppers[11] and late risings[12] at Chester's Inn[13] and frequent visits to Paul's Head[14] had made cold[15] roost in his coffer and left him a mirror

[1] HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 31. [2] *Ibid.*, 4. [3] *Ibid.*, 75; SKEAT, 14, 370. [4] HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 2, 48. [5] SKEAT, 373.

[6] So God me amende I am alle destitute
Of my livelode, God be my refute
I am unto so streyte a poynte ydrive,
Of thre conclusiouns mote I chese one,
Or begge, or stele, or sterve, I am yshrive
So nye that other wey see I none,
My herte is as dede as ony stone.
Nay there I faile, a stone no thyng ne feelethe
But thoughte brennethe and fresingly keelethe;
Wold honest deth come and me oversterve,
And of my grave me putte in seisyne
To all my grief that were a medicyne.
HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 65.

[7] *Ibid.*, 5, 48.

[8] For thoughe I never were of hye degree
Ne hade moche goode ne grete richesse,
Yet hath the vice of prodigalitee
Smertede me and do me hevynesse.
So have I plukked at my purses strenges
And made hem oft for to gape and gane,
That his smalle stuffe hathe take hym to his wenges,
And hathe sworne to be my welthes bane,
But yf releef my sorwe away plane.
Ibid., 157; MINOR POEMS, XV.; SKEAT, 21.

[9] Let nat Syre Sorfait sitten at thy borde.—P. PLO., IX., 277. [10] HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, XII., 30; LYDGATE, 105; CHRON. LOND., 262; MORLEY, VI., 123; SKEAT, 25. [11] Ware of Reresoupers and of grete excesse.—LYDGATE, 68. [12] HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 31, 50; DE REG., VI. [13] HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 1. For Chester's Inn or Strande Inn, demolished in 1549 to make way for Somerset House, see HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, XVIII. [14] At Poules Head me maden oft appear.—HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 37; DE REG., VI.; MINOR POEMS, XII., 29. [15] In my coffre pardee is colde roost.—HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 51; DE REG., IX. Cf. "thy côfres warmenesse."—*Ibid.*, 110.

of riot and misrule with nothing to live on but his rakel[1] wit. With broken health and spirit simple and sore-aghast he begged the Treasurer[2] for a token or two to get his £10 from the Exchequer if only for this year, believing that he was knit[3] unto sickness and ripe[4] for his pit. For five years[5] he waited on, complaining that the King had proved a breaker[6] of his covenant. But by the help of the Prince of Wales he managed to pull through those dreary days, and the rolls[7] record his

[1] His rakil wit only to him suffyseth.—HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 33; MINOR POEMS, 27. Cf. CHAUCER, MANCIPLE'S TALE, 17227—32,—38.

[2] Now let my Lord the Fourneval I preye,
My noble Lord that now is Tresorer,
HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 55; DE REG., IX.; MINOR POEMS, XII., 38.

[3] Unto seeknesse am knyt thy mortal fo.—HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 29; MINOR POEMS, 26. [4] And now I am so rype unto my pit.—HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 34; MINOR POEMS, 28; DE REG., V. Me hasteth blive unto my pittes brink.—HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 35.

[5] In short wise this is of thy greef enchesoun,
Of thyne annuitee the payement,
Whiche for thy longe service is thy guerdon,
Unnethe maist thou it gete it is so streyte.
HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 64.

My yearly guerdon, my annuitee,
That was me grauntede for my longe labour
Is alle behynd, I may not paide be,
Whiche causethe me to live in languor.
Ibid., 157; SKEAT, 21.

[6] Now yf that ye graunte by your patent
To your servauntes a yerely guerdoun,
Christ shilde that your wille or your entent
Be sette to make a retraccioun
Of payement, for that condicioun
Exilethe the peple's benevolence,
And kindlethe hate under privé silence.
For your honour much better it were
No graunt to make at alle, than that your graunt
You preve a breker of covenaunt.
HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 172.

[7] In PAT. 10 H. IV., 2, 24, and ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 13th, 1409), Thomas Occliff has £10 per annum for life for service a longo tempore in officio priv. sig.; or 20 marks, *ibid.* 11 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 22nd, 1409); 11 H. IV., PASCH. (July 11th, 1410); 12 H. IV., PASCH. (July 8th, 1411); 13 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 26th, 1412); 14 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 26th, Dec. 10th, 1412). The larger grant dates from MICH., 1408,

steady payment for twenty years yet, and though he was still worried[1] by scarcity of coin, yet he went on cheerily cadging for "ships"[2] as a salve[3] and ointment for his sickness, to buy again his dinner-flour and wheat for the Thursday meetings of the "Court of Good Company"[4] at the Temple. Afterwards God[5] gave him a "bone to gnaw" in the shape of a severe illness followed by fits of insanity,[6] and in 1424, when his back was bent[7] and his eye dim,[8] he was beneficed[9] with a corrody[10] in the Priory of Southwick,[11] near Portsmouth, where he would

see HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, XIII, LVI, LIX. In ISSUE ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH. (June 23rd, 1410), he receives 22s. 2d. for ink, parchment, red wax, &c. For series of payments to him from 1399 to 1426, see HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, LI—LXIX. For poems addressed by him to Henry V. in 1417, see CHAUCER (BELL), VIII., 170; ACADEMY, XXXIII., 325, 361; HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 72. For his Letter to Cupid, translated from Christine de Pisan in 1402, see URRY'S CHAUCER, 534; ARBER, IV., 54; HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, 72, 91, 243.

[1] So me werryeth coynes scarsetee.
HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 74.
I am so adradde of moneyes skantnesse,
That myn herte is alle naked of lightnesse.
HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 45.

[2] *i. e.* nobles. Unto that ende sixe shippes grete
To give us han ye grauntid and behight.
HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 66; *ibid.*, MINOR POEMS, 65.

[3] *Ibid.*, POEMS, 63. [4] FOSS, IV., 179. [5] HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, 109.

[6] Witnes uppon the wyld infirmitie
Whiche me owt of myselfe cast and threw.—*Ibid.*, 96.

[7] HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 37. [8] *Ibid.*, MINOR POEMS, 51. [9] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII. [10] For corrody, or life maintenance at the expense of a religious house, see DUCANGE S. V. CONREDIUM; ARNOLD, 256. For instances at Pershore, see CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 11; Reading (CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 14 d.); Oxney (CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 15); Welbeck (*ibid.*, 29); Tintern (CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 2 d.); Grimsby (*ibid.*, 4 d.); Peterborough (*ibid.*, 29 d.); Newbo, near West Allington, Lincolnshire (NOTT. REC., I., 154); Shrewsbury and Priory of St. Germans, in Cornwall (CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 31 d., 33 d.); St. Albans (GEST. ABB., III., 113); York St. Mary's (TEST. EBOR., I., 343); Newcastle (WILLS AND INV., 80). For the case of a man who wanted to will away his corrody, see YEAR BOOK, 12 H. IV., p. 17. [11] HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, XXVI, LXVIII.

receive his pittance[1] of mitches[2] and convent ale, together with a gown and an allowance for meatsilver[3] till he died at a great age about the year 1450.

But the general absence of any increasing discontent may be taken as proving the moderation with which the new ordinance was carried out, though it is again an evidence of the greediness of the royal family that the only reference to a remedy now forthcoming is contained in an order[4] allotting a portion of the money claimed by the King on account of the ransom of some of the prisoners taken at Dartmouth, not in alleviating the distress of the poorer claimants on whom the cancelling of their grants would most crushingly fall, but in swelling the wealth of Queen Joan, whose enormous annuity was already specially secured as a first charge[5] on the proceeds of the general confiscation.

A special exemption from the operation of the new rules, so far as they concerned the honour of Richmond,[6] was also made in favour of the Earl of Westmoreland, perhaps the wealthiest nobleman in the whole country, and it is noteworthy that whereas the amount[7] drawn on account of the King's Great Wardrobe had dropped under the vigilant superintendence of the first War Treasurers from £8,000 to £3,469, there is already a decided recovery in the direction of extravagance,

[1] WILLS OF KINGS, 179. In QUEEN PHILIPPA'S STATUTES (November 13th, 1352), for the Hospital of St. Katherine, a corrody for a sister meant two loaves daily (one white and one black), a flagon of ale (or 1d. instead), and two dishes of different kinds of meat. The pittance was doubled on 15 great Feast days. Besides this they had 20s. per annum for clothing, or 40s. in the case of a man. SINCLAIR, I., 38. At Sion, the prebend was 1 lb. of bread, a pottle of ale, and a mess of meat, and "if the prebend be simple it is to be restored with the pittance, if it be good and sufficient to go round then no force what the pittance be." AUNGIER, 393. [2] MONAST. ANGL., II., 359; PROMPT. PARV., 336. [3] LIB. CUST., 794. [4] RYM., VIII., 381 (January 10th, 1405); ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 3rd, 1405); DEVON, 300. Cf. ROT. PARL., III., 625. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 601; STAT., II., 157. [6] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 21 (Feb. 19th, 1405). [7] ANTIQUARY, VI., 103.

for the recorded total under the same head for the year ending September 29th, 1405, runs up to £4,707.

It will be remembered that in making their grants in the previous November, the Parliament had stipulated that the whole of the money was to be administered by the War Treasurers, and that it would be forfeited if a sufficient force were not ready for the defence of the country, both on sea and land, by the end of January, 1405. The Parliament had been dissolved on November 14th, 1404, and within a week[1] the members of the Council were summoned to repair to Westminster and arrange for the safety of Guienne. Means were to be taken also to supply the Earl of Somerset[2] with 2,000 men-at-arms and 3,000 archers for the protection of Calais. The Earl of Westmoreland[3] was to have wages paid for his troops in Carlisle and Roxburgh. The Duke of York, as Lieutenant of South Wales,[4] drew £3,433 6s. 8d. from the customs receipts at London, Boston, and Southampton; and the King's son John, who had just received 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s. 8d.) on December 18th, 1404,[5] as Warden of the East March of Scotland, got an additional £1,000 from the clerical subsidy on January 28th, 1405.[6]

A fleet of sixty vessels was to be collected from all the ports on the Eastern coasts. It was to be manned by 700 men-at-arms[7] and 1,400 archers, with pay and provisions for three months at a cost of £8,243 17s. 4d.,[8] and to be ready to put to sea about the end of February, 1405, under the command of King's son Thomas, who was appointed Admiral of England[9] on February 20th, 1405.

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 243 (November 21st, 1404). [2] RYM., VIII., 382 (Jan. 12th, 1405); ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 244. [3] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 30 (Nov. 26th, 1404). [4] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 18th, 1405). [5] ROT. SCOT., II., 172 b. [6] *Ibid.*, II., 173 a. [7] MONSTR., XXIV., p. 20, says 4,000 to 5,000 fighting men. [8] RYM., VIII., 389. [9] PAT., 6 H. IV., I, 4 in EUL., III., LXIV.

No results had yet appeared from the alliance formed between the representatives of Owen and the King of France in Paris on July 14th, 1404. In this document, the two rulers had bound themselves to act fairly towards each other, and to do all that one good, true, and trusty friend should do to another good, true, and trusty friend, that they would keep each other informed of the doings of "Henry of Lancaster," that each would keep his subjects from helping him against the other, that neither would make any truce with him unless the other were included, that French ships and Frenchmen should be allowed to trade and settle freely in Wales, and Welshmen in return should receive the same privileges in France, and that disputes between Welshmen and Frenchmen should be amicably arranged. It would appear from the action of the French authorities as though they were prepared to throw over their humble "ally," at least in the matter of negociations with the enemy. They had shown their sincerity, however, by their armaments at Sluys and Harfleur, which had kept all England in alarm during the winter of 1404, and the future was fraught with possibilities of danger for the opening year. It was to meet this danger that the English Council directed their best energies in the spring of 1405. But their preparations would have been as unavailing as those of previous years, and the stock of money in hand would have been frittered away in unprofitable waiting, had not the King's old enemies made another effort to overthrow him in the open, and so given him once again the wished-for chance of striking blow after blow just at the vital moment when he was best prepared to face them.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE EARL MARSHAL.

THE first warning was given by the outbreak of a mimic feud which might well remind the King of the revolution already wrought by time. Six years before, he had met Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in the lists at Coventry as an antagonist on equal terms. Both had been banished from the country, but the very month which saw Henry chosen by the Parliament as King of England brought an inglorious death to his late rival on the far shores of the Adriatic. The Duke of Norfolk died in debt at Venice[1] on September 22nd, 1399. His immense

[1] MARSH (168) from a different interpretation of the same passage in DUGDALE (I., 129) places his death on September 27th, 1400, but this is certainly wrong, for on December 4th, 1399, he is already spoken of as dead.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 100. See also CAL. ROT. HIB., 155 (January 18th, May 3rd, 1400). For order of Venetian Senate, dated February 18th, 1399, lending him a galley for visiting the Holy Land, at the request of King Richard, see VENETIAN STATE PAPERS, I., 38; ORIENT LATIN, II., 243. In FROIS., XVI., 409, it is said that his banner is still preserved at Venice, but the reference is evidently to the stone, originally in St. Mark's church, then transferred to the Doge's Palace, and now at Corby. See ARCHÆOL., XXIX., 40, 387; XXXI., 365; VEN. STATE PP., I., LXXXIII.; MEMORIALS OF HOWARD FAMILY, and BOUTELL, HERALDRY, p. 233 (2nd edition), or p. 258 (3rd edition); GOUGH, III., 68; PLANCHÉ, 56, 247. But the achievement obviously does not fit Mowbray. The antelope or white hart (not *cœur blanc!* as LETTENHOVE), lodged in a collar [cf. servo, (*i.e.* cervo) in medio cujuslibet colerii jacente, see ARCHÆOL., L., 502; cum damis jacentibus in uno nodo, *ibid.*, 508; "cignes et hindes," RYM., VIII., 295. LOVENEY'S account for 1391-2 has payments for embroidering one of Henry's slops *cervis intra garters*, and for a gold hind with white enamel in a garter, with a collar round its neck, given to the Countess of Derby.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 2, App. A. For Richard the Second's white hart in Westminster Hall and in the triforium of Westminster Abbey, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXIX., 40; XLV., 309. The white hart was the badge of the Hollands, see SANDFORD, 124. For the antelope of Henry IV., see WILLEMENT, 32], the De Bohun swan, the SS collar [not collar of the garter, as RAWDON BROWN, in ATLANTIC MONTHLY, LXIII., 741], the ostrich feathers [BOUTELL, 72. For plumes d'ostrich see WILLS OF KINGS, 149; pennæ de ostrich, ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 503, 506, 508;

estates in almost every county of England and Wales (the mere enumeration[1] of which fills 11 columns of closely printed folio), fell into the King's hands. From time to time he received unpleasant reminders from the Duke's creditors in Venice, who had advanced money to him on the strength of an express stipulation in his will that their claims[2] should receive the very earliest consideration. The Duke had been married to Elizabeth, sister to the Earl of Arundel. He left two sons, Thomas and John,[3] and two daughters, Margaret and Isabel.[4] The elder son, Thomas, was 14 years of age[5] at his father's death. He was at that time a page[6] in the household of Richard the Second's queen Isabel. Here he might perhaps learn the

"estryge ffethers," HONE, 84. For the foxes brush, see HAWKINS, ANGLO GALLIC COINS, 27. For Henry's banner with fox-brushes alternating with stocks, see BOUTELL, 222], and the banner of England all tend to identify it with Henry of Bolingbroke's visit to Venice in 1392-3. The fleur de lys semée indicate a date prior to 1406. That a label on the crest was not essential may be seen from Henry's seal before his accession (in ARCHÆOL., XXXI., 365); but it is probable that if the upper part of the banner had been preserved, it would have shown the label as in BOLTON, ELEMENTS OF ARMORIES, 69; SANDFORD, 190, 244. The stone has recently been figured in CROSTON'S edition of BAINES' LANCASHIRE, I., 69, as "from the king's tomb at Canterbury!" also in ATLANTIC MONTHLY (June, 1889), Vol. 63, p. 742, with facsimile copy of plate in FRESCHOT, LI PREGI DELLA NOBILTA VENETA ABBOZZATI IN UN GIUSCO D'ARME, 1682. BRUNET SUPP., I., 519.

[1] INQ. P. MORT., I H. IV., 71, a.b. [2] ORIG. LET., III., I, 50. VEN. STATE PP., I., 47. [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., I., 28, 31 (Nov. 14th, 1407), has payment to Joan, Countess of Hereford (£200 per annum) for his support, being still under age. Also ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV. (Dec. 4th, 1408, Feb. 13th and July 16th, 1409); *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 2nd, 1409); PRIV. SEAL, 647/6470 (February 25th, 1410), since Easter, 1407. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 2 (March 8th, 1410), he passed from her custody to that of the King who allowed him £174 per annum. ISSUE ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH. (November 20th, 1410); *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH. (November 19th, 1412). On July 20th, 1411 (PAT., 12 H. IV., 2; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6965) he was transferred for three years to the custody of the Earl of Westmoreland, who straightway contracted him in marriage with his daughter Catharine (MARSH, 171; SWALLOW, 137). For the marriage license dated January 13th, 1412, see TEST. EBOR., III., 321. He proved his age before William Orwell, Mayor of Calais, in the spring of 1413. CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 3 (March 4th, 1413). [4] MARSH, 169. [5] DUGDALE, I., 130. DOYLE, II., 687, says that he was born about 1387. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 100 (December 4th, 1399).

accustomed lessons[1] of "honour and gentleness," but we may be sure that he would not be trained in sentiments of loyalty or respect towards the family of the usurper.

Very soon after their father's death, a petition was presented to the Council on behalf of the two lads, and a modest provision was allowed them out of the proceeds of their family estates[2] in South Wales, viz,:—350 marks (£233 6s. 8d.) per annum to the elder, and £100 per annum to the younger, to be continued till the heir should come of age. In 1397, their father, then Earl of Nottingham, had been granted the office of Marshal of England for himself and his heirs, but his banishment had voided the grant, and the Earl of Westmoreland had now the office for life. Young Thomas Mowbray was not allowed to take his father's title as Duke of Norfolk,[3] or his office as Marshal of England, but he was to be called the Earl Marshal,[4] a title which had been claimed as one of the hereditary privileges[5] of his family since the days of the marriage of William Marshal[6] with the daughter of Strongbow, in the reign of Richard I. He remained for a short time in the household of Queen Isabel, and in the latter part of the year 1400 he

[1] For pages and their duties see FURNIVALL, MANNERS AND MEALS IN THE OLDEN TIME, pp. VI.-XVII., DARMSTETTER in CONTEMP. REV., Jan., 1893, p. 93. The usual payments to a bachelor were £20 per annum in peace, and 50 marks in war for himself and an esquire (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 9). [2] The list of his possessions at his death in 1405 (taken in 1405 and 1407) in INQUISITIONES POST MORTEM, III., 303, 313, seems sadly shrunken when compared with his father's (*ibid.*, 267), nevertheless the number of manors is still enormous. [3] CHRON., GILES, 43. [4] He was also Earl of Nottingham, Lord of Mowbray (Yorks.), Seagrave (near Loughborough), and Gower (PAT., 7 H. IV., 1., 19, 28, 41; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 12). [5] For the office of Marshal of Ireland, hereditary in the family of Morley, see DUGDALE, BARONAGE, II., 26; PAT., 12 H. IV., 35 (July 3rd, 1411). [6] MARSH, ANNALS OF CHEPSTOW CASTLE, 66.

married Constance Holland,[1] a daughter of King Henry's sister Elizabeth[2] and the luckless Earl of Huntingdon,[3] who had paid for his loyalty to King Richard on the block at Pleshy.

The Earl Marshal was now old enough to receive his summons and to take his place in Parliament and Council, and a curious question of precedence arose between him and the young Earl of Warwick, who had lately distinguished himself in repulsing landing parties of the French on the Southern coasts. It was one of those singular quarrels of etiquette which seem so trifling on the surface, but which often indicate so much secret working below. The Earl Marshal, as "the Mowbray's heir, a famous house and old,"[4] based his claim on his royal connection, being descended directly on his father's side from Edward the First and Henry, Earl of Lancaster. The Earl of Warwick set aside blue blood, and claimed that his ancestors had taken actual precedence of the Mowbrays as Earls[5] "of time that no mind is the contrary." Nevertheless, "to draw in time of mind," he claimed that in the list of the five Lords who appealed[6] King Richard's favourites in 1387, his father's name came before that of Mowbray's father, and he found the same kind of evidence in seals and signatures to

[1] Documents relating to negociations for this marriage were deposited in the Treasury July 12th, 1400, and kept locked in a chest with three locks (KAL. AND INV., II., 62). On December 2nd, 1400, property was settled on her during her minority (PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 11). In YEAR BOOK, 7 H. IV., TRIN., 46 a.; 8 H. IV., MICH., 14 b., she is called "un Constance le Contesse Marshal." [2] ANN., 411. [3] YEAR BOOK, 1 H. IV., MICH., I., records that he was tried before the Earl of D. [*sic*] who was acting as Steward of England during a vacancy, that he pleaded guilty and was condemned to death. For his autograph see NICHOLS, 10, C. 2. For his monument at Pleshy, see WEEVER, 637, who had seen a fragment of it. On January 26th, 1400, the Countess of Hereford sent two trussing coffers and other parcels of his valuables to the Council (KAL. AND INV., II., 85). For his Church patronage in Devonshire, see STAFF. REG., 136, 190. His son John, who is still a minor in PAT., 7 H. IV., 14 d. (Feb. 5th, 1406) receives 100 marks per annum in PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 20 (Dec. 3rd, 1407). [4] MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, 287. [5] ROT. PARL., IV., 267. [6] *Ibid.*, III., 229.

public and private documents witnessed by both their fathers together.

A similar dispute for precedence was waxing also between the Earls of Kent and Arundel and the Lords Beaumont and Grey. The matter was referred to a Great Council, which met in the Palace at Westminster[1] on the 1st of March, 1405, when the King gave his decision in favour of the Earls of Warwick and Kent and Lord Grey. The decision would appear to have been impartial, but it carried with it, by implication, an indignity to which the Earl Marshal would not submit. For some months past he had been sounded as to his willingness to participate in a new venture, but hitherto he had cautiously refrained from committing himself. Now, however, his mind was made up, and after attending a council in London as late as April 19th, 1405,[2] he disappeared and threw in his lot with open rebellion against the King.

The time seemed favourable for plots, and the plotters had been long secretly at work. In the fall of the previous year, the King had been greatly incensed to hear that the French were preparing an attack upon Guienne. Upon this, with his usual impulsive haste, he made up his mind to proceed thither himself in person. On the 27th of October, 1404,[3] orders were sent to impound vessels at Southampton, and a navy[4] was to be ready at Plymouth, under Thomas, Lord Berkeley, Admiral for the South and West. On the 24th of December, 1404, Lord Berkeley was ordered to proceed to Bordeaux "for some service

[1] Cf. ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 104, with ROT. PARL., IV., 267. EUL., III., 405, represents that the Earl Marshal claimed the office of Marshal of England, which was held by the Earl of Westmoreland. [2] HARDYNG, 362. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 24 d. [4] For "navie" see ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 208; GOWER, CONF. AM., 65.

there to be attempted." He was "a deep, wise man,"[1] bent on securing "an honourable and opulent revenue." He was always in need of money to pay for his horses, hounds, hawks, cocks, pheasants, books,[2] authors, turners,[3] and other such expensive luxuries. He had to keep up his state barges, deer parks,[4] "inclosures, improvements, and conversions." Moreover, on June 6th, 1404,[5] he had lent £1,000 to the King "towards his expenses by sea," and he held an indenture[6] dated May 1st, 1404, whereby the King was to have a fourth part of "all gain got at sea from the enemies." All things considered, it may have been thought better that the King should not be personally sharer in such an expedition, and the fleet accordingly started without him. By this timely change the plans of all the disaffected were awkwardly deranged, but they could not back out, and they were consequently hurried forward with all their preparations incomplete, and fell victims one by one in a series of blundering fiascos.

[1] SMYTH, II., 35, 36. He died in 1416, aged 64 (*ibid.*, 19, 34); for his will dated February 2nd, 1415, see GENEAL., V., 212. He was buried at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire. See figures in J. H. COOKE, SKETCH OF BERKELEY, p. 31; CH. QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1877, p. 127. He styles himself Thos. Berkeley, Lord of Berkeley (SMYTH, II., 36). Trevisa calls him Sir Thomas, Lord of Berkeley (*ibid.*, I., 243; II., 22). [2] STRUTT, ANTIQ., 77. [3] *i.e.*, translators. ANGLIA, VIII., 195; HIGDEN, II., 237, 245. For the "multitude of bokes and tretees drawne in Englische that nowe bene generale cominede," see ANGLIA, X., 326. [4] SMYTH, II., 6, 12, 16. [5] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 23, October 28th, 1404. Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{2}\frac{6}{0}$, m. 18; CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 11, 20, shows that the Archbishop of Canterbury (June 9th, 1404) and Sir Thos. Erpingham (April 27th, 1404) had each lent 1000 marks for the same purpose. [6] SMYTH, II., 10. By this he undertook to pay four bannerets at 4s. each per day, seven knights at 2s. 3d., 285 esquires at 1s., 600 archers at 6d., for service on the sea. In FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., he claims payment for this force, sailing from Southampton July 6th, 1404, and returning to the same port August 23rd, 1404,—£1723 15s. Cf. NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 193.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Mortimers.

It will be remembered that when Sir Edmund Mortimer finally cast in his lot with the Welsh rebels by marrying Owen's daughter, he claimed to be acting not in his own interests, but in the name of his young nephew Edmund,[1] the son and successor of his brother Roger, Earl of March, who was killed[2] in Ireland in 1398. This Roger Mortimer had married Eleanor Holland, a sister of the Earl of Kent, who was beheaded by the mob at Cirencester[3] in the miserable rising which ended in the death of King Richard early in 1400. We have still extant a family biography written by a retainer of the house of Holland, who, having been in the service of Eleanor's father, Thomas, Earl of Kent,[4] records the deeds of her husband's family since the days of Hugh Mortimer, the founder of the Augustinian Abbey at Wigmore, in the days of Henry II. From this account we gather that Roger, Earl of March, left four young children, the eldest a daughter named Ann, who was nine years of age at her father's death, two sons, Edmund and Roger,[5] aged six and five years respectively, and a little girl, Eleanor, still younger. When Henry became King he was shrewd enough to see the necessity of securing the persons of the two boys whose claim to the throne might some day be advanced as direct descendants of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the next heir on the failure of the family of the Black Prince. The two little girls were left

[1] Vol. I., 344. [2] Vol. I., 3. [3] Vol. I., 100. [4] He calls him "Domini mei." Monast. Angl., vi., 355. [5] Edmund, born November 6th, 1392 or 1391 (Doyle, ii., 470, Complete Peerage, 269), Roger, born December 24th, 1393. Fonblanque, i., 178, calls Edmund the *only* son.

in the care of their mother Eleanor, who soon[1] married Edward Charleton,[2] Lord of Powys, and received an allowance[3] from the King out of the Mortimer estates,[4] which her husband[5] farmed till her death in the autumn[6] of 1405, after which the girls,[7] "having no support and being destitute of parents and friends," were handed over into the King's charge and allowed a grant of £100 per annum. But from the first the boys were taken to be brought up in King Henry's household[8] with his own children.

Very early in the new reign it is evident that Sir Edmund Mortimer was attempting to regain possession of his young nephews. Having previously as their guardian consented to their retention in the King's power, he soon made efforts to repudiate his liability for their maintenance out of their father's estates, which were being administered under the custody of the Earl of Northumberland and others. In the summer of 1401,[9] the matter came before the Court of Common Pleas,

[1] *i.e.*, before April 8th, 1400, on which day an order was drawn up in Dublin confiscating Charleton's Irish estates as an absentee. These estates he held by virtue of his marriage with Eleanor, late wife of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.—CALENDARIUM ROTULORUM HIBERNIÆ, 158. [2] BANKS, DORMANT BARONAGE, II., 85, says that he married Maud, daughter of Roger, Earl of March, but from PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 29, 35, *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 16, and CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 27, it is certain that her name was Eleanor (as in DUGDALE, II., 72, HASTED, I., 194), and that she died before November 2nd, 1405. See also CAL. ROT. HIB., 186 (June 3rd, 1407). In PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 5, 6; REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 802, he is called Edward Cherleton de Powys, chivaler. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1408. BELTZ, CLVII, 154; NICOLAS, I., 49. [3] DUGDALE, I., 150; MONTGOMERY COLL., I., 287. [4] A list of their manors, &c., fills 13 folio pages in INQ. P. MORT., IV., 85-98. Cf. *ibid.*, III., 231-242, 256. [5] REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (November 24th, 1406); *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., MICH. (November 28th, 1407). Her first husband is called Edmund *(sic)*, late Earl of March, in REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH. (July 16th, 1409). [6] DUGDALE, I., 150; from INQ. P. MORT., 7 H. IV., 23; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 35; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 1. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 34 (May 13th, 1406); CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 2; PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 14 (January 8th, 1408); Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, App. B. [8] ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCOUNTS (L. T. R., Roll 11) App. C, 1400, contain entries for hempen canvas for their bodies and rooms. [9] YEAR BOOK, 2 H. IV., Trin., 23 b.

with Sir William Thirning[1] presiding "in the White Chamber next the Exchequer." The Court gave its decision unanimously by the mouth of John Markham, one of its members, and rejected the appeal, on the ground that no one could claim to be the guardian of a minor who was a ward of the King. All the lands were accordingly adjudged to be in the King's hands till the lad should be of full age.

In 1402,[2] when the King made one of his entries into Wales, the two boys were left with the royal children, John and Philippa, at Berkhampstead, under the strict charge of Sir Hugh Waterton. The elder of the two, in whom the populace[3] were already prepared to see a future aspirant to the crown of England, was now twelve years old,[4] and was reputed to be a serious boy[5] of studious habits, staid in his bearing, deliberate in his behaviour, reserved in speech, and cautious in his ways, "redeeming the time because the days were evil." For the winter of 1404, both boys were lodged in Windsor Castle under the care of Sir Hugh Waterton.[6] Here they had the companion-

[1] For his will dated May 28th, 1413 (not 1399, as ACADEMY, 23, 8, 90, page 150), see GIBBONS, 140. For account of him see CAMPBELL, CHIEF JUST., I., 114. His name is spelt "Thyrnyng" in OLIVER, 276, ADDIT. CHART., 7567. The place-name is now Thurning, in Hunts. [2] RYM., VIII., 268, July 5th, 1402. [3] MONAST., VI., 355. [4] He was born in the New Forest, November 6th, 1392. MONAST., VI., 355. [5] Not "weak, self-indulgent, and unambitious," as FONBLANQUE, I., 204, who wrongly supposes (p. 203) that he joined his uncle Edmund, and that they were "*both* taken prisoners" by Owen. [6] For his appointment as Constable of Windsor Castle for life, dated February 5th, 1405, see PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 19; see also *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 25, and 2, 39. He succeeded Sir Peter Courtenay, who died February 2nd, 1405 (not 1409, as DUGDALE, I., 640), INQ. P. MORT., III., 302; NICOLAS, I., 49; BELTZ, 331; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., 10. For Courtenay's brass in Exeter Cathedral, see ANTIQUARY, XIV., 197, figured in EXETER DIOCESAN ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATION TRANSACTIONS, III., 33, 92, 108, Plate 14. On this he is called "regis cognatus," his mother being Margaret, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, DUGDALE, I., 639. In 1388 he is called "cousin" to Richard II., BELTZ, 329, his nephew Hugh having married Maud Holland, a half-sister of the king; BELTZ, 54; DUGDALE, I., 639, II., 74; CLEAVELAND, 198; ST. DENYS, III., 118; DEVON, LIX. She died in April, 1392; BELTZ, 253. He fought at the jousts of St. Inglevert, on March 21st, 1390 (FROIS.,

ship of Constance,[1] sister to the Duke of York and widow of the late Lord le Despenser. After her husband's death at the hands of the mob at Bristol, she had his headless body removed for burial with his fathers[2] beneath the lamp in the middle of the choir of the Abbey church at Tewkesbury. She had then returned with her children,[3] Richard and Elizabeth, to Cardiff, where another girl (Isabel) was born (July 26th, 1400) six months after the father's death. In March, 1404, she petitioned[4] that she might recover her dower from the lands forfeited by her husband, and her petition was granted. She was allowed to have the charge of her boy, who was now eight years of age[5] and attached as a page to the household[6] of Queen Joan, though the custody of his lands and castles was granted to his uncle, the Duke of York,[7] as a set-off against his claim for £8,000 due as arrears of payment when acting as the King's Lieutenant in Aquitaine.[8] But the two little girls were taken from her "for certain reasons," and were safely and securely kept by John Grove,[9] one of the King's valets. The elder of them, Elizabeth, died soon afterwards, and was buried in St.

XIV., 106; PICHON, 70), and in the same summer he joined the Duke of Bourbon's expedition against Tunis.—CABARET, 222, 238, 248, where he is called Jeannicot d'Ortenge. He is wrongly called Comes de Devonie by the Abbot of Cluni, in DUCKETT, I., 183. In TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, his appointment as Lieutenant of Calais is dated November 2nd, 1399.

[1] She is called Constance le Despenser, "my daughter," in the will of Isabel, Duchess of York, proved January 6th, 1392.—TEST. VET., I., 135. In Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{6}$, is an account dated January 27th, 1405, showing two sesters three pitchers of Malvoisie, delivered to her and the Duke of York and Sir Thomas Beaufort at Windsor. See Appendix B. [2] MONAST., II., 62; LEL., ITIN., VI., 66; SHARPE, II., 384. [3] LEL., ITIN., VI., 65. [4] Vol. I., 101. [5] WALS., II., 268. On December 7th, 1411, he is still intra ætatem et in custodia regis.—CLARK, CARTÆ, II., 75. In January, 1412, he married Eleanor (not Elizabeth, as DUGDALE, I., 397, MONAST., II., 62), twelfth daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland, TEST. EBOR., III., 321; but he died childless at Merton, October 7th, 1414. CLARK, I., 336. [6] EUL., III., 402. [7] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 20 (May 17th, 1403). [8] Where his salary was to be 25,000 marks per annum. ISSUE ROLL, February, 1403; DEVON, 297. [9] DEVON, 300.

Mary's church[1] at Cardiff. Her sister, Isabel, when eleven years old became the wife of Richard Beauchamp,[2] Lord of Abergavenny, and after his death in 1422, she married his cousin and namesake, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.[3] But the "certain reasons" which caused the removal of the girls are now clearly known. Their mother, Constance, was at the time living in concubinage with Edmund Holland, the young Earl of Kent, whose brother had been "headed by the commons"[4] at Cirencester. He was scarcely[5] out of his minority and was still a ward in the King's hands, not being of sufficient age to succeed to his brother's estates till January, 1405.[6] He then received special permission[7] to marry whom he would without paying a fine. Whether he would have really married the Lady le Despenser had events turned out other than they did, we do not know. It is certain that "never any espousals were had,"[8] and that a daughter, Eleanor, who was born of the unlawful union, failed subsequently in her attempts to be certified "mulire,"[9] *i. e.* "born within espousals," and

[1] The church was destroyed by a flood in 1607. [2] DUGDALE, I., 240, 397. They were married July 21st, 1411. For his shield in the roof of St. John's church, Cardiff, see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th series, VI., 355. [3] In ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLV., 252; WILLS OF KINGS, 190; CLARK, CARTÆ, II., 112, she is confused with her mother Constance, and made to die in 1394. [4] ROWS (Hearne), 234; ROWS ROLL, 49; fuit tue fesant le dit treason sans judgement, YEAR BOOK, 7 H. IV., MICH., 32; proditorie insurgendo mortem sibi causavit, USK, 44; POL. SONGS, I., 451. On January 10th, 1400, Archbishop Arundel wrote that the Earls of Kent and Salisbury and Sir Ralph Lumley had been beheaded by "St. Rustics, who does all her work outside" (Sancta Rusticitas quæ omnia palam facit), HIST. MSS., 9TH REPT., III (1883). Cf. In Sanctæ Rusticitatis stabulum universalis ecclesiæ commendandum (of the Good Samaritan), DOLEIN, 246. Also simplicitas et rusticitas religionis catholicæ, *ibid.*, 247. See also MART. COLL., VII., 698. [5] He received his first summons to Parliament in Dec., 1405. COTTON, 449; REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 793. [6] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 15; DOYLE, II., 278. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 17 (Jan. 5th, 1405). [8] ROT. PARL., IV., 375; STAT., 9 H. VI., c. 11. In a family chronicle these blemishes are glossed over, and she is represented as married to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, which is altogether a confusion. MONAST., II., 62. [9] For such a terme our lawe useth for them which be laweful children.—SMITH, DE REP. ANGL., 104.

when, in 1407,[1] the Earl publicly married the Lady Lucy,[2] youngest daughter[3] of Bernabo Visconti, the patron of letters[4] and the scourge of Lombardy,[5] the discarded mistress was content to be present at the ceremony in the new Priory church[6] of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, and raised no claim for honourable recognition either for herself or her little girl.

The Lady le Despenser was, with her boy Richard, at Windsor in the winter of 1404, the King was spending his Christmas at Eltham,[7] and the events of 1399 seemed ready to be re-enacted. About Christmas time,[8] the walls of the palace at Eltham were to be scaled and King Henry despatched, or, if this should prove impracticable, a band of desperadoes would wait for him some day and kill him on his way to London.

[1] July 17th (CHRON. LOND., 90) or July 14th (GREG. CHRON., 104), not January 24th, as FABIAN, 383, HOLINSHEAD, II., 532; nor 1406, as NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 459. [2] CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., 34; CAXTON, 219. She had been betrothed to him at Milan, March 25th, 1406.—RYM., X., 139. [3] ROT. PARL., IV., 29, 375; RYM., IX., 121; X., 136; EUL., III., 410; LEL. COL., I., 485 (f. 698); L'ART DE VER., III., 648; ANDERSON, 662. In CHRON. GODSTOWE, 239, CROYL., 499, she is called sister (*i.e.* sister-in-law) to the Duke of Milan, her sister Catherine having married Gian Galeazzo, the first Duke.—D'ACHERY, VII., 244; RYM., VII., 213. In MART. ANEC., II., 1471, Bernabo is consequently called the father of Gian. In WALS., II., 274, DUGDALE, II., 77, she is called the daughter of the Duke of Milan. In DOYLE, II., 278, she is wrongly called the sister of Bernabo. He had 29 children [ENG. HIST. REV., (1888) p. 35], but her name does not occur among the list of his daughters in RATISBON, 2133, 5, probably because she was too young to be married at the time of his death (December 18th, 1385). SOUTHEY (II., 45) is only guessing when he calls her a "young widow" in 1408. HOLINSHEAD, II., 532, calls her the eldest daughter of Bernabo. It is said that she had previously hoped to marry King Henry himself. For letter (dated November 24th, 1400) of her sister Elizabeth, at Wasserburg in Bavaria, recommending her niece Magdalene for marriage either with the King or one of his sons, see ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XII., 377. In a letter written in 1407 (BEKYNTON, II., 372), King Henry calls her: "ingenua nobilis et præclara domina Lucia de Vicecomitibus consanguinea nostra." Her cousin Yolande having been the wife of Henry's uncle, the Duke of Clarence. [4] Il ama fort les hommes estudians toute sa vie et leur fist pluiseurs biens, mais combien que il leur fist escripre pluiseurs beaulx livres il avoit son estude plus en or qu' en science.—BONET, in PAULIN PARIS, VI., 248. [5] Vol. I., 275. [6] GREY FRIARS CHRON., 11; MONAST., VI., 171. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 18, December 24th, 1404. [8] ANN., 398.

The centre of the conspiracy was the archplotter, the Duke of York, at that time the King's Lieutenant in South Wales, where he would doubtless do his best to prepare the ground. If the first part of the programme should prove a success, his sister at Windsor would assist him by setting at liberty the young Earl of March and producing him for the emergency, while all Wales and the North would be ready to strike redoubled blows at the paralysed government in London. But as usual, threatened men die hard, and the King spent his Christmas in leisure and merriment at Eltham.

A marriage had been arranged between Antonine Dagvar,[1] one of the ten foreign chamber-damsels who had been allowed[2] to remain in the Queen's retinue, and an esquire named Perot Grewer.[3] Suitable grants were of course arranged for their future household expenses, and the marriage festivities went forward all unconscious of the presence of any prowlers on the outskirts of the palace walls. At Windsor, however, the plot went on apace. With the connivance of Lady le Despenser, a locksmith had made duplicate keys,[4] and about the middle of February, 1405,[5] the two Mortimer boys were smuggled out[6] by one Richard Milton,[7] at midnight. The Lady le Despenser fled with them, taking her own son and a large sum of money with her. Arrangements had been carefully made, her tenants[8] on the Welsh border were already in rebellion, the boys themselves must have been previously warned,[9] and they were

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 2, January 13th, 1405. [2] Vol. I., 411. [3] Called Gruer, in ROT. PARL., III., 572. For a Breton named Peter de Gruerys, see Vol. I., 381. [4] "Certeyn men let make keyis of many dores."—CAPGR., 288. [5] Both ANN., 398, and OTTERBOURNE, 250, place the escape on Friday after St. Valentine's Day. This would be February 20th, which is probably just a week too late. In PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 8, 11, dated February 11th, 1405, the Earl of March is spoken of as "still in our custody." [6] CHRON. LOND., 89. [7] For his pardon dated February 8th, 1406, see PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 13. [8] For Ewyas Lacy, see CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 39. [9] Per omnia bene dispositus. MONAST. ANGL., VI., 355,

hurried off with all despatch towards the West. They passed through Abingdon[1] intending to make for Cardiff, and the lady had already sent an esquire named Morgan to France and Flanders with news of the progress of the plot.

On hearing of the escape, the King posted from Kennington[2] to Windsor, and on the Sunday morning issued an order for the arrest of the fugitives. But scouts were already on the track and came up with them in a wood near Cheltenham.[3] Some of the escort were killed and others escaped, but the two Mortimers and their attendant John Ogan[4] were captured and promptly brought back to London. They were never destined to make their mark in the world. On February 3rd, 1406,[5] they were handed over to the charge of Sir John Pelham, at Pevensey, and an allowance of 500 marks per annum was made for their maintenance. Three years afterwards (February 1st, 1409),[6] they were taken over by the Prince of Wales, who received with them the custody of their manors[7] of Cranborne, Pimperne, and Mershwoodvale,[8] together with those that had been held by their mother Eleanor[9] at the time of her death. Both of them were delicate lads, and the younger of them appears to have died soon after this change. The elder lived to take some part in public life. In 1413 he came of age[10] and took charge of his own possessions. In 1415 he was with the army before Harfleur, but had to return to England invalided,[11]

[1] VESP. F, III., 4. [2] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 40, shows that he was there on February 14th, 1405. [3] CAPGRAVE, 289. [4] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 10 (January 29th, 1407) records his pardon. [5] *i.e.* Wednesday after the Feast of the Purification. PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 19. See also COLLINS, V., 496, from PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 15. DEVON, 309, 310 (December 4th, 1408), refers to them as still in the charge of Sir John Pelham. [6] PRIV. SEAL, 649/6606, 646/6357. RYM., VIII., 608, 639, shows that both were living on June 9th, 1410, proving that there is a mistake in ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 106. See also YEAR BOOK, 10 H. IV., MICH. (1408), p. 2 a. [7] RYM., VIII., 591, July 3rd, 1409. [8] In Devonshire; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 319, 411. [9] PRIV. SEAL, 647/6439, February 11th, 1410. [10] SOLLY-FLOOD, 113, quoting CLAUS., 1 H. V., 28 (June 9th, 1413). [11] WALS., HYPODIGMA, 462.

being unable to endure the fatigues of the campaign. He served for a time in 1417 as Admiral of the Fleet,[1] and in 1418 as Governor of Normandy. In 1423 he was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland,[2] where he died of the plague in January, 1425,[3] leaving behind him a high reputation for mildness and piety. His free-handed liberality towards the Church earned for him from his monkish biographer[4] the questionable title of Edmund the Good.

On February 17th, 1405, a council met at Westminster. The Lady le Despenser was brought in and disclosed the whole plot. The poor lockyer[5] was caught. His hand was first cut off and afterwards his head. The Duke of York was denounced by his sister as the chief instigator of the plot. At first he tried his old familiar methods and denied all knowledge of the affair. She called vehemently for a champion[6] to do battle for her, offering that if he should be worsted in the lists on her behalf, she would give herself up to be burnt alive. An esquire, William Maidstone, took up her cause, and flung down his hood to the Duke in presence of the King. The Duke accepted the challenge, but he was a fat man,[7] and probably would have got the worst of the encounter. Moreover, the modern method of police was beginning to supersede the old hazard of the wager-by-battle, so the Duke was prosily arrested by his cousin, Prince Thomas, and taken to the Tower till his case should be finally decided. On the 21st February, 1405,[8]

[1] DOYLE, II., 470. [2] He claimed to be Earl of Ulster by virtue of his descent from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who married Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter of the Earl of Ulster, temp. Ed. III; GILBERT, 215. [3] GILBERT, 320, 571, who notes the frightful confusion about him in FULLER, II., 326, recently repeated, however, in COMPLETE PEERAGE, 269. [4] MONAST. ANGL., VI., 355. [5] RICART, 78. [6] For champions see WEBB, II., p. XXXV., YEAR BOOKS, 32, 33, Ed. I., XVII.; JUSSERAND, 117; NEILSON, 46. [7] LEL., ITIN., I., 4. He was ultimately "smouldered to death" at Agincourt by "much hete and thronggid." HARD., 375; MORLEY, VI., 157. [8] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 21.

orders were sent to the keepers of the ports of London, Southampton, Lynn, Sandwich, Dover, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Melcombe and Exeter, to let no one leave the country except well-known traders until further orders, and all the familiar signs of panic were once more astir.

The Essex marshes were again excited. The commissioners had closed their enquiry a few months before, and the leading conspirators had been condemned. Queen Joan, however, had interfered on behalf of the Abbots of Colchester and Byleigh. Her good offices were not wholly disinterested, for she received a grant of all the former's forfeited goods. Both Abbots[1] soon received their pardon (November 1st and 13th, 1404). The Abbot of St. Osythe, Thomas Barking,[2] sued and was pardoned November 6th, 1404, and many of the other conspirators who had managed to keep out of the way and save their necks while the enquiry was actually going forward, gradually followed his example.[3] Yet in face of the fact that the castle and town of Colchester[4] were now directly in the King's hands, and in spite of the infliction of fines and forfeitures, the monks were again astir. The Abbot of Colchester,[5] whose name still appears as

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 22, 25, 27. [2] HONE, 80, shows that he was a member of the Brotherhood of SS. Fabian and Sebastian in Aldergate, London, in 1408-9. His name does not occur in NEWCOURT, II., 456, or MONAST. ANGL., VI., 308. [3] *e.g.*, John Writheok (called Wrythook, Vol. I., 425, 428) of Great Bentley, November 13th, 1404 (PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 22); John Kynaston, October 12th (*ibid.*, 25); John Beche, November 8th, and his son Richard, November 9th (*ibid.*, 28); John Staunton, December 6th (*ibid.*, 22); Philip Fitz-Eustace, January 23rd, 1405 (*ibid.*, 14); John Fowler, canon of St. Osythe, February 7th, 1405 (*ibid.*, 11); John Herst, February 11th (*ibid.*, 12). ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 3rd, 1406, has payment to one of the King's sergeants-at-arms for arresting and bringing to London two Friars of the Order of Preachers from Hampshire. [4] It was granted together with the hundred of Tendring to the King's son, Humphrey (not Henry, as MORANT, I., 9), on October 22nd, 1404. PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 25; CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 25; ROT. PARL., III., 670. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 2 d (March 21st, 1405); NEWCOURT, II., 172; MONAST., IV., 604. There is much confusion in MORANT, I., 145.

Geoffrey Storey, his fellow-monks, William Denton[1] and John Herst,[2] the chaplain, William Sumpter,[3] together with Boleyn,[4] Aylewy,[5] Veel,[6] Fitz Eustace, and other familiar names,[7] all got themselves into trouble again, and had to take out fresh pardons a few months later for treasons and felonies committed "since Christmas last." But the fighting[8] days of Abbot Geoffrey were drawing to an end. At the time of his arrest in Lent, 1405,[9] he was so ill that he had to be carried in a chair to the Moot Hall, at Colchester, where he was imprisoned for five weeks before being removed to Nottingham Castle. He died in the following summer, and Roger Best,[10] one of the monks whose name does not appear in any of the lists of conspirators, was chosen Abbot in his stead. A year or two later the Abbot of Byleigh[11] was considered safe enough to be appointed a collector of the clerical subsidy for Essex, in the King's name. But the

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 39 (October 5th, 1405), and *ibid.*, 2, 24 (June, 1406), record that William Denton and Simon Warde escaped from the Marshalsea. From COLCHESTER RECORDS it appears that Denton was imprisoned in the town prison at Colchester in 1406, loaded with great chains.—CUTTS, 131. [2] COLCHESTER RECORDS, 33. [3] He belonged to a Colchester family, see MORANT, I., 251, 368, II., 536. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 6 (February 17th, 1405); or Boloigne, COLCHESTER RECORDS, 9; COURT ROLLS, 33. [5] Called Aylewey in PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 3 (March 15th, 1405). COLCHESTER REC. REPERTORY, 37, has a reference to John Aylwyn of Milend. [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 42 (March 14th, 1406). In Vol. I., 420, he is wrongly called Prior of St. Botolph's. In the list of Priors in MORANT, I., 148, MONAST., VI., 105, the Prior is William Westbrome, 1394—1412. In TRAIS., 269, Fitz-Eustace is called armiger. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 5, contains a warrant for arrest of John Tyler, Monk of Coggeshall, dated March 7th, 1405. [8] The COURT ROLLS of Colchester show that in August, 1392, he was fighting the townsfolk, riding about the Balkerne Fields with 12 horsemen in habergeons, armed with bows and arrows.—COLCHESTER RECORDS, 9. YEAR BOOK, 2 H. IV., Trin., 24 a, has pleadings in his suit with the Prior of Snape. The case is remitted to the Bishop to decide whether he had a legal right to remove the Prior or no. [9] CUTTS, 130, from COLCHESTER RECORDS, 33. [10] For congé d'élire, dated August 12th, 1405, see PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 9. His election was confirmed September 7th, 1405, *ibid.*, 3, and notified to the Mayor of London, October 1st, 1405; PAT. 7 H. IV., 1, 41. HARL. CHART., 44 c, 56 (August 14th, 1406) refers to Roger, Abbot of Colchester. He built a stone tower for the defence of the Abbey, but I cannot think that it was the gate with the fan-tracery, now standing. COLCHESTER RECORDS, 11. [11] REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH, April 25th, 1408.

spirit of insubordination was bubbling yet. At the end of 1409, Abbot Best[1] was himself arrested on a charge of treason, and with him Philip Fitz-Eustace,[2] Simon Warde, and others, though he was soon pardoned (December 16th, 1409).[3]

The old Countess Maud of Oxford, lived out the rest of her days in peace. She died at her home at Great Bentley, near Colchester, on January 26th, 1413,[4] and was buried in the nunnery of the Sisters of St. Clare, at Bruisyard, in Suffolk.

The council met on March 1st, 1405,[5] and decided that a castle should be built in the town of Orwell,[6] for the better protection of the coast in view of future alarms, and tolls were to be levied on the spot for the next five years to pay for the building. The Duke of York was brought up and confessed not only that he had a knowledge of the whole plot, but that he had himself[7] supplied the King with the means of thwarting it. He was sent as a prisoner to Pevensey Castle[8] under the charge of Sir John Pelham,[9] and all his estates in England and

[1] YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., HIL., 41 a, where the name in the writ has been corrected from John to Roger. [2] See order for their arrest dated December 1st, 1409, in PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 13. [3] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 11; not 25th, as DOYLE, II., 728. [4] See her will dated January 20th, 1413, in DUGDALE, I., 196, TEST. VET., I., 182, proved at Lambeth, GENEAL., VI., 225. In CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 2, 4, Mar. 16th, 1413, she is jam defuncta. She was a daughter of Sir Ralph de Ufford (died 1346), Viceroy of Ireland in 1344. GILBERT, VICEROYS, 253; DOYLE, II., 728. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 104. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 30 (March 15th, 1405), CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 19 (March 26th, 1408), refers to portum villæ de Orewell. See also ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 122, July 4th, 1400. For changes in the coast see MORANT, II., 484, 501, The place had been washed away before Saxton published his map in 1575. Harwich is mentioned as a separate town and port as early as 1343. RYM., V., 370. In 1412 it is reckoned in Suffolk. RYM., VIII., 730. [7] EUL., III., 402. [8] RYM. VIII., 386-388. [9] In 1404 he paid 100 marks per annum for the honour of Pevensey.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 4, App. A. On Feb. 24th, 1409, he was granted the castle of Pevensey and the Honour of the Eagle for life; *ibid.*, 8, App. A; also *ibid.*, XI., 16, 134[III] See COLLINS, V., 492; HORSFIELD, I., 315. For his arms in the Chapter House at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 155. For several receipts of his with small seal attached, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVI., 43; II., 1.

the Channel Islands were confiscated to the Crown.[1] The Isle of Wight with the castle of Carisbrooke had been granted[2] to him by Richard II. It now passed to Queen Joan[3] for her lifetime, as a set-off against 300 marks of her annual dower. Prince John swept up the Duke's possessions and rights in the Franchise of Tynedale and the North,[4] Robert Waterton took his place as "Master[5] of our running dogs called herthoundes," and Thomas Beckyngham received his forest of Wychwood,[6] in Oxfordshire.

At Pevensey, he had ample opportunity of indulging that vein of jingling, amorous alliteration, which passed for poetry with love-lorn dukes when they sighed for their ladies as their "carbuncle[7] chosen chief or crystal curious in kind." His prison must have been a melancholy spot. Part of the donjon[8] of the castle was in ruins, the haven was choked with mud and sand[9] "by the stroke of the sea," and the whole of the flats as far as Beachiff[10] were constantly under water. His

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH. (March 2nd, 1405), contains payments for messengers sent to escheators to seize his property. This appears to be the reference given as October 3rd, 1407, in TYLER, I., 235. The formal orders are dated March 6th, 8th, 12th, 16th, and 22nd.—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 15, 16; ROT. FIN., 6 H. IV., 11; RYM., VIII., 387; EC. DES CHARTES (1876), XXXVII., 217. In ASSOCIATED ARCHITECT. SOCIETIES, XIV., 110, are minute references to the earlier details of his life. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 4. [3] *Ibid.*, 2, April 5th, 1405. [4] *Ibid.*, 3, and 2, 31, March 11th, 1405. ROT. VIAG., 14, RYM., VIII., 395, where date should be 1408, not 1405. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 2, March 12th, 1405. [6] *Ibid.*, 3, March 14th, 1405. [7] Supposing him to be the "unknown prince," whose juvenile yearnings are printed in STRUTT, III., 152, and WARTON, III., 106, though the poet may have been King James of Scotland. Cf. DIGBY MYST., 91. For the carbuncle see MIRROR OF OUR LADY, 175, HIGDEN, VII., 75. LYDGATE calls St. Edmund "the precious charboncle of martyrs all." WARTON, II., 55, 90; HARL. MS., 2278, f. 9; MORLEY, VI., 110.

Cf. "The stone, noblest of alle,
The which that men carbuncle calle."
GOWER, CONF. AMANT., 55.

[8] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 261 (May 11th, 1405). For view see GROSE, III., s.v. [9] DUGDALE, IMBANKING, 95-98. SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., XVIII., 43. [10] *i.e.* Beachy Head. For "Bewchef," see ARNOLD, 143.

warder however, Thomas Pleistede,[1] treated him with "nature," and softened the rigours of his imprisonment. After seventeen weeks spent at Pevensey, he petitioned[2] to be released on account of his "dis-ease and heaviness." The petition was forwarded by his wife Philippa,[3] daughter of Lord Mohun of Dunster, in Somersetshire, but without success, and he remained some months yet a prisoner,[4] many believing that he was dead.[5] On October 7th, 1405,[6] when the King was at Worcester on his return from Wales, an order was addressed to Sir John Pelham to bring the Duke from Pevensey into the royal presence, probably at Kenilworth, where Lady le Despenser was still detained, and soon after this he was again in full possession of his liberty. On November 26th, 1405,[7] he was present at Lambeth at the marriage of the Earl of Arundel, and by December 8th, 1405,[8] his confiscated property was being rapidly re-transferred to him.

[1] He left him £20 in his will dated at Fotheringay, August 17th, 1415 (not 22nd, as in WILLS OF KINGS, 217, TEST. VET., I., 186). En memoire pour la naturesse qu'il me monstra quant je fuy a Pevensay en garde; RYM., IX., 307; GIBBONS, 146; GENEAL., VI. 228. [2] RYM., VIII., 387. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 577, 597. She survived her husband and afterwards married Sir Walter Fitzwalter. She died in 1431; WILLS OF KINGS, 224; TEST. VET., I., 218. Her will was proved at Lambeth, GENEAL., VI., 24, where she is called Domina de Insulâ Vectâ. For the Luttrell suit, May 14th, 1406, see YEAR BOOK, 8 H. IV., MICH., pp. 7—12, where the Duchess of York is called Felice; also INQ. AD QUOD DAMNUM, 365; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXVII., 164. For her monument in Westminster Abbey, with the confusion as to date of inscription, see STOTHARD; GOUGH, III., 99; SANDFORD, 382; DART, I,, 145; NEALE, II., 165; BANKS, I., 211, 316; and DOYLE, III., 744. [4] CHRON. LOND., 90. ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., records payment to him of £269 5s. 10d. on Feb. 26th, 1406, but no details are given. He was certainly free before April 28th, 1406, see ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 290. STUBBS, III.. 48, PAULI, V., 35, and RAMSAY, I., 84, are mistaken in supposing him to have been "in full employment again in June, 1405," for the letters on which they rely in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 270—274, were certainly written in June, 1404, see Vol. I., 456. HOLINS., II., 532, and STOW, CHRON., 334, are equally wrong in considering him to have been a prisoner till the Parliament of 1406. KNIGHT, II., 16, thinks that he "lingered three or four years in prison." [5] WALS., II., 274. [6] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 41. [7] COLL. TOP. ET GEN., I., 82. [8] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 34, 36.

On December 22nd, 1405,[1] he was again made a member of the King's Council, with a salary of £200 per annum. On the death of Sir Thomas Rempston, he became for the third time Constable of the Tower (November 1st, 1406),[2] and on June 9th, 1412,[3] he received a grant of the castle and domain of Oakham.

The two Mortimer boys were to be kept henceforward constantly under the King's eye, in the charge of more reliable keepers, and if the King should pass into Wales, they were to be put in some border castle near at hand till his return. One result of the *émeute* was the addition of 100 marks[4] per annum, granted out of their own estates to help to maintain them, but as everything was provided for them through keepers appointed by the King, it is likely that they derived no personal benefit from this stroke of generosity.

The Lady le Despenser had to give up her park at Caversham,[5] near Reading, and to "undergo the annoyance"[6] of a strict imprisonment at Kenilworth,[7] whither she was straightway

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 12th, 1407; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., PASCH., April 25th, 1408; 10 H. IV., MICH., February 13th, 1409; 11 H. IV., MICH., November 22nd, 1409. [2] RYM., VIII., 457; DOYLE, III., 744. [3] PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 14. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 29, dated Berkhampstead, March 14th, 1405. DUGDALE, I., 151. [5] It was granted to Thomas Dodeman, valet to the Queen, on Feb. 24th, 1405. PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 4. [6] Subiit nocumenta.—WALS., HYPODIG., 412. [7] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 41[III] November 18th, 1405, shows £10 allowed to John Ashford, Constable of Kenilworth, for expenses of Dame le Despenser adonq esteant el garde of said constable. The place is called "Killyngworth" in DEVON, 300. For similar spelling see Vol. I., pp. 428, 479; WALS., I., 19, 158, 339; ANN., 17; REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., November 29th, 1410; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., February 6th, 1413; EXCH. TREAS. OF REC. MISC., $\frac{5}{11}$, App. D. For "Kelenworthe" see LIB. ALB., I., 545; "Kenillewurthe," MATT. PAR., II., 603; "Kenilwithe," *ibid.*, III., 498; "Kenelwithe," *ibid.*, V., 697, WALS., II., 317; "Kenelesworthe," *ibid.*, I., 171, ANN., 139; "Kenelwurth," HYPODIG., 162, 173, 264; "Kenewurthe," WALS., I., 184; "Chenillewurda," MONAST., VI., 220; "Kinningwurd," *ibidem*, 224; "Kenyngworth," PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV., Warwick and Leicester.

taken by the King's useful Commissioner, Elming Leget,[1] whom we have seen employed[2] on similar business in connection with the punishment of William Serle[3] and the Essex conspirators. In recompense he got some of the Duke of York's lands in Hertfordshire,[4] together with 15 of his cows and 12 of his stots. The Lady's lands[5] in Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Bucks, Devon, and Notts, together with her castles of Llantrissent and Kenvig in Glamorganshire, passed into the custody of Queen Joan, but they were restored to her in the following year.[6] She died in November, 1416,[7] and was buried in the Abbey Church at Reading.[8]

Four women, named Mary Russell, Agnes Rokster,[9] Agnes

[1] He was Sheriff of Essex in 4 H. IV. (1402-3) and 9 H. IV. (1407-8), see PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV.; MORANT, I., vii. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 23, PRIV. SEAL, 647/9409, January 26th, 1410, he is exempt for life from serving in assizes, inquisitions, &c., or from being Mayor, Escheator, Justice of the Peace, Collector, Taxer, Assessor of tenths or fifteenths, Trier or Arrayer of men-at-arms, Bailiff, or Minister. In PAT., 12 H. IV., 6 d, he is hostiarius cameræ nostræ. See also ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 207. CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 14 d, May 22nd, 1411, shows that his wife's name was Alice (*i.e.* Alice Mandeville, of Stapleford Tany.—MORANT, I., 179). In ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., September 29th, 1410, he is going to Aquitaine. In 1370 Edward III. granted custody of the manor and park of Kennington to Helminge Legette for life.—SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., III., 27. [2] Vol. I., 428, 451. [3] Serle had been named one of the executors of King Richard's will, dated April 16th, 1399.—WILLS OF KINGS, 200. According to the confession of John Hall, he had been the actual murderer of the Duke of Gloucester at Calais, for he put the feather-bed on the top of him and sat on his mouth to smother him, while four men held him down.—ROT. PARL., III., 453; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XX., App. VI., 278. CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 32, has payment to Sheriff of Yorkshire for bringing Serle from York to Pontefract and "elsewhere in the county." He was at Melton Mowbray on August 1st, 1404, at Lynn on August 14th, and we can subsequently trace him at Colchester.—EUL., III., lxiv., quoting FOR. ACCTS., 1-6 H. IV. See also LIB. ALB., I., 638. One Richard Tighler was at the same time condemned at Pontefract, and his head and limbs were distributed throughout the country. CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 32, November 3rd, 1404. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 2, March 20th, 1405. [5] DUGDALE, I., 397, quoting PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 21. [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 25, January 19th, 1406. In Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$. App. B, she receives £56 6s. 11d. on March 29th, 1406. [7] DUGDALE, I., 397, from ESCHEAT, 4 H. V., 52, p. 25; MONAST., II., 62, gives 1407. [8] LEL., ITIN., VI., 66. [9] In 1393 she and her sister Juliana were donzels (domicellæ) to the King's sons, Thomas and Humphrey.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 3, App. A.

Norreys, and Christina Launder,[1] were imprisoned in the castle at Windsor probably in connection with this same outbreak, but an order was issued for their release on March 15th, 1405.[2]

But others besides in very high places were involved in the abortive plot. Thomas Mowbray, the Earl Marshal, was accused. He admitted that he had had some previous knowledge of the intentions of the conspirators, though he had not yet compromised himself by giving in his assent. He pleaded guilty, however, to the accusation that he had not disclosed the secret committed to him and begged for pardon, which was granted to him with that reckless, yet, as it often proved, politic generosity which had before been the means employed by the King for putting his noble traitors more conclusively in the wrong, and delivering them up more effectually into his hands.

Rumours were also again afloat casting doubt upon the loyalty of the Archbishop of Canterbury. When the whole air was thick with treason, so powerful a statesman could not fail to have enemies who would gain the ear of the King, and it could not escape them that he had allowed his name to appear as a sympathiser[3] with the Percies in the "defiance" which they had uttered on the field of Shrewsbury. He now rose in the council, knelt[4] to the King, and begged that opportunity might be given to any of his enemies there and then to bring any charge they could against him. He reminded the King that he had often secretly communicated to him matters that concerned his honour and safety, and that these warnings had been only grudgingly received. He asserted now that he had never harboured or uttered a wrong (*sinistrum*) thought against the King,

[1] In 1396 Isabel Launder has 6d. for hiring a board (patella) and a tub for washing Henry's clothes at Calais.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, App. A. [2] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 18; HARD., 353. [4] ANN., 399.

but only what he knew was for the King's good. If any doubt had entered Henry's mind, he professed himself to be altogether delighted with the Archbishop's explanation. On his oath he would rate it higher than the half of his kingdom. So the clouds of suspicion were rolled away, and the King's heart was turned in love and trust to his old friend and minister once again. This idyllic scene might prepare us for a sequel, in which the wounded feelings of the King would be sweetly soothed by abundant advances, to enable him as before to slip through the pertinacious fingers of his War Treasurers and balance himself on continual loans, careless of the ruin wrought upon confiding lenders by some sudden suspension of the public credit.

But the recent heavy experience of the nation could not be wiped out by leniency towards titled traitors, or moving scenes with Archbishops on their knees vowing eternal devotion in honey words.[1] The throne was too unstable, the King's position too precarious, and the Barons, led by Thomas[2] Lord Bardolph, refused this time to risk any further advances. They were allowed a little time for reflection, and summoned to meet again after a short interval. Their meetings then broke up, and the King left London for awhile. On March 10th, 1405,[3] he was at Barnet and St. Albans, from the 12th[4] to the 16th he was at his castle at Berkhampstead, and by the 28th of March[5]

[1] COLCHESTER REC., 28. "Her honey wordes turned me to galle."—HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 26. "Many a hony word."—*ibid.*, 182. "Wordes plesaunt in hony al bewrappede."—*ibid.*, 69. [2] ANN., 402. [3] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 8; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, p. 3, 15; *ibid.*, XXVIII., 4, 4, App. A. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 3, 21; *ibid.*, 2, 29. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, part 3, m. 1. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 20, 29, *ibid.*, II., 25, 27, 28, 29, and CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 9, 13, contain papers dated at St. Albans, March 28th, April 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, 1405. DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 4, App. A, has a letter dated at St. Albans, April 3rd, 1405, and *ibid.*, XI., 15, 148, has an entry dated St. Alban's Abbey, April 2nd, 1405.

he was at St. Alban's Abbey again, where in the previous winter[1] a Great Council[2] had been summoned to meet. The Great Council met,[3] but no impression could be made upon its members. The news of the success in South Wales did not convert them. It was announced that the King would proceed again in person to Wales, and on April 3rd, 1405,[4] proclamations were issued arranging for the defence of the country during his absence. But the Barons persisted in rejecting his demands, and they parted again agreeing only to disagree.[5]

The King left St. Albans on April 7th and proceeded to Windsor,[6] where we trace him from April 15th to April 24th, 1405. In the meantime the council had met in London on Easter Day[7] (April 19th, 1405). Lord Bardolph was present, together with Archbishop Arundel and the Earl Marshal, all of them on the very verge of rebellion. Under their lead the money difficulty was further from settlement than ever, and the council could only report some barren "advice" in writing.[8]

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1404, has payments to messengers bearing letters to "lords, knights, and esquires," to come to a council at St. Albans. [2] For magnum concilium see GNEIST, CONST., 414-430; *ibid.*, PARL., 135-147. [3] On the day before Palm Sunday, according to WALS., II., 268. This would be April 11th (CONC., III., 182), which is probably a week too late. [4] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 15 d. [5] In concordi discordiâ. WALS., II., 268. [6] For documents dated at Windsor, April 15th, 18th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th, 1405, see PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 2, 22, 24; *ibid.*, II., 25, 26; CLEOP., E., II., 61; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15. The rolls also contain entries dated at Baldock, April 7th (CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 14); Babraham, near Cambridge, April 8th (*ibid.*, 13) [called Badburgham, cf. MONAST., VI., 66, 68; PECKHAM REG., III., 1079; or Baberham, WILLIS and CLARK, II., 678. It was acquired for the Duchy of Lancaster in 1363, CARTÆ REGUM, II., 227, LYSONS, II., 81.]; Shouldam, near Downham Market, April 11th (CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 14); Coston, near Wymondham, April 12th and 18th (*ibid.*, 13) [called Corston, see BLOMEFIELD, I., 701. PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 27. has a document dated Corston, April 12th, 1406, but the year should probably be 1405, for *ibid.* 29 shows that on April 12th, 1406, the King was at Eltham]; West Dereham, April 20th (CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 14 d, has entered it in wrong year); Thetford, April 22nd (CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 14); and Babraham, April 22nd (*ibid.*, 23). But the fact of documents being dated from certain places away from Westminster cannot be relied upon as evidence that the King was himself there in person. [7] HARD., 362. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 100.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

NEGOCIATIONS.

BUT though no special advances could be obtained by the King to meet his personal liabilities as in previous years, the War Treasurers continued to take care that the money arising from grants made in the last Parliament at Coventry should be really applied for public purposes in the defence of the country. At a council held at Westminster on March 22nd, 1405,[1] just before the Great Council met at St. Albans, arrangements had been made for dealing with all anticipated attacks from the old familiar quarters.

The Channel Islands had been in suspended allegiance since the arrest of the Duke of York. Sir John Lisle,[2] Sheriff of Wiltshire, was now sent to "recover and govern" the island of Guernsey, with its castle of Cornet, and Sir Thomas Pickworth[3] crossed from Calais to take the command in Jersey. At Bayonne, great scarcity prevailed owing to constant attacks of rovers from the coast of Castile.[4] On November 8th, 1404,[5] a vessel freighted with provisions was despatched from Bristol to relieve the garrison there, but looking to the insecurity of the seas, it is doubtful whether she ever arrived. At any rate, we know that another ship, intended to be sent from the Thames on a similar errand, was detained in London through some blundering, and had not started on December 12th, 1404.[6]

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 120. [2] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 9th, 1406, has payment to him for his services. [3] RYM., VIII., 387, March 22nd, 1405; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 106; CALIG. D., IV., 74. 75. [4] Les Castellans (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 250), *i.e.*, from the district about Santander known as the Marisina (JURADE, 302, 303, 328, 348, 358). For previous treaty between Bayonne and the Castilians, dated October 9th, 1353, see RYM., V., 766. [5] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 31. [6] *Ibid.*, 30.

In the meantime, Lord Berkeley's fleet was still delayed at Plymouth, and in the middle of May, 1405,[1] orders were sent for six more barges to be collected from the western ports, while the Bristol merchants, John Stevens and Thomas Saunders, were to supply provisions and carriage for the expedition. The council now sent out encouragement to the Mayor, Skeveyns,[2] and Commons of Bayonne, urging them not to come to terms with the Castilians, but to bide their time and defend their city till the arrival of their Provost,[3] Galhar de Durfort, Lord of Duras, now Seneschal of Aquitaine,[4] who was to take over the command of the castle at Bayonne in the name of the King of England. Wherever the property of the rebels could be seized, it was judiciously distributed amongst the loyalists on the spot. Letters were addressed to the "great personages of state" at Bordeaux. One hundred pounds[5] was promised to the Provost, a gold cup[6] valued at £35 6s. 8d. was sent to the Archbishop, money was to be forwarded through the agency of Sir Thomas Swinburn,[7] who was about

[1] ROT. VIAG., 18, 19. [2] In ROT. VIAG., 4, January 8th, 1410, Bayonne is governed by a Prefect, Skeveyns (Scabini), Jurats, and a Commune of 100 peers, or probi homines. Cf. ROT. VASC., 11 H. IV., 17; also JURADE, 31, 32, for "esclabins" or "esclevins." For duties of eschevins at Liège, see MONSTR., I., 376; for Malines see ITINÉRAIRES, 317; for Ghent see ROY. LET., I., 250. [3] The district known as the Provosty of Bayonne was granted to him March 3rd, 1379.—RYM., VII., 261, VIII., 136. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 253. He was appointed December 23rd, 1399; RYM., VIII., 117, 371, 588, 597; ROY. LET., I., 438; MORÉRI, IV., 305. DEP. KEEP. 45TH REPT., p. 316, has Guichard Durfort, but in August, 1398, when he accompanied the new Count of Foix to Morlaas, in Béarn, he signs himself Galhar de Durfort senher de Duras.—FLOURAC, 207. [5] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 9th, 1406. CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 39, shows Gaillard Provost of Bordeaux on January 12th, 1404. [6] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH., July 20th, 1405. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 260. COTTON MS., CAL. D., IV., has fragment of a letter from the city of Bordeaux to Henry IV., May, 1405. Swinburn had fought in the lists at St. Inglevert, March 21st, 1390 (PICHON, 70), where he is called "Salbinbrenne." In FROIS., XIV., 106, 115, he is called "Scorbonne." He had been employed as a negociator with the Flemish in 1404.—ROY. LET., I., 231, 250, 294, 297, 314, 350, 356, 385. In 1392, while Captain of Guines, he had made a journey to the

to take up his duties as Mayor of Bordeaux, and hopes were held out that Prince Thomas might find his way south, with his fleet, to strengthen waverers and secure the connection with England. Swinburn's appointment dated from March 8th, 1405,[1] his force[2] consisting of one knight, 48 men-at-arms, and 100 archers, mustered at Sandwich[3] on April 21st, 1405, and by the middle of May,[4] he was on the point of starting.

As required by the terms of the Pontefract schedule, the Earl of Northumberland had given up the castles of Berwick

Holy Land, an itinerary of which is still preserved. ORIENT LATIN, II., 378, from MS., in CAIUS COLL., CAMB. (THOMAS BRIGG). He left Guines, August 6th, 1392; sailed from Venice, September 2nd; was at Alexandria from October 20th to 30th; at Cairo from November 3rd to 8th; Sinai, November 19th; Gaza, December 3rd; Hebron, December 7th; Bethlehem, December 8th; Jerusalem, December 9th to 17th; Damascus, December 25th; and Beirut, January 3rd-16th, 1393, whence he sailed for Rhodes.

[1] CARTE, GASCON ROLLS, I., 189. [2] For schedule of their names see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{23}\frac{6}{3}$. [3] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{22}\frac{6}{2}$. FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV., has his account from April 21st, 1405, to June 19th, 1406, showing £1,686 3s. 9d. for one knight at 3s. per day, 48 men-at-arms at 1s. 6d. per day, and 100 archers at 9d. per day. The account was paid May 3rd, 1407, per manus Thes. Guerr. assign. in parliament at Coventry. ROT. VASC., 12 (October 14th, 1405), refers to Swynbourne as Mayor of Bordeaux; also *ibid.*, 9 (May 26th, 1406); *ibid.*, 8, 1 (July 12th, 1407); and RYM., VIII., 588, 593 (May 23rd, August 14th, 1409); also *ibid.*, 650, 657 (August 2nd, November 29th, 1410). ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH. (July 28th, 1406) has payment to him for wages of troops £79 19s. 11½d. as Mayor of Bordeaux. During all this time he was also Captain of Hammes, near Calais, to which office he was appointed March 14th, 1405.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 260. See ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (October 24th, 1406); FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 6 (June 25th, 1408); PAT., 10 H. IV., I., 21, II., 5, 19 (November 18th, 1408, June 24th, August 29th, 1409); ISSUE ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (January 22nd, 1412); CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 21 (February 22nd, 1412); where he has bought thirty-three casks and one pipe of wine, and three pipes of honey in Aquitaine, for victualling Hammes. *Ibid.*, 23 (May 20th, 1412), shows sixteen persons going to garrison Hammes in Picardy. In FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 8 (April 20th, 1409) Swinburn is going to Hammes. In CLAUS., 9 H. IV. 3 (September 2nd, 1408), he has wine for victualling castle of Hammes *in partibus Vascon. (sic)*, an evident error, for in the same roll (m. 19) May 12th, 1408, and in PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 17, he is called Captain of the Castle of Hammes *in partibus Picardiæ*. On September 14th, 1412, the custody of the castle of Hammes was granted to Sir Ralph Rochefort.—FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 8; PRIV. SEAL, 656/7324. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 26 d.

and Jedburgh to the King's officers, the understanding being that he should receive an equivalent in land when the Parliament met[1] at the end of the year. But the Houses had assembled earlier than was expected and under circumstances which made it unadvisable to submit such a proposal for their sanction. So far from granting away extensive tracts of land, the Illiterate Parliament had revoked or cancelled all such previous wastefulness, and would not be likely to lend an ear to similar suggestions at such a time. Immediately after the Parliament had been dissolved, an order was issued[2] dated November 16th, 1404, requiring the keepers of Berwick and Jedburgh to hand back the custody of those castles to the Earl of Northumberland, on the ground that the conditions under which they had been taken over in the previous autumn had not been fulfilled on the King's side. But although the castles were restored, Prince John continued to be Keeper of the *town* of Berwick,[3] as well as Constable of England and Warden of the East March. Large grants had been made to him to help to satisfy the demands of his mutinous troops, and he was empowered to call out[4] all the able-bodied men in his district between the ages of 16 and 60. On the other hand he might negociate, as occasion should require, a temporary truce for a period of one, or at most two, months.

But for some time past a better feeling had been gradually springing up between the English and the Scots. Ransoms were being steadily paid and prisoners released, and if the required amount could not be paid down in cash, an equivalent

[1] It was then expected to meet on December 13th (St. Lucy). RYM., VIII., 365. [2] ROT. SCOT., II., 172. [3] *Ibid.*, II., 173 a, December 30th, 1404; also ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., November 13th, 1405. A leaden seal of Henry IV. has lately been found with the arms of Berwick, being an impression of the great seal of England for lands beyond the Tweed.—ANTIQUARY, VI., 77. [4] ROT. SCOT., II., 171, October 16th, 1404.

in kind, such as cattle,[1] harness, shoes,[2] cloth, or other property would be accepted, and afterwards turned into money for the relief of the English King's necessities. We have a list of Scots with such names as Egger, Maclanaghan, Macrill, Bonvill, Macclum, and others, who had been allowed home on parole and afterwards returned with their ransom-money to Chester (September 11th, 1404).[3] Some fishermen from the coast of Norfolk had been captured and detained by the Scots, but vessels loaded with 600 quarters of grain were despatched from Lynn[4] to ransom them. Trade and commerce were returning to their usual channels. Ships passed between the two countries, carrying Irish corn[5] and produce to Scotland, and bringing salmon,[6] cod, haddock, and salt from Scotland into England, the transactions extending as far as the distant Orkneys.[7] Such intercourse could not but operate strongly in the direction of peace. Accordingly, when commissioners met at Haudenstank on the 8th and 11th of October, 1404,[8] the truce was without difficulty confirmed and extended till the following Easter, though quiet was far from being restored on the border, and English rovers[9] still looked upon Scottish vessels as fair game for plunder.

At Norham Castle,[10] on the Tweed, under the Constable,

[1] ROT. SCOT., II., 173 a, February 24th, 1405. [2] FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 7, has 1000 pairs of shoes sent from Melcombe by men of Weymouth, to ransom their friends in Brittany. [3] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., App., 2, 14, 429. [4] ROT. SCOT., II., 172 a, October 22nd, 1404. [5] *Ibid.*, November 8th, 1404. [6] *Ibid.*, 172 b, November 28th, 1404; ABERDEEN REC., I., 376; LIB. ALB., I., 376. PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 16, and 12 H. IV., 35, show that there was still a close time (tempus vetitum) for salmon (salmones et salmunculi), when no nets or engines were allowed in English rivers, in accordance with the statute of 1285, 13 Edward I., cap. 47, STAT. I., 94. For the "saumond" in Scotland, see ACTS OF PARL. OF SCOTLAND, I., 212. [7] ROT. SCOT., II., 174 a, March 31st, 1405. [8] KAL. AND INV., II., 71, 73. The Scottish copy was deposited August 28th, 1406. [9] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 31. [10] GROSE, III., s.v. On December 20th, 1396, Sir Thomas Gray of Heton was appointed Constable of Norham Castle, and Sheriff of

Robert Ogle,[1] watchers had to be kept constantly at the gates from Michaelmas to Easter, with extra wages paid to them on account of the "dearness of victuals" and the "long and cold nights." Extensive repairs were in progress upon the bridges, roofs, and towers, and the Bishop of Durham's revenues were charged with heavy outgoings for ribs,[2] wattles, spars, fleaks,[3] and "dublethaknails."[4] At Newcastle, the walls and ditches had to be guarded night and day. Many of the burgesses left the town, being unable to bear the fatigue and strain, while the place was so impoverished that it was necessary to forego[5] all attempts to collect the taxes granted in the last Parliament at Coventry.

The Earl of Douglas had been captured by Sir James Harington[6] on Haughmond Hill,[7] a few miles to the east of Shrewsbury, where his horse had stumbled as he was escaping from the battlefield. After being kept in Staffordshire for four

the detached portion of the possessions of the Bishop of Durham, known as Norhamshire and Islandshire.—RAINE, NORTH DURHAM, 46. The castle was "never perfectly finished," and was much exposed to sudden attack. In his difficulties Gray had to borrow money from the Prior of Coldingham, and some years after his death his widow could only discharge the remainder of his debt by a promissory note (ex promisso).—COLDINGHAM CORRDCE., 1406, p. lxxxi. For inquiry held at Norham March 13th, 1401, on the death of Gray, see INQ. P. MORT., III., 275, DEP. KEEP. 45TH REPT., 1884, p. 204, when his son and heir, Thomas Gray, is nineteen years of age. He is called Lord of Wark in 1407, RAINE, NORTH DURHAM, 326, and was Sheriff of Northumberland on May 18th, 1409.—REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH. During his father's time the lands belonging to the Prior of Durham were over-run both by the English and the Scots, and a property which yielded £226 in time of peace, could show no more than £37 of receipt; while the tithes of the fisheries of the Tweed, from Berwick to Coldstream, produced "2s. and no more" instead of an average of £7 or £8, on account of "the sterility of the water."—RAINE, NORTH DURHAM, 278.

[1] DEP. KEEP. 33RD REPT., 76. [2] RAINE, N. DURHAM, 286; RYM., VIII., 572. [3] NOTT. REC., II., 459. FABRIC ROLLS, 342. Cf. iii. flekys emp., 9d., RIPON MEM., III., 126, also PROMPT. PARV., CATHOL., and JAMIESON, S.V. [4] For taknails at 4d. per 100, see ROGERS, III., 556. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 27, November 24th, 1404. [6] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 16[1], 65[1]. [7] HULBERT, 150; OWEN and BLAKEWAY, I., 193.

weeks by Roger Bradshaw,[1] who hired men specially to guard him, he was removed,[2] together with Sir Murdach Stewart,[3] for safer custody to the Tower of London. The two were treated with special deference, and after a short while they were allowed to accompany[4] the Court wherever the King resided. Douglas being a man in the prime of life[5] and of ready wit,[6] soon made himself a general favourite. His portrait was painted by order of the English King, and hung in "the Privy Gallery at

[1] DEVON, 301. In Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}^{8}$, Nicholas Bradshaw spends money for three pipes of Gascon wine for the King, when staying at the Austin Friars in Stafford, July 24th, 1403, immediately after the battle; App. B. On the 23rd July the King had slept at Lilleshall Abbey. At Mansfield he stayed with Richard Selleston, who presented him troughtre (trout?). [2] RYM., VIII., 346, February 9th, 1404. [3] Called Murdoch of Fife in ROT. SCOT., II., 176, or Mordyk Fyf, RYM., VIII., 544, ROT. SCOT., II., 157, July 31st, 1408, or le Mestre de Fyf, ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 338, the title allowed to eldest sons during their father's lifetime (cf. Master of Douglas, in DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 361), his father being Earl of Fife and Menteith.—RAINE, NORTH DURHAM, App. 34; EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., III., 284, 613, IV., ccix., 24; REG. MAG. SIG. SCOT., 217; CHARTERS OF ST. GILES, EDINBRO', 32, 38; LIBER DE MELROS, II., 468, 473, 477; FRASER, II., 20; WYNTOWN, III., 99. In RED BOOK OF MENTEITH, I., lxxviii., 136, it is argued that he became Earl of Menteith by special creation, not by marriage, as EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., II., lxxxi. Murdach was now over 40 years of age (MENTEITH, I., 239), and had been married since 1392 (*ibid.*, I., 161, 241), in which year he is Dominus de Apthane [*i.e.* the Abthen of Dull, at the eastern end of Loch Tay.—EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., III., 427, 458, 510, 587, 609, 644; WYNT., II., 467; DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 411; JAMIESON, IV., 538 (not "Lord of Apthane," as MENTEITH, I., 240, 244, II., 266)] and Justiciar north of the Forth. For Abthen of Ratho, see DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 17, and the Abthen of Monifeith, *ibid.*, III., 351. In 1407 Murdach is Lord of Kinclaven on the Tay.—EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., IV., 51; WYNT., III., 85; MENTEITH, I., 226 (1417). [4] RYM., VIII., 388, March 8th, 1405; LEL. COL., VI., 300; MONAST., I., 625. See the letter of the Duke of Albany, dated Falkland, June 2nd, in VESP. F., VII., 114, NATL. MSS. OF SCOTLAND, II., 57, which seems to fit in with 1405 better than 1404, as MENTEITH, I., 186; also letter dated Perth, November 4th, in VESP. F., VII., 81, translated in MENTEITH, I., 207. [5] He was born about 1372.—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 360. [6] For his wit *e.g.*, "They sit full still that have a riven breike," see GODSCROFT, 120; SCOTICHRON., II., 438. GODSCROFT (115) thinks that he was called the Tineman, "in that he tint almost all his men and all the battles that he fought." But the name was certainly given to Archibald Douglas, the Regent, who was killed at Halidon Hill in 1333. SCOTICHRON., II., 310; DOUGLAS, 184; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., xxxiv., 360.

Whitehall."[1] In April and May, 1404, he was at Windsor,[2] where he drew four sesters and half a pitcher of the King's Malmsey.[3] In the following year he was allowed robes[4] and garments from the King's wardrobe, and £10 was paid for his expenses[5] as he passed with Murdach between Hertford and Leicester, and when the relatives of the Frenchmen[6] captured at Humbledon[7] bestirred themselves to effect the liberation of their kinsmen, their generosity extended so far as to lead them to collect money for the ransom of the Earl of Douglas also.[8]

When the two Scottish Commissioners visited King Henry at Pontefract[9] in July, 1404, they were empowered to negociate for the ransom of Murdach[10] and Douglas, and arrangements

[1] GODSCROFT (120) says that it was still to be seen in his time (*i. e., circ.* 1630). A portrait of James, second Earl of Douglas (died 1388), in possession of the Marquis of Queensberry, in the Exhibition of National Portraits in 1866, was dismissed by the critics as "absurdly modern—late fifteenth century."—See CATALOGUE. [2] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{6}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. [3] For Malvezie, a Greek wine from Napoli de Malvasia, or Nauplia in the Morea, see LIB. ALB., I., 711; II., 337. [4] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{8}\frac{5}{5}$, App. B. [5] *Ibid.*, $\frac{6}{8}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. [6] See Vol. I., 293, where Haleye is probably de Heilly, an Artois family, FROIS., XXI., 337; DELAVILLE, I., 284, 291; MICHEL, I., 105; MONSTR., I., 260, 359; FENIN, 11; BARANTE, II., 45, 57. 10th REPORT, HIST. MSS., VI., 77, has le Sire de Heillys and Mons. Jaket de Haplee, the list of killed and wounded mounting up to 85 notables above the rank of esquire. Jacques Seigneur d'Helly occurs among the men-at-arms with the Duke of Burgundy in August-October, 1405, PLANCHER, III., 579; also at Lille in 1408, *ibid.*, 580, CCLXI. Cf. ST. DENYS, IV., 410; MONSTR., II., 118; OTTERBOURNE, 272. For Pierre des Essars, see BAYE, I., 127, proving that he was free in the spring of 1407. He was made Provost of Paris May 5th, 1408, JUV., 447; BAYE, I., 229; ST. DENYS, IV., 272; MONSTR., II., 42, VI., 204; BOURGEOIS, 631; deposed after the treaty of Bicêtre, November 2nd, 1410, ST. DENYS, IV., 384, 430; MONSTR., II., 99, 143, VI., 266; JUV., 455; but reinstated September 12th, 1411, MONSTR., II., 180, 191; ST. DENYS, IV., 478; BAYE, II., 22; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 346; MAS-LATRIE, 2186. Johan Dormy may be Jean D'Ormay, and Courshill is perhaps Courcelles, see ST. DENYS, IV., 410; MONSTR., II., 118. [7] In bello de Humbledon, RYM., VIII., 292. Spelt "Homildoun" in EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., IV., 45, 81; "Hummeldonehyl," ELMHAM, HIST. MON. AUG., 70; "Homeldon-hill," RYM., VIII., 289, ROT. SCOT, II., 163; "Honnuldown," MAJOR, 125. See also RAMSAY, I., 47, quoting HUTCHINSON'S NORTHUMBERLAND, I., 242. [8] BAYE, I., 117, 127; ST. DENYS, III., 44; MICHEL, I., 105; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 369. [9] RYM., VIII., 359, 372. [10] Not Marmaduke Seneschal as AYLOFFE, 304.

were pending in reference to several other leading captives. The cost of the maintenance[1] of these prisoners was considerable, and the longer their ransom was delayed the larger must be the ultimate claim upon their relations. Some of them, including young George,[2] Earl of Angus, son-in-law[3] to the Scottish King, had died of the plague in England, so that no ransoms could come now from their friends. The Earls of Moray[4] and Orkney, with Sir David Fleming, Alexander Seton, Alexander Home[5] of Dunglas, and others, had long ago secured their release, and Fleming[6] had been one of the Scottish envoys who were sent to negociate at Pontefract. On November 10th, 1404,[7] Sir William Graham and three of his fellow-prisoners were allowed to pass into Scotland to arrange for payment of their ransom. They returned to London in the following March and had an interview with Murdach and Douglas.

On December 29th, 1404,[8] it was known that the great Sir David Lindsay, Lord of Glenesk, Earl of Crawford, and Deputy

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH. (December 2nd, 1404), records payment of £800 to Thomas Rempston, Constable of the Tower, for Scottish and other prisoners in his charge. [2] GODSCROFT, 118, from "BLACK BOOK OF SCONE," *i.e.*, SCOTICHRON., II., 435. He was a natural son of William, first Earl of Douglas, DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 290, II., 17, 592, III., 40; EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., IV., CLXXIII.; and was about 25 years old at the time of his death, DOUGLAS BOOK, II., 22. [3] He married Mary, second daughter of King Robert III., DOUGLAS BOOK, I., XLIV., II., 18; EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., IV., CLXXIII. For the marriage indenture dated May 24th, 1397, see DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 38, 41. She is buried in the church at Strathblane, below Campsie Fells in Stirlingshire, DOUGLAS BOOK, II., 23. [4] According to DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 369, the Earl of Moray (*i. e.* Thomas Dunbar) died in England, but this is not borne out by the reference to SCOTICHRON., II., 435. He witnessed deeds at Perth on March 12th, 1407, REG. MAG. SIG., 224, 225, where he is nepos to the Duke of Albany, *i. e.*, he was the son of Marjory, daughter of Robert II., EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., IV., CXLII. See also *ibid.*, 69, &c., and MENTEITH, I., 225. [5] GODSCROFT (118) is wrong in saying that he died in England; RAINE, NORTH DURHAM, App., 34. [6] The other was William Murehede, AYLOFFE, 304; RYM., VIII., 371. In VESP., F. VII., 70 (68), Robert III. refers Henry IV. to David Fleming for some particular information dated Lithai (*i. e.*, Leith), August 25th, 1404 (?). Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6\,8}{8}$, shows that Fleming and others were at Tutbury in September, 1404, App. B. [7] ROT. SCOT., II., 172 a. [8] RYM., VIII., 381; ROT. SCOT., II., 172 b.

Chamberlain[1] of Scotland North of the Forth, was coming south to settle preliminaries for a peace. His fame was already well established in England. In 1390, when twenty-five years of age,[2] he had met the Lord of Welle in the lists on the open space next to the "draft lef"[3] in the middle of London Bridge,[4] and unhorsed[5] him in presence of King Richard II. and his Queen. He proved his giant strength against the Highland robbers in Strathardle in 1392, when they dared to raid near his lands in Angus, almost losing his life at the "doleful[6] dayswork of Glassclune." In 1396, at the meeting[7] of the Kings of France and England between Ardres and Calais, he and his brother Alexander were present, and undertook to become Knights of the proposed Order of the Passion for the recovery of the Holy Land. Early in 1398, he was one of the great nobles commissioned to treat with John of Gaunt at Haudenstank, and by his timely interference prevented an outbreak of anger between Hotspur and Douglas in the middle of the negociations. At a council held at Perth[8] in the same year, he was created Earl of Crawford from his estates in Clydesdale, having previously married a half-sister[9] of King Robert III. In the opening of King Henry's reign he was playing the pirate in the interest of the Duke of Orleans[10] off the coast of Spain, and in 1402, he fell in with the explorer Bethencourt at

[1] EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., III., 613, 647; MENTEITH, I., 146. [2] LINDSAY, I., 87. [3] ROT. PARL., V., 44; JUSSERAND, 415. [4] JUSSERAND, 35, 48. For view of London Bridge temp. Henry VI., see MS. BIBL. REG., 16, F, II., BRIT. MUS.; G. ELLIS, I., 310; HARRISON, part iii.; not HARLEIAN MS., as KNIGHT, LONDON, II., 207. [5] WYNT., Bk. IX., Ch. XI.; MALVERN in HIGDEN, IX., 235; NEILSON, 233. [6] WYNT., IX., XIIII., 88; NEILSON, 248. [7] ORIENT LATIN, I., 363. [8] EXCHEQUER ROLLS SCOT., III., 460. [9] Called Elizabeth in LINDSAY, I., 98, EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., IV., clxv., or Catherine, in DOUGLAS, 156. [10] He had entered into a bond in 1401 whereby he did homage to the Duke for life, and undertook to serve him with three knights, six esquires and twelve archers, in return for a payment of 1000 francs. ST. DENYS, XX., Ch. VI.; MICHEL, 101, 102. For the document signed in Paris Jan. 1st, 1402, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 4.

Corunna,[1] and offered his assistance in the expedition to the Canaries. He attended a council at Perth[2] on March 15th, 1405, and afterwards proceeded to England with an escort of 100 men, and there was little doubt that his visit would tend to hasten a friendly settlement in view of the approaching expiration of the truce due at Easter, 1405. His safeconduct was to last till Whitsuntide, and by a subsequent arrangement it was extended[3] till September 1st, 1405. The Abbot of Dunfermline[4] (John Torry) and another soon followed him into England, so that there was no chance of failure for lack of counsellors.

Early in the year 1405,[5] Lancaster herald had been sent to Scotland on secret business. On the 5th of March,[6] a commission headed by Henry Bowet, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was appointed to treat with the Scots at Hadden, or Haudenstank,[7] on March 24th, 1405, and if possible come to some agreement as to questions of boundary, which were the cause of constant disputes in the neighbourhood of the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Berwick, where quarrels arose as to the claim of the English to exact dues and prevent the erection

[1] BETHENCOURT, Ch. III. ADD. MS., 11298, ff. 22, 24, dated Nov. 29th, 1407 (?), records that Bethencourt and Gadifer had sold all they possessed in France, that they had stayed in the Canaries, and that it was not known what had become of them since. Both of them were at Ardres, in the retinue of Charles VI., at the marriage of Richard II. in 1396, DESCHAMPS, VI., 54. For MS., EGERTON, 2709, see EC. DES CHARTES, LI., 209; ATHENÆUM, 4/10/90, p. 449. [2] EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., III., 613. [3] RYM., VIII., 397 (June 2nd, 1405); ROT. SCOT., II., 174. [4] *Ibid*, 174 b. (March 20th, 1405). [5] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., has payment (£5) dated March 2nd, 1405. [6] ROT. SCOT., II., 173. See their instructions dated March 4th, 1405, in RYM. VIII., 384. [7] Called "Haldanys Stank" in WYNT., IX., XVIII.; "Hawedenstank," ROT. SCOT., II., 140; "Houdenstang," KAL. AND INV., II., 73. In the SURVEY OF 1542 it is called "Hawdenstangke." It is situated on the Riddenburn, a little to the south-west of Carham, HODGSON, III., 2, 173. In SAXTON'S MAP it is marked "Hawdon." For stank (*i. e.* pool, étang), see WHITTAKER, LEEDS, 168; or stagne, LEL., ITIN., I., 72; estanc, DESCHAMPS, I., 239, 269; P. MEYER, 399.

of menacing works. When the day arrived, the English Commissioners were in their place armed with the necessary documents,[1] but "by reason of an unforeseen accident,"[2] no one appeared on the Scottish side. Not caring to spend further time in delay, the English envoys returned at once to Morpeth,[3] and forwarded a report on the position to the King. At the council,[4] which met at St. Albans in the beginning of April, 1405, definite instructions were submitted to the King for approval, before being forwarded north to Prince John and the Earl of Westmoreland for their guidance on the expiration of the truce, and by May 1st, 1405,[5] the documents that had been taken northwards to be used in the negociations were returned to their old place in the Treasury at Westminster. The Duke of Albany, however, as Lieutenant for the King of Scotland, was in a compliant mood. He despatched Rothesay[6] herald to England, who was favourably received in audience by King Henry. Explanations were given as to the non-appearance of the Scottish commissioners at Haudenstank, negociations were renewed and carried to a successful issue, and in a letter written on July 26th, 1405,[7] there is a reference to the truce "tane and sworn a late."

Nevertheless, an English fleet of ten vessels, each with a crew of 40 men, and carrying in all 140 men-at-arms and 280 archers, was equipped for service on the north-east coast in case of difficulty. They were provisioned for three months, and £2,000 had been allotted from the tenths and fifteenths to pay the wages of the men. On the very day[8] of the proposed

[1] KAL. AND INV., II., 71. [2] VESP. F., VII., 114, in NATL. MSS. SCOT., II., 57, which seems to suit 1405 better than 1404, as MENTEITH, I., 186. [3] VESP. F., VII., 108 (96), March 26th, 1405. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 255, from internal evidence probably refers to this council. [5] KAL. AND INV., II., 69, 71. [6] See letter from Albany dated Falkland, June 2nd, 1405, in VESP. F., VII., 114 (101). [7] PINKERTON, I., 451. [8] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 31 d, March 24th, 1405.

Haudenstank meeting we have a record of shipping captured from the Scots by vessels from London and Bristol, and the ensuing summer brought no diminution of piracy in the Irish seas. A Scottish rover, named Thomas Maccolagh, who had been among the captives at Humbledon,[1] had been plundering during the early months of 1405 on the coast of Ulster.[2] In May, 1405, he was seized off Dalkey, on the southern horn of Dublin Bay, and two of his ships were captured at Greencastle, in the entrance to Carlingford Lough. In retaliation, some merchants[3] put out from Drogheda, landed on the Scottish coasts, and took "pledges and preys," while others sailed from Dublin in June, 1405, to Wigton Bay and ravaged the shore about Whithorn,[4] up to the very walls of the cathedral which held the venerable shrine of St. Ninian. They then sailed up the Clyde to Arran, plundered Lamlash,[5] attacked the royal castle of Brodick,[6] seized the captain and held him to ransom, killing his son and "harrying[7] all that they might overtake." On their return they made for Anglesey, landed at Holyhead, sacrilegiously carried off the shrine of St. Cybi,[8] and transferred it to the Priory Church of the Holy Trinity,[9] in Dublin.

[1] HIST. MSS., 10TH REPT., VI., 77. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., I., 37, November 28th, 1405, records that lands of Edmund Savage, Steward of Co. Ulster, had been ravaged by rebel Irish and Scots. [3] WARE, ANN., 65; HOLINSHEAD, 74. [4] WALCOTT, 223. On December 27th, 1405, Elisha Adengen, clerk of the cathedral at Witherne (Candida Casa), visited England, possibly in connection with this raid.—ROT. SCOT., II., 176; HARRISON, I., 66. [5] Called Almelasche, or Ile Malasche.—EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., I., 125. [6] Brathwic, *ibid.*, V., 209, 251, 333, 410, 452, 578, or Braithwik, *ibid.*, 214, 364. For view, see GROSE, I., 295. [7] PINKERTON, I., 451. [8] Or St. Kebius, a Cornish saint. See CAMBRO-BRITON, III., 85; CAP. GRAVE, NOVA LEGENDA, CCII.; BUTLER, April 25th; MONAST., VI., 1475; FULLER, I., 211. [9] WARBURTON, I., 264.

CHAPTER XL.

THE HANSE.

IT will be remembered that in September, 1403,[1] two envoys from Elbing and Danzig had visited England, bringing letters from Conrad of Jungingen. They complained that great injuries had been inflicted by the English on the subjects of the High Master in the Baltic, and presented a claim for compensation to the amount of 19,120 nobles,[2] or £6,373. Early in the same year, a Danzig vessel had been captured by four English ships from Calais. Complaint was lodged, and, on enquiry, it was found that there was something to be said on the other side. On May 20th, 1403,[3] King Henry wrote to the High Master, explaining that it was really no fault of his. The Danziger had been hailed in a friendly way by the Calais men, but her master had jeered at them, hauled down all his vanes[4] except St. Denis, manned his castles, fired three bumbards, and then got captured. This explanation[5] was accepted, and when the envoys crossed to England, the council were able to patch up the matter with them. A truce[6] was arranged to last until Easter, 1404, and they returned to their homes with an agreement[7] whereby the English King undertook to enquire further into the matters in dispute, and if necessary, see that restitution was made before the truce expired. But the question had been put off, and though the English traders residing in Prussia, like those in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, had been empowered

[1] Vol. I., 382. [2] HAKLUYT, I., 154; ROY. LET., I., 162. [3] HR., V., 90. [4] Ventilogia. See DU CANGE, s.v.; PROMPT. PARV., s.v. Fane; CATHOL., s.v. Fayne; COTGRAVE, s.v. Girouette; CHAUCER, CLERK'S TALE, 8872. [5] HR., V., 92. [6] *Ibid.*, 103. [7] A copy of it was deposited in the Treasury, October 8th, 1403.—KAL. AND INV., II., 68.

to elect[1] aldermen for the purpose of putting a stop to all these irregularities, which were threatening to extinguish the profitable trade then carried on between England and the Baltic towns, yet the continued piracies on both sides had increased rather than diminished the exasperation. Danish vessels and shipping from Bremen[2] were captured off the coast of Norway by the men of Lynn, Newcastle, and Whitby, and a Pomeranian[3] ship was seized and taken to Burnham on the coast of Norfolk. On May 31st, 1404,[4] an order was issued at Danzig prohibiting the Baltic vessels from making their annual voyage to England. English cloth was not to be sold in Prussian or Hanse ports, no ebony, pitch, or tar was to be exported from them after June 15th, 1404, and every Englishman must leave Danzig[5] unless he was made a burgess before Michaelmas, 1404.

But the herring season was drawing on, and King Henry feared that if some semblance of friendly negociation were not kept up, his subjects would be shut out from the great annual harvest of the sea. The herrings then passed up the Sound from August to October,[6] and we have an interesting account written by a travelled Frenchman[7] who had once sailed through during the Schonentide on his way to Prussia. He reports that there were 40,000 schuts,[8] each with a crew of

[1] See charters in HAKLUYT, I., 185; RYM., VIII., 360, 511; HIST. MSS., 11TH REPT., App. III., 203; HIRSCH, DANZIG, 101, dated June 6th, 1404, which is at least two years earlier than the date usually assigned. See H. HALL, CUSTOMS, I., 45; MACPHERSON, I., 617; HERBERT, I., 232. A similar permission is extended to the English in Holland, Zealand, Brabant and Flanders, in 1407 (February 5th).—RYM., VIII., 464. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 2; ROY. LET., I., 412. [3] CLAUS., 6 H. IV.. 33, dated August 29th, 1404, not 1405, as would appear from the entry. [4] HR., V., 133. [5] *Ibid.*, 138. [6] *i.e.* between St. James' Day (July 25th) and Martinmas. HIRSCH, DANZIG, 147. [7] *i.e.* Philippe de Mézières. See Extract from LE SONGE DU VIEIL PELERIN in ACAD. DES INSCR., XVI., 226, XVII., 491; MONSTR., I., 325; ACTA SANCT., January 29th, 996; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LOUIS ET CHARLES, 177. For recent accounts of him see A. FROMENT in ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLVII., 692; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 201. [8] GRAUTOFF, II., 357; HIRSCH, DANZIG, 264.

from six to ten persons, and 500 larger vessels at work collecting, salting,[1] and packing. The fish were so thick in the strait that you could cut[2] them with a sword. For forty-five miles along the shore of the peninsula of Schonen[3] (or Malmö[4]) there were wooden huts put up for the fishermen. Each of the Hanse towns had its Vitte[5] or alloted space fenced off along the shore, and Lübeck alone sent 600 men, who were accompanied by an army of ropers, shoemakers, watchers[6] (to prevent overloading), coopers (to make the herringtuns),[7] carpenters, salters, and packers, all of whom had to be kept in wine, beer,[8] corn, hops,[9] salt, worts, leatherware and irongoods, which the Germans themselves supplied to the markets of Skanör, Malmö and Falsterbö. Our Frenchman calculates that there would be 300,000 men busy for two months, "such a big battle of folk to catch this little fish,"[10] and he sees in all this the evidence of a special Providence supplying France, England, and Germany with dried fish for Lent.[11]

Accordingly on June 5th, 1404,[12] John Brown, of Lynn,

[1] HR., v., 179. [2] On les pourroit tailler à l'espée.—ACAD. DES INSCR., XVI., 226. [3] Ad Sconæ partes.—ROY. LET., I., 243, 275; KUNZE, 167; KEUTGEN, 50. Cf. La mer de Scoene où on pesche le herencq.—LANNOY, 12. In JURADE, 297, it is probable that "los de Escona" refers to Schonen rather than to Scotland. For visit of W. Junghans to Schonen in 1860, see NACHRICHTEN V.D. HISTORISCHEN COMMISSION (Munich), III., II., 37-92, in HR., I., p. vi. [4] RYM., VIII., 287, 297. [5] GRAUTOFF, II., 351; HR., VI., 93; ZIMMERN, 149. [6] Wrakers.—HR., VI., 63. [7] *Ibid.*, VI., 60. [8] For Hamburg beer, see ZIMMERN, 98. [9] For hopfenhandel see HR., V., 112, 558. [10] Si a grant bataille de gent pour prendre ce petit poisson.—ACAD. DES INSCR., XVI., 226. [11] DENTON, 171; DESCHAMPS, VI., 181. For ordinance concerning the sale of herrings, see STAT., I., 353. In 1357 they were priced at 40s. the last (of 10,000, STAT., I., 205), or 4s. per 1000. In 1321 the price at the Fishwharf in London was ten for 1d., LIB. CUST., 386. In the LYNN SUBSIDY ROLL, temp. Ed. I., the last of herrings is priced at £3. NORFOLK ARCHÆOL., I., 337. At Nottingham a mayse of red herrings (*i.e.* about 500, CATH. ANGL., 225) was valued at 6s. 8d., NOTT. REC., I., 358. In 1397, 1060 herrings cost 25s., DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, App. A. In 1407-8 the last of herrings cost £6 13s. 4d., and 36s. was charged for carriage from Yarmouth to London.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{68}{10}$, App. B. [12] ROY. LET., I., 242.

was despatched with an apologetic letter to that "noble[1] and mighty personage of sacred religion," Conrad[2] of Jungingen, High Master of the German Order,[3] better known in England as the Master of Pruce[4] or Sprois, asking forbearance and deprecating any breach of the past friendly relations, on the ground that so many English vessels were arming to defend the coasts against the French and Bretons, that it was no wonder if some case of unintentional injury were done now and then. The English King repeated his proposal of the previous year, viz., that the traders on both sides should be allowed to continue their traffic without let till Easter, 1405, and that in the meantime, ambassadors should be sent from England to enquire into the claims and causes for complaint. The High Master replied from Marienburg on July 16th, 1404.[5] His letter is perfectly courteous and friendly in tone. He refers in vague terms to the dangers which all boats would experience in proceeding to the Sound that year, owing to the hostilities then pending between the Order and Queen Margaret of Denmark for the possession of the island of Gottland,[6] but he is quite firm in his refusal to admit of any postponement of the consideration of the claims against the English, and declines to accept any plea for further delay. This rejoinder seems to have brought the English council to a sense of the gravity of the situation, and on October 24th, 1404,[7] Robert Donington, a

[1] HAKLUYT, I., 159. [2] In CHMEL, 78, 105 (November 15th, 1402) he is called Conrad von Egloffstein, hochmeister des deutschen ordens. See also HŒFLER, RUPRECHT, 257. [3] The full official name was the Order of the Blessed Mary of Jerusalem (RYM., VIII., 395), des spitals unser vrouwen, or sente marien, or des deutschen huses von Jerusalem.—HIRSCH, DANZIG, 71, 104. The Knights wore beards and were dressed in white mantles (LANNOY, 13), with a black cross on the left arm (ALZOG, II., 705). See the monument of Conrad of Thüringen at Marburg (died 1241) in VOSSBERG, II., 56. [4] HIST. MSS., XITH REPT., App. III., p. 163; Magister de le Pruys, WALS., II., 198; BUIK OF CHRON., III., 446; SCOTICHRON., II., 416; BOUCICAUT, 233. [5] ROY. LET., I., 274; HAKLUYT, I., 160; HR., V., 137. [6] LANGEBEK, I., 397, V., 533. [7] ROY. LET., I., 401.

Hull merchant, was sent to Stralsund to attempt to allay the irritation in that town.

When the Parliament broke up at Coventry, November 14th, 1404, the Speaker, Sir William Esturmy,[1] and two other envoys, viz.: William Brampton, a citizen of London, and Master John Kington,[2] a canon of Lincoln, were appointed to proceed to Prussia to open negociations. Their personal importance had been somewhat overrated, for rumours[3] had reached Marienburg that a bishop and two knights were on their way. However, the High Master felt complimented by the appointment of a mission and regarded the envoys as "right notable

[1] He signs himself "Esturmy" in ROY. LET., I., 100, 101. See also HAKLUYT, I., 154; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 10; PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV., (Devon and Wilts), RYM., VIII., 395; KAL. AND INV., II., 68. In ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 99, CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 5, he is called "Stourmy." In REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., December 4th, 1408, the name is spelt "Sturmy" and "Esturmy" in the same entry. In YEAR BOOK, 14 H. IV., 15, it is "Estourmy." He was patron of Tedburn St. Mary, near Crediton, and Heanton Punchardon, near Barnstaple, though his claim was disputed by the King in 1412.—STAFF. REG., 94, 125. In 1394 he went with Richard II., to Ireland.—DAVIES, 136, who calls him "a well-learned man in the law." In 1399 he was one of the knights of the shire for Wilts (RETURN PARL., I., 259; see also Vol. I., 469), where he owned land at Chadham. In April, 1401, he was one of the envoys to the Duke of Gueldres (RYM., VIII., 190), and in 1402 he accompanied the Princess Blanche to Cologne. —PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 33; Vol. I., 253. On May 20th, 1406, he was one of the justices for gaol delivery at Marlborough.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 29. In REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 4th, 1406, he has custody of two-thirds of the manor of Tawstock, near Barnstaple (PIPE ROLL, DEVON, 7 H. IV.), lately belonging to Sir Fulk Fitzwaryn.—REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (April 25th and July 5th, 1408); called "Tavystoke" in REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH. (May 1st and June 2nd, 1409), or "Toustok," PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 22. For an interesting bundle of his papers now at Canterbury, see 5TH REPT. HIST. MSS., 443. These were copied by Pauli in 1876 who has some guesses as to how they came there in HANSISCHE GESCHICHTSBLÆTTER, 1877, p. 126. His copies are published in HR., Vol. V., 351. See also LITERÆ CANTUARIENSES, III., pp. xxviii., 79-107. He refers also to VESP. F., I., and NERO, B. II., which he transcribed years ago for the Library of the Academy at Berlin. [2] He was made Prebendary of Clifton, in the diocese of Lincoln, Jan. 2nd, 1401.—LE NEVE, II., 132. He had had to do with these questions previously.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 223. There is a reference to him in a letter in HARL., 431, 45 (23). He is called Kympton in ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (November 12th, 1406). [3] HR., V., 165, March 7th, 1405.

men."[1] On December 23rd, 1404,[2] an order was issued that none were to take the goods of the Prussians, or of the men of the Hanse, or of Lübeck, or of the Teutonic tongue. Two ships from Hamburg,[3] carrying beer, tar, wainscots,[4] and osmund, had been seized and carried to Scarborough, and two others, called the "Holy Christ of Prussia," and the "Mary-knight of Danzig," sailing between England and Zealand, had been captured by rovers from Cromer, Yarmouth, and Blakeney. An enquiry was held, and in the latter case the Sheriffs of Norfolk[5] and Suffolk were required to make restitution for the goods in the proportion of 16s. for every 10s. of value.

The members of the Hanse League, known to our forefathers as "Dutchmen,"[6] "Hansers Pruciers,"[7] or "Teutonics of Almain,"[8] had long held a strong position in all the large trading towns on the East coast of England. They had their counters[9] at Boston,[10] Yarmouth, Hull, and Lynn, but by far their strongest foothold was in London. Here they had their Gildhall[11] and Hanshouse,[12] to protect[13] their corn and other

[1] "Gar namhaftig manne."–Conrad to the Master of Livonia, August 12th, 1405. HR., v., 193; BUNGE, IV., 1663. [2] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 27. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 17, 40, October 14th, 1405, and January 29th, 1406. [4] *i.e.* deal planks known as "estricheboards," see LIB. ALB., I., 238; DUCANGE, S.V., "waynscots"; HERBERT, I., 87; HIST. MSS., 11TH REPT., App. III., 42, 230. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 9, 18, December 9th, 1404, and February 12th, 1405. [6] Cf. ROT. PARL., III., 578, with CHRON. GILES, 52. For "Duche Hanse," see ROT. PARL., VI., 123. [7] ROT. PARL., V., 144. [8] LIB. ALB., I., 535, 542. Teutonici Alemanii, LAPPENBERG, 11; Mercatores Alemanniæ, *ibid.*, 154; Marchantz d'Almaigne, ORD. PRIV. CO., IV., 87. [9] For Comptoir zu London, see LAPPENBERG, II., 102. For Kontor, see ZIMMERN, 95. [10] LAPPENBERG, 24. Those at Bristol, Norwich, and Ipswich were probably of a later date.—*Ibid.*, 33. N. and Q., 7th S., VIII., 424. [11] ROT. PARL., VI., 123, 198; LAPPENBERG, 12; HERBERT, I., 13; HR., I., XXVI.; DORGEEL; HALL, CUSTOMS, I., 24. [12] Hanshus.—T. SMITH, 151. Grandes hostielx et meaisons en lesqueles ils sont sole enhabitanz.—ROT. PARL., III., 626. For origin of hansa (*i.e.* house), see HANS.-GESCH.-BLÆTTER, 1872, p. 15. For the hanse of Amiens, see LIB. CUST., I., 71. For list of 45 towns with a hanse in England, Wales, and Ireland, see GROSS, I., 193. [13] LAPPENBERG, I., 72.

goods from thieves and weather, at the corner of Cosins Lane[1] and Windgoos Alley on the Wallbrook in Thames Street, and their dyehouse, wine-cellar, and a garden[2] planted with vines and fruit trees stretching down to the riverside. They were bound to watch[3] the Bishopsgate and to keep it in repair, but in return for this they were exempt from murage and pavage, and their poundage[4] did not exceed 3d., even when the whole country was paying at the rate of 1s. in the £. They gave to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London a present of £50 each every year, but they chose their own aldermen, who had jurisdiction in their courts. They rented houses in the Steelyard[5] at the back of their Gildhall, as well as rooms,[6] floors, and cellars in the adjoining streets. All the Hanse towns were represented, their interests being grouped[7] under the lead of Cologne[8] (including Gueldres and Dinant),[9] Lübeck (with the country eastward from the Rhine), and Danzig (as the chief town for Prussia, Livonia, and Gottland). Every member paid in his shot[10] to the common box, and had to abide by the common rules. Loose[11] women, barbers and goldsmiths apprentices were forbidden entrance to their yard, and no one was allowed to leave straw, or mess, or other foulness about, under penalty of a fine, to be paid in wax for their light to burn before the

[1] LAPPENBERG, I., 56; II., 32, 35, 148; ZIMMERN, 180. [2] LAPPENBERG, I., 73. [3] LIB. ALB., I., 485, 540; LIB. CUST., 112; STRYPE, I., II., 203; LAPPENBERG, I., 18, 88; II., 26; LOFTIE, 34, 92; KUNZE, XXIV. [4] HAKLUYT, I., 171; LAPPENBERG, II., 29. [5] In 1410 there is an order that the little door leading from the Gildhall to the Stahlhof must be kept closed.—LAPPENBERG, I., 25, 11, 120. They did not actually purchase the Steelyard (INQ. P. MORT., III., 71) till 1475, MACPHERSON, I., 691; though LAPPENBERG, 24, 71, shows that it was actually occupied by them as early as 1320. For guesses as to the meaning of Steelyard, see HANS.-GESCH.-BLÆTTER, 1887, pp. 129-135. [6] LAPPENBERG, I., 60; II., 117. [7] LAPPENBERG, I., 29; II., 104; HR., I., XXXI. [8] For the "Coloniens" or "Citizeins of Coloyn," with their separate Gildhall in Dowgate, see ROT. PARL., I., 315; LIB. ALB., I., 179, 229, 241; LIB. CUST., I., XLI., 66; PRICE, 33. The Latin inscriptions over the door are preserved in STRYPE, II., 205, from NATHAN CHYTRÆUS. [9] KUNZE, XV. [10] Schoss, schot.—LAPPENBERG, I., 25; II., 121. [11] LAPPENBERG, 24, 32; GROSS, I., 192-198; ZIMMERN, 190-192.

High Altar on Barbara's Day[1] in the Seamen's Church[2] of All Hallows the More. The meal and mornspeech[3] were held in the Gildhall, but no fighting or ball-playing was allowed, and no English friends could be brought in. The wealth of the London Hansers, and their value as moneylenders in the King's necessities, could always secure reasonable attention to the claims of their brethren abroad, and some idea of the extent of the trade between England and the Baltic towns, may be gathered from the fact that in 1392,[4] 300 English vessels cleared from Danzig alone with cargoes of corn, honey, salt, potash,[5] sweet wine, and skins[6] of Russian beaver,[7] rabbit,[8] martin, weasel, and ermine. Besides this there was a vast and growing trade in timber (especially yew,[9] from which the famous English bow-staff was made), tar, pitch, amber, tin, osmund[10] (or Swedish iron), Hungarian copper, and Danzig beer.[11] England in turn supplied the Hansers with woollen stuffs,[12] worsted, coverlets, and frieze, from London, Beverley, Hull, Colchester, Dublin, and Munster, which thus found their way to Novgorod[13] for distribution throughout Russia. In 1386,[14] four Englishmen obtained permission to form a counter in Danzig, and were

[1] Barberendach.—LAPPENBERG, I., 124; II., 27; ZIMMERN, 199. [2] LAPPENBERG, 124. [3] *Ibid.*, 58, 73, 106. [4] HIRSCH, DANZIG, 100; KEUTGEN, 71. [5] Aesche, HR., III., 498; woadaschen, POL. SONGS, II., 172; holzeasche, HANS.-GESCH.-BL., 1883, p. 114. [6] HR., V., 349. For list of furs see KUNZE, 317. [7] For brock and bauson, see PROMPT. PARV., 27, 53; CATHOL., 24, 44. [8] DENTON (165) seems scarcely justified in his argument based upon the "absence of much commerce with the northern countries of Europe, and the consequent scarcity of furs of greater value," &c. [9] KUNZE, XLV. [10] Ozemunt und allerleye yseren.—HR., V., 155. HÖHLBAUM, HANSISCHE URKUNDENBUCH, GLOSSARY, III., 2; ROGERS, I., 470. [11] DENTON, 204. [12] HR., III., 498; IV., 556; V., 331; HIRSCH, DANZIG, 97, 116, 120, 245, 257. For "wool and tin, our English commodities," see POL. SONGS, II., 161; VOLATERRANUS, 69. For a good account of imports and exports temp. Ed. III., see LIB. ALB., I., xciii. See also Robert of Gloucester (circ. 1300), HEARNE'S EDITION, *init.* For imports and exports of Hull (1401), which, after London, had the chief Baltic trade, see App. J. For fells or woolskins see HARD., 366; STAT., I., 289, 291. In 1407, Lord Furnival leaves to each of his executors, unam gregem multonum continentem 480 multones, TEST. EBOR., III., 42. [13] HR., V., 39. [14] HIRSCH, DANZIG, 98.

quickly joined by numbers of their countrymen as guests, accompanied by their wives and children.[1] They soon acquired the right of appointing their own Alderman, giving him power to settle their trade disputes, with the necessary prison and stocks for the punishment of defaulters. They purchased a building, still known as the English House,[2] where goods could be sold, business transacted, and lodgings obtained, but they were only to sell their stuff in the piece, with the selvedge[3] at both ends, and not cut it for retailing.

On October 16th, 1404,[4] the High Master had decided to expel the English from Danzig, and that henceforward no Englishman should be admitted to Prussian burghership, or be allowed to marry into a Prussian family, in Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, Culm, Königsberg, Braunsberg, or any other town in the district subject to the Teutonic Knights; while if any English trader had the misfortune to bring a cargo to any of their ports, he was not allowed to remove it, but was compelled to part with it there and then for any price that he could get. This challenge was answered by an order excluding certain Prussian goods from English ports, but the Danzigers outwitted it by shipping wood[5] in ballast, potash in beer barrels, pitch and tar in false packing, and other goods stowed away underneath their cargoes of grain.

But when troubles were gathering in the spring of 1405, it was obvious that England could not afford to multiply her enemies. On March 16th, 1405,[6] proclamations were sent to

[1] HR., v., 69. HANS.-GESCH.-BL., 1883, p. 122. [2] HIRSCH, DANZIG, 104. HANS.-GESCH.-BL., 1883, p. 122. [3] Sy sullen haben an byden enden ire selbende.—HR., IV., 13, 21, 98, 111. HANS.-GESCH.-BL., 1883, p. 122; HAKLUYT, I., 162. [4] HIRSCH, DANZIG, 102, from STADTBUCH OF DANZIG, IV. For similar order dated July 21st, 1402, see HR., v., 69. On December 7th, 1401, King Henry had asked Conrad to exclude all Scots from Prussia, whence they drew much of their wares and livelihood, HR., v., 64. For his refusal, dated June 1st, 1402, see *ibid.*, 65. [5] HR., v., 69. HANS.-GESCH.-BL., 1883, p. 122. [6] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 17 d.

every county, calling upon all who had complaints to make against the Germans to come before the council at Westminster with a view to their settlement. Esturmy and his two colleagues received their instructions on May 13th, 1405,[1] and left England at the end[2] of the month to make the best reparation that they could, and to endeavour to patch up an agreement with the Order and the Hanse towns. On June 8th, 1405,[3] the Duke of Burgundy wrote from Ghent to the High Master and the Hanse towns, asking their help against the English, who had just made their attempt upon Sluys, and urging them not to admit the coming envoys if they presented themselves. His letter was considered by the Hansers at a Diet held at Falsterbö during the herring-tide, June 24th, 1405, and on July 3rd,[4] copies of it were forwarded to the Prussian towns, but they received a reply written on August 10th, 1405,[5] informing them that the English envoys had already arrived, and had been received by the High Master at Marienburg two days before. The High Master delayed his answer[6] till he saw the envoys in person, and then replied that the business of his Order was to fight the heathen, not the English, a quarrel with whom would strike at the trade not only of Danzig, but also of Hamburg and Cologne.

The Great Commodore,[7] the Over Spitler,[8] and the Treasurer, were appointed to represent the Order in the negociations, the Burgomasters[9] of Thorn, Elbing, and Danzig were to look after the interests of their respective towns, the Master in Livonia

[1] RYM., VIII., 395, 396. HR., V., 192, 207. KUNZE, 205. HIST. MSS., 5TH REPORT, 443. [2] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (November 12th, 1406), and 11 H. IV., MICH. (November 29th, 1409), have expenses of Kington from May 31st, 1405, to February 17th, 1406. [3] HR., V., 185. [4] *Ibid.*, 186. [5] *Ibid.*, 189, [6] For his letter dated August 30th, 1405, see HR., V., 195. [7] RYM., VIII., 492. For Kompthur, see HIRSCH, *passim.* [8] Ober-Spittler = supremus hospitalarius—HR., V., 282. [9] HR., V., 193. HIRSCH, DANZIG, 102.

was informed of the state of matters, and a definite reply was promised after Lübeck and the western towns had met and deliberated at Michaelmas. "Divers treaties and conferences" were held at different places,[1] and claims and counterclaims were put forward on both sides. Such as presented no formidable difficulty were settled off hand. Others in which the details did not admit of ready settlement, and concerning which the English envoys were "very slightly informed,"[2] were held over to be considered on November 18th, 1405,[3] at Dordrecht, where the Danzigers had recently[4] established a counter. The cities of Riga and Dorpat, and other places in Livonia which were subject to the Order and had suffered most from English piracy, claimed 50,000 nobles[5] as indemnity, and their claims were set down for consideration at the same time and place, and after signing an agreement in presence of the High Master in the castle of Marienburg, on October 8th, 1405,[6] the English envoys set out to return. Brampton took ship for England, carrying several documents with him, but the ship was lost[7] with all hands, and he and the papers went to the bottom. Esturmy and Kington, in accordance with their instructions, touched at Greifswald, Stralsund, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, and negociated in similar terms with the Burgomasters. On behalf of the English King, they undertook that all the privileges of the Hansers in England, their exemptions from municipal dues and market tolls, and all their old chartered rights[8] should be inviolably observed, and recompense was to be made for injuries if the case were fully made out at the coming

[1] NERO, B. II., 17 (49), shows that the English envoys were at Danzig on August 28th, 1405. [2] HAKLUYT, I., 154. [3] HR., V., 195. [4] *i.e.* in 1387, HIRSCH, DANZIG, 32; LAPPENBERG, 19. [5] POSILJE, 281. [6] HAKLUYT, I., 164; POSILJE, 281; HR., V., 194. [7] HR., V., 374. [8] See their claims stated by themselves in HAKLUYT, I., 171; also LIB. ALB., I., 549.

meetings. Representatives from the various cities subsequently met the two English envoys at Dordrecht, where an indenture was drawn up and duly signed on December 15th, 1405,[1] according to which a truce was arranged for one year and seven months, and in the meantime the question of damages was to be discussed again at Dordrecht on May 1st, 1406.

Esturmy and Kington were back in London by February 18th, 1406,[2] and when Parliament met in the following month, the result of their mission was announced, the truce[3] was proclaimed, and orders were issued on March 3rd, 1406,[4] that all who injured the trade of the Hanse Towns of Prussia, must make the stipulated restitution.

[1] HAKLUYT, I., 166; HR., V., 208. [2] HR., V., 234; KUNZE, 217; ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (November 12th, 1406). [3] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., has payments to messengers with proclamations, dated March 26th, 1406. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 568. CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 22 (March 8th, 1406), refers to complaints through "our ambassadors lately appointed for parts of Prussia."

CHAPTER XLI.

FLANDERS.

ILL feeling, however, was still kept up in Flanders. Piracy was continued, trade was disturbed, and scarcely a day passed but herring-boats were seized by the English in the North Sea. In January, 1405, a large Flemish vessel belonging to John Leys,[1] who boasted that she was a match[2] for all comers, was captured by the English between Dover and Calais while making the passage with a heavy cargo from Sluys to Spain. Many of the crew were killed, and a large sum was paid in ransom for the lives of the rest. On the other hand, an English crayer[3] was captured by the Flemings and sold at Nieuport for more than 100 nobles.

But these and other similar attacks did not prevent the continuance of negociations. On December 5th, 1404, Nicholas Rishton arrived at Calais after his interview[4] with King Henry at Coventry. Two days afterwards he wrote[5] to the other side agreeing to attend a meeting at Santingfeld,[6] near Leulinghen, on the 15th or 18th of December, 1404. His colleague, Thomas, Lord Camoys, had fallen ill on the journey from London to Dover, but he expected him shortly, and if the Duchess of Burgundy would nominate a bishop on her side, then Bishop Richard Yonge, of Bangor, would join the negociators from

[1] Possibly the same as "Hankyne Lyons," in POL. SONGS, II., 183. [2] MEYER, 220. [3] *Ibid.*, 219. Cf. En nave en galée en craiers.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 68. [4] Vol. I., p. 472. [5] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 3. [6] It may possibly be the same as St. Inglevert, which is called St. Ingheleverth in FROIS., XIV., 106; Sanctum Ydevardum in ST. DENYS, I., 674; St. Inglebert, FROIS., XIV., 408, PICHON, 74; St. Yldebert, EC. DES CHARTES, XLVIII., 413.

England. The Duchess on her side issued a paper of instructions at Arras, on December 19th, 1404,[1] authorizing her representatives to meet the English at Santingfeld, on December 24th, 1404, but declining again[2] to recognise the right of the Flemish towns to take part in the negociations. These towns, however, known as the Four Members, *i.e.*, Ypres, Ghent, Bruges, and its neighbouring district of the Frank,[3] held their ground and appointed[4] new Commissioners in the opening of 1405. On February 9th, 1405,[5] the Duchess issued an order similar to those of the previous May[6] and November,[7] forbidding her subjects to molest the English, and requiring them to restore captured goods.

On the 12th of March, 1405,[8] English commissioners were authorized to treat with the Duchess, and to communicate also with the French, if they saw fit to go on with the negociations "of their own motion."[9] On March 15th, 1405,[10] they forwarded a report from Calais to the Council in London showing they had already had some meetings with the Flemish envoys, that negociations were fairly afoot, and that some preliminary articles for an understanding had been already agreed upon.

[1] TRANSCRIPTS OF FOREIGN RECORDS, 143, 5, 81. [2] See Vol. I., 465. [3] Le Franc, FROIS., X., 216; or le terroir de Francq, VARENBERG, 572; FROIS., XXII., 285; RYM., VIII., 656, 667; ITINÉRAIRES, 327, 380; des landes van den Vryen, HR., VI., 19, 571; Le Franc de Bruges, FROIS., X., 58, 85, 91, &c.; the Franconate, MEYER, 195 a. Cf. la Franchise, LIBER CUSTUMARUM, I., 80. [4] VARENBERGH, 492; OUDEGHERST, II., 391, 536. [5] VARENBERGH, 493. [6] Vol. I., p. 441. In May, 1404, she wrote to Rishton about a meeting for a treaty.—GALBA, B. I., 69, wrongly dated 1405 in Catalogue. For instructions to her from the council in Paris, dated May 24th, 1404, see ADD. MSS., 11298, ff. 33-36; DOUET D'ARCQ., I., 251. [7] TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (LILLE), 143, 5, 82, has a despatch dated February 8th, 1405, from Monfrand d'Essines, Bailiff of Flanders, to the Duchess of Burgundy, announcing that he has proclaimed that no one should molest the English in accordance with her order, dated Arras, Nov. 4th, 1404. [8] RYM., VIII,, 391. [9] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 256. [10] GALBA, B. I., 33, enclosing reports from Sir Richard Aston and others, dated March 6th (*ibid.*, 32), and March 12th (*ibid.*, 31). A letter in *ibid.*, 99, headed "the French to English ambassadors," dated Arras, March 15th, should perhaps be "Flemish." An answer was duly sent, *ibid.*, 99 d.

But on the 21st of March, 1405,[1] the Duchess of Burgundy died at Arras[2] quite suddenly in a fit of apoplexy,[3] in the 56th year of her age. Her body was carried to Lille, where it was buried by the side of her father[4] and mother in the Chapel of Our Lady of the Trellis,[5] in the Collegiate Church of St. Pierre.[6] Her collection of 126 books, of which an original catalogue is still preserved, was taken over by the Bishop of Bayeux, who had them transferred[7] seven years afterwards to the Chambre des Comptes at Dijon.

The news of her death was notified to the English envoys

[1] ITINÉRAIRES, 346; ST. DENYS, III., 234; COUSINOT, 110; OUDEGHERST, II., 615; BARANTE, II., 176; LETTENHOVE, III., 57. In MONSTR., I., 95, the day is given as Friday before Mid-Lent, called March 27th in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 256. MEYER, 221, has March 16th, which was the date given on the tomb erected by her grandson in 1455.—MILLIN, V., liv, 58; VINCART, 51, 176, which may be a mistake for XXI. For her portrait, see MONTFAUCON, III., 186. [2] MEYER, 221. PARADIN, p. 472 (1566), says Ghent. See also TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 14. [3] ST. DENYS, III., 334. "Maladie hastive."—MONSTR., I., 95. [4] For their tomb, see MONTFAUCON, III., 183. [5] Notre Dame de la Treille, Virgo a cancellis, Virgo cancellata, the patron saint of Lille.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 14; OUDEGHERST, II., 580; LETTENHOVE, III., 57; MILLIN, V., 54; VINCART, 28, 49, who derives the name (p. 30) from her being la grande chancellière de Dieu, or from prospiciens per cancellos, in SONG OF SOLOMON, II., 9. Cf. Clerico Trelliæ pro custodiendo pheretrum per ix dies processionis.—DEHAISNES, II., 785. [6] The church was destroyed during the Terror, but a representation of the tomb is preserved in MONTFAUCON, III., 184; MILLIN, V., 56. [7] ADD. MS., 29318, with order dated December 15th, 1412. The inventory, including Hours, Psalters, Romances and Prayers, was begun at Arras, May 6th, 1405, and sealed September 8th, 1413.—BARROIS, 144; PEIGNOT, 7; DEHAISNES, II., 855-920; LABORDE, I., 57-76; GOTTLIEB, 119; BECKER, 296; MATTER, 19, 39; ANZEIGER F. BIBLIOGRAPHIE (1841), p. 105; FRANKLIN, BIBL. DU ROY, 298. For summary of inventory of her jewels and other meebles, see LABORDE, I., 108-111. The original fills 69 sheets, and includes gold crosses, hats, frontiaux, coiffes de perles et de pierryes, collars, buckles, boutonnières, girdles, attaches (pins, &c.), garters, rings, pockets, paternosters in gold, coral, and jet, reliquaries, tablets, ivory and alabaster images, paxes, chalices, barets, candlesticks, napery, kitchen and chamber vessels (in silver and tin), dog collars, &c., &c. For books of her husband, Duke Philip le Hardi, see LABORDE, I., 41-51; DELISLE, I., 68; SANTANDER LASERNA, 9; FRANKLIN, BIBL. DU ROY, 292; DEHAISNES, II., 825-854; BECKER, 296. For books of her daughter-in-law, Margaret, wife of Duke John sans Peur, 1423, see BARROIS, 114; GOTTLIEB, 119; LABORDE, I., 76-85.

by her son,[1] John, Duke of Burgundy, who now succeeded to the government of Flanders at the age of 33. He is pictured for us as a stunted,[2] stern,[3] suspicious man. When 25 years of age he had been captured[4] by the Turks at Nicopolis, and the French and Flemish towns had paid prodigious sums for his ransom.[5] He spent some months in captivity at Mikalidsh,[6] near Broussa, and seems to have taken the fancy of his captor, who admitted him to be a spectator of some of his savagery and horseplay. He was hawking with Bajazet when 2,000 falconers were within an ace of being beheaded because a bird did not fly to the Sultan's liking, and he stood and looked on while that modern Solomon[7] opened the stomach of one of his varlets, who was charged with stealing a poor woman's goat's milk, to see if the milk was really in the culprit's inside. On his return to Venice, a journey usually made in thirty or forty days,[8] the young Ulysses and his friends travelled very leisurely and passed a pleasant time amongst the Grecian isles,[9] "refreshing themselves" amidst the witching scenes of Corfu and Zante, and

[1] He was born at Dijon, May 28th, 1371.—FROIS., XXII., 284; ART DE VER, II., 515; ITINÉRAIRES, V.; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 234. On April 12th, 1385, he had married Margaret, daughter of Albert, Count of Holland.—OUDEGHERST, II., 610; SPONDE, I., 691. For a character of him, see LUSSAN, IV., 108. For his signature "Jehan," see BARROIS, 49. For his tomb at Dijon, see PLANCHER, III., 526. [2] Staturâ pusillus.—ST. DENYS, III., 143; LETTENHOVE, III., 43. For his portrait, see BARANTE, II., 417; PLANCHER, III., 211; MONTFAUCON, III., 186; LEROUX DE LINCY, 344 (from MS., F. LA VALLIÈRE, No. 177); BASTARD, XV. (from MS., Fr. 8392). [3] Subtil doubteux et souppechonneux.—LA MARCHE, I., 83. [4] "Comme seet monseigneur de Nevers."—BONET, APPAR., 23.

> Qui fis aler Monseigneur de Nevers,
> En ton pais desloyal et divers.
>
> PISAN, II., 198. Cf. DESCHAMPS, VII., 77.

According to RABBI JOSEF, I., 253, he was brought naked before Bajazet, and wept and flung himself at his feet. But the old Jew is a terrible romancer, always inventing Old Testament effects. [5] LETTENHOVE, III., 49. See the documents in FROIS., XXII., 285; BARANTE, II., 26, 66, 424. [6] DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 301. [7] FROIS., XVI., 44. For the same story told of Timur, see RAYNALDI, XVII., 284. [8] FROIS., XVI., 449. [9] FROIS., XVI., 54.

lingering lovingly with the "sweet and humble" Calypsos who held converse with fairies in Cephalonia. In consequence of some acts of courage in the half-hour's *mêlée* at Othée, against the ill-harnessed and defenceless craftsmen and millers of Liége (September 23rd, 1408),[1] he was dubbed John the Fearless, though his bearing in his first great fight at Nicopolis had not warranted so lofty a name.[2]

The new Duke was willing that the negociations with the English should proceed, and that the next meeting should be held at Gravelines on the 10th or 13th of April, 1405, but fresh commissions had to be taken out in order to prevent informality in the proceedings. On the 7th of April,[3] the English envoys wrote to the council in London for fresh instructions, and preliminaries were discussed at Gravelines[4] on Wednesday, April 15th, 1405,[5] where a four months' truce was arranged to date from March 25th, 1405, and proposals were made for a final meeting somewhere on May 15th following. Many "long paper indentures" were prepared, with sheets upon sheets of "small letter"[6] docketted with good intentions, but they all came to nothing, like those of previous years. As to the French, the envoys reported that though they had sent many letters[7] to them suggesting an early meeting, they had as yet received no reply. Indeed, news had lately reached them from a reliable source, that the philosophic Lord of Heugueville,[8]

[1] LETTENHOVE, III., 46; ST. DENYS, IV., 170; MONSTR., I., 365, 389; WAUR., 127. In ART DE VER (II., 515), the title is attributed to his dauntless air when in the presence of Bajazet, after Nicopolis. See also LETTENHOVE, FROIS., XXII., 284. [2] Cellui fut paoureux doubteux et traistre.—MONSTR., I., 309. This was spoken a few days before the battle of Othée, when no one dreamt of calling him fearless. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 256. [4] VARENBERGH, 493, from LILLE ARCHIVES, B, 1364. ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 258; II., 101. [5] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 5, 8. [6] Feuillez de menue lettre.—VARENBERGH, 544. [7] There is still a letter preserved, written by the English to the French ambassadors from Calais, on the 31st of March, 1405.—GALBA, B. I., 99, e. [8] See his long memorandum in reference to his visit to England in October, 1400, in LETTENHOVE, FROIS., XVI., 366-377.

whose herald had been the bearer of their letters, had just been visiting Holland, where he had contracted for himself some family connection, and was using his influence in collecting ships to begin a summer of plundering in the "sharp, narrow sea."[1]

As long as the French maintained their threatening attitude, no serious effort was made in England to stop the business of the pirates. The redoubtable Henry Pay, of Poole, was empowered to fit out cruisers to "do what damage he could to our notorious enemies and to deal destruction on them." The Admirals were enjoined to assist him (October 3rd, 1404,)[2] in procuring ships and men, and before the 1st of November, 1404, the harbours of Dartmouth and Plymouth were crowded with craft ready for employment. Orders were issued to arrest the pirates (December 28th, 1404), and an enquiry[3] was held under Admiral Thomas Beaufort on January 2nd, 1405, but it did not check the evil. Once let loose, the rovers would not be over-nice in singling out the cargoes of "notorious enemies," but would practise their calling upon all and sundry that came their way. On the 6th of February, 1405,[4] Philip Tailor and John Wells, of Bristol, received permission to fit out cruisers at their own cost. Rovers from Newcastle, Blakeney, Holkham,[5] Salthouse, Wiverton, Cley, Cromer, Sherringham, and Yarmouth, seized shipping from Amsterdam[6] and Kamp, off the coast of Holland. On January 7th, 1405,[7] orders were sent out for the detention of vessels from Schiedam. Herring-boats from Brielle,[8] at the mouth of the Maas, were swept into the Humber by the Scarborough men and sold at Grimsby, and shipping from Amsterdam and Zierickzee[9] was captured and driven in to Lynn. On one occasion, 36 Dutch merchants and

[1] POL. SONGS, II., 191. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 31. [3] *Ibid.*, 1, 18. [4] *Ibid.*, 1, 12. Cf. Vol. I., 226. [5] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 29, d. [6] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 21; *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 18. [7] *Ibid.*, 29. [8] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 25 (Nov. 17th, 1405); RYM., VIII., 274. [9] Called Serise in CL., 7 H. IV., 18.

sailors from the ships "Marienknyght"[1] and "Godesghenade," of Amsterdam, were thrown into the sea, and the cargoes brought into Scarborough[2] and Blakeney to be disposed of. John, Lord of Brederode, crossed from Holland to London on May 25th, 1406,[3] to enter protests, and, as a consequence, the English commissioners, who were about to negociate with the Hansers, were instructed to include claims for redress from Holland,[4] Zealand, and Kamp, at the coming meeting at Dordrecht. This meeting never really came about, for reasons which will be afterwards explained, but the Burgomaster of Kamp was present at the meeting at the Hague on August 31st, 1407, at which all these claims were for the first time seriously considered. Danish vessels with cargoes of wax, idromel[5] or bragot (a mixture of ale and honey), eels, pigs' bristles, &c., valued at 840 nobles, were captured by the men of Whitby,[6] and we have records of a Portuguese vessel taken and the cargo sold at Plymouth, January 14th, 1405, and a Spanish ship[7] laden with oil, captured by the men of Dartmouth (December 14th, 1404). The Spaniards retaliated, and

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 29. [2] The men of Scarborough carried on a dangerous trade with the distant shores of Iceland for cod (called "stock-fish" when dried). This trade remained a monopoly in their hands till about 1424, when an adventurous crew found their way up from Bristol "by nedle and by stone," and straightway the profits dwindled away.—POL. SONGS, II., 191; HAKLUYT, I., 201. For an account of the compass, which was usually a needle fastened to a rush or a piece of cork, and floated on water, see MAJOR, 58, quoting MONTHLY MAGAZINE or BRITISH REGISTER, 1802, Vol. XIII., Pt. I., 449; also KRETSHMER, p. 75, from GUYOT DE PROVINS; WRIGHT, VOCABULARIES, I., xvi., 114; NICOLAS, NAVY, I., 248; II., 180; JAL., s. v. "Boussole," who shows that the floating rush was generally used in Europe in the twelfth century. The Chinese had their compass in the first century, A.D. [3] RYM., VIII., 441; HR., V., 530. [4] CL., 7 H. IV., 2; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 16, July 13th, 1406. [5] For recipes for making it, see ARNOLD 188; CATHOLICON, s. v. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 26, d, April 20th, 1405. [7] *Ibid.*, I, 20. MEYER (219) notes the capture of Spanish and Eastern (*i.e.*, Prussian) vessels *(natio orientalium)* by the English in 1404.

three ships from Tenby,[1] the "Katherine," the "Red Cog," and the "Trinity," fell into their hands, with cargoes valued at £970. The Scots[2] were plundered like the rest, though the truce had not yet expired, and Calais[3] was a convenient station for entrapping the defenceless shipping that focussed at the narrow strait.

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15, d, July 8th, 1405. [2] *Ibid.*, 31, d, March 24th, 1405. [3] RYM., VIII., 420; ROT. SCOT., II., 176.

CHAPTER XLII.

MARCK.

IN face of all this, however, negociations with the French went forward without interruption. On the 6th of March, 1405,[1] one of the negociators, Bishop Richard Yonge, had been entrusted with certain documents from the Treasury, including a letter "concerning a contract of marriage under the seal of the King of France," though it does not appear what these new matrimonial proposals were. The French archives show that an agreement for continuing the negociations was signed and confirmed by the English King on March 10th, 1405,[2] while communications of a semi-private nature were still passing for the ransom[3] of the Frenchmen who had been captured at Humbledon. Nevertheless, it was thought necessary to despatch a strong English force to Calais to be ready for action as emergencies should arise. The muster was to be at Southampton on the 1st of April, 1405,[4] under the command of a Cornishman,[5] Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, who had just been appointed to take command of the castle of Marck.

[1] KAL. AND INV., II., 67. [2] TILLET, GUERRES ET TRAICTEZ, 122. [3] RYM., VIII., 393, March 29th, 1405. [4] ORD. PRIV. COUNCIL, I., 250. [5] DUGDALE, II., 422. In STAFF. REG., 6, 36, 194, he appears as patron of churches in Cornwall. In 1407-8 he was Sheriff of Cornwall.—REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 12th, 1408. In REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV. PASCH., May 24th, 1409, he is nuper vic. Cornub. His wife is called Annora (STAFF. REG., 270), or Annor, daughter of Sir William Lambourne.—COLL. TOP., I. 306. His will dated April 18th, 1433 is given in COLL. TOP., III., 392. According to BOASE AND COURTNEY (III., 1037) he was born in 1367. He tilted at St. Inglevert in 1390, when he is called young and frek (joeune et frisque.—FROIS., XIV., 131)—ST. DENYS, I., 676. From PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 19, it would appear that a Sir John Arundell was dead, and the Prince of Wales was to have all his lands, June 14th, 1405.

In the previous August,[1] 5,000 marks had been granted in the Great Council at Lichfield, for the relief of the garrison at Calais, but they were still in a pitiable condition,[2] and the English envoys writing from the town on the 7th of April, 1405, urged the necessity for immediate payment of their wages, "to avoid greater scandals and visible perils more grave than usual." They despatched a messenger, John Brisingham, to report matters fully in London, and ask for sanction to their proceedings. Before he arrived, fresh commissions had been issued to suit the altered prospect caused by the death of the Duchess of Burgundy. The council undertook to consider the question, and to lay it before another Great Council, which would meet at Westminster on the first Monday in May. One of the commissioners, John Urban, was to wait in London and attend that Council and carry over further instructions when matters had been discussed. In the meantime, his colleagues in Calais were advised to do their best "sagely[3] and discreetly, and induce the other side to prorogue and extend the time for eight or ten days," in the hope of receiving a further reply to guide them in their future proceedings. Accordingly, communications continued to pass. On the 30th of April, 1405,[4] the French commissioners wrote from Paris to the English in Calais. On May 4th, 1405,[5] the English envoys reported the result of their negociations to the King, on May 6th[6] they replied to the French commissioners, and on May 10th[7] they sent a further account of their position to the council in London. They had now, however, an opportunity of testing by their own experience, the value of those airy sentiments which

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 5, with side-note, showing that it is entered in wrong year. [2] CALIG. D., IV., 70, has letter from Calais merchants to Privy Council, March, 1405. Also CALIG. D., IV., 72, "City of Calais to Henry IV.," April 29th, 1405. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 257, April 29th, 1405. [4] GALBA, B. I., 99 b. [5] *Ibid.*, 97. [6] *Ibid.*, 99 a. [7] *Ibid.*, 96.

might be diplomatically bandied about while the ground was being mined and occupied to catch the garrison unawares.

About five miles[1] to the south-east of Calais stood the little castle of Marck.[2] It was built on an artificial mound rising out of the marsh, and formed, with the castle of Oye, one of the English outposts on the side of Gravelines. The possession of Marck had long been obstinately disputed by the English, for the loss of it would jeopardize their hold upon Calais itself. The place had been the scene of violent conflicts between them and the French in the reign of Edward III., but after varying fortunes they had finally retained their hold upon it as vital[3] to their occupation of the whole surrounding region. The castle and town had been for some time under the command of a Lancashire knight, Sir John Croft,[4] of Dalton, in Kendal, but he had been compelled to resign his charge on account of failing health,[5] after long service abroad. On February 7th, 1405,[6] Sir John Arundel was appointed to succeed him, and he

[1] Quatuor millibus, ST. DENYS, III., 258; une grosse lieue, MONSTR., I., 101; une bonne lieue, WAURIN, IV., Chap. XIII., p. 94; ad grande miliare, MEYER, 222; deux lieues, FROIS., XXV., 72; HALLE (23), who is full of mistakes, says, "thre leages"; tria millia passuum, POL. VERG., 434; four leagues, LUSSAN, IV., 183. [2] So called in a letter dated May 23rd, 1405, in VARENBERGH, 494; also "Mark," *ibid.*, 553; or "Merke," RYM., VIII., 469. [3] WALS., I., 344; FROIS., XIV., 315; EC. DES CHARTES, I., 357. [4] RYM., VIII., 279; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 36; CAL. ROT. PAT., 188. PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 18 (June 16th, 1408), refers to a dispute between him and J. Lancaster, as to houses belonging to Marck on the march of Picardy. Lancaster was Captain of Marck in 1391 (FROIS., XXII., 37), and one of the champions at St. Inglevert in 1390.—*Ibid.*, XIV., 120, 413. Croft is not to be confounded with Sir John Croft, of Croft Castle, Herefordshire, who married Janet, daughter of Owen Glendower.—LLOYD, I., 215. [5] He settled his estates in 1396, but did not die till December 31st, 1419.—CHET. SOC., XCV., 141. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 11. He held the command at Marck till November 23rd, 1408, when he resigned it to William Swinburn. See CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 39 (December 1st, 1405); FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 5, 6 (July, 1407); RYM., VIII., 542 (July 3rd, 1408); FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 5, 18, 21; PRIV. SEAL, 645/6260. PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 24 (May 20th, 1409), still refers to Arundel as Captain of Marck; but in FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 8 (September 18th, 1409) Swinburn is Captain; also PAT., 12 H. IV., 4 (August 14th, 1411); FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 28 (January 26th, 1411);

was now making preparations to cross with fresh troops from Southampton to take over his new command.

At the very moment when the English negociators were issuing and receiving courteous expressions of their desire for peace with France and Flanders, a large force of French and Flemings was on the point of striking a terrific blow for the capture of the castle of Marck. The winter months had not been lost. Engines[1] and "sows" had been collected in abundance, and an army estimated at 400 or 500 mounted men-at-arms, with their followers, had been gathered from the neighbouring districts of Picardy, Artois, and Boulogne. Two thousand Flemish[2] peasants and citizens, and 500 Genoese[3] cross-bowmen joined them at Gravelines, and the whole force assembled early in May, 1405, at St. Omer, under the command of the Count of St. Pol, as Captain of Picardy. They then advanced northwards to Tournehem, and at midnight on the 12th of May, 1405,[4] appeared suddenly before the castle of Marck. At once they attempted an assault. The little garrison, numbering according to one account[5] 80 archers and 24 "other soldiers," were taken by surprise. They abandoned the town and withdrew within the walls of the castle, where they made a gallant defence, a large number of sheep,[6] horses, and cattle falling into the hands of the French. The assailants then set to work to utilize the ground which they had gained, and to

ibid., 13 H. IV., 10, 14, 22 (May 18th, July 12th, October 17th, 1411). CAL. ROT. HIB., 179 (May 8th, 1405), refers to a Dublin vessel wrecked on the Cornish coast, and plundered by the tenants of Sir John Arundel, a lord in Cornwall. For Arundel, see HOARE, WILTS., IV., 176. On March 23rd, 1390, Sir John Arundel fought at St. Inglevert.—PICHON, 71.

[1] MONSTR., XXIV.; ANN., 400. [2] LETTENHOVE, III., 61. [3] For the fame of the Genoese, see DU TRET DE GENNE ET DE LEURS VIRETONS, DESCHAMPS, IV., 272. [4] ANN., 400. [5] HALLE (23), who puts the engagement on July 16th, 1403, and says the captain was an esquire named Philip Halle. [6] "Horse, kyen, and catell," HALLE, 22.

establish a regular siege. On the English side no time was to be lost. We do not know whether the force which was collecting on the south coast under Sir John Arundel had yet arrived, but looking to the difficulty in getting wages for the King's army in Wales, and with Prince Thomas' force still locked up for want of money at Sandwich, it is probable that the garrison of Calais was still unrelieved. This much we know, that the council in London was overwhelmed with a feeling of the "great necessity"[1] which beset them at home, and was unable to find funds for the barest emergencies without begging advances on taxation not yet due.

The Captain of Calais,[2] John, Earl of Somerset, had been invalided[3] in England during the past winter, and had undertaken the duties of Constable[4] of England while the King's son John was absent in the North. His command at Calais, had been taken over in the meantime, by a succession of knights as his lieutenants, viz.: Hugh Luttrell,[5] Steward of Queen Joan's

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 261, *circ.* May 15th, 1405. [2] In RYM., VIII., 229, November 1st, 1401, he is Captain of the *town* of Calais. On April 1st, 1402, he was granted the custody of the castle of Calais for 12 years, FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 3. He is Captain of the town and castle, with the Lancaster tower, on the haven, on January 22nd, February 9th, and May 6th, 1406, in PAT., 7 H. IV., I., 7, 17; II., 35. FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 9, 10 (May 8th and 20th, 1406), records that he is about to proceed to Calais, though he was at Westminster on December 22nd, 1406.—ROT. PARL., III., 585. On March 10th, 1407, he is still called Captain of Calais, RYM., VIII., 476, also November 16th, 1407, ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH. (though then at Gloucester), July 3rd, October 18th, 1408 (RYM., VIII., 541, PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 26), and March 9th, 1409 (ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH). In PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 8, July 16th, 1409, Hugh de Blees, Marshal of the town of Calais, is his deputy. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 260. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 30, October 20th, 1404. [5] ROY. LET., I., 188, December, 1403; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXVII., 163. In TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3, July 26th, 1402, he is Lieutenant of Calais, but another despatch (*ibid.*, 143, 5, 79), dated November 5th, 1403, announces that he is so no longer. On May 13th, 1404, he is Mayor of Bordeaux.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 223. He fought at St. Inglevert on March 28th, 1390.—PICHON, 72; and had been an esquire in the household of John of Gaunt, together with Richard Aston and Thomas Swinford.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 6 b.

Household, Richard Aston[1] of Chichester, and Thomas Swinford[2] his half-brother, but he had just returned to his post when the French attack began. In every way it seemed as if the castle of Marck must fall. On the second day after the arrival of the enemy, 100 English men-at-arms rode out of Calais and approached near enough to the French lines to satisfy themselves as to the true state of affairs. They then retired unmolested. No time was to be lost. The name[3] of the Count of St. Pol did not stand high enough in that region to scare them from risking a rapid dash before the French had had time to establish themselves as besiegers, or the little garrison at Marck had begun to feel the pinch of a straight siege. Following the singular practice that we have already noticed at Edinburgh[4] and Shrewsbury,[5] they forthwith despatched a herald to the Count of St. Pol, announcing that on the following day they would dine with him if he would stay where he was.

[1] March 18th, August 17th, 1404.—ROY. LET., 225, 288. On October 26th, 1404, he took command of the castle of Oye, as Lieutenant for the Earl of Somerset (CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 32), during the captivity of John Lardner, who had been seized by the Earl of St. Pol, and was still a prisoner, September 24th, 1404 (TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3), though he took over his command again on Nov. 6th, 1404 (CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 33). On December 8th, 1404, Aston writes to the Duchess of Burgundy as Lieutenant of Calais, asking for a safe-conduct for Robert Chepebroke, who is going on pilgrimage to Rome.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 3. On Oct. 21st, 1404, and Jan. 13th, 1405, he grants safe-conducts as Lieutenant of Calais (*ibid.*, 135, 3). On July 3rd and Oct. 5th, 1406, June 12th, 1407, March 5th and June 11th, 1408, he is King's Lieutenant of the town of Calais.—RYM., VIII., 444, 452, 487, 511, 535; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 2, 6. ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., October 3rd, 1405, has payment Ric. Aston militi de com. Cicestr. due to pay 1,000 marks redemption money to the French, of which the King promised to pay half. In PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 1, he is called Astyn. In ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 13th, 1406, he is in command of the garrison at Calais together with William Bowes. [2] He signs as custos castri et villæ Calisii, on September 1st, 24th, Oct. 8th, 20th, 1404.—ROY. LET., I., 308, 376, 394; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3. In March, 1405, and July 3rd, 1406, he was a Commissioner for negociating with Flanders.—RYM., VIII., 391, 444. [3] ST. DENYS, IV., 602. [4] Vol. I., 138. [5] *Ibid.*, 358. Cf. the Duke of Bedford and Earl Douglas at Verneuil.—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 393.

Not to be outdone in civilities, he sent back word that they should find their dinner ready and the battle set. This at least is the picturesque story told in the French accounts. But the English version is more reasonable. It asserts that on the third afternoon after their arrival, the besiegers were set upon *suddenly*[1] and taken altogether unawares. Sir Richard Aston[2] hastily prepared a force of 200 men-at-arms, 200 archers, and 300 foot. They were lightly armed and carried no baggage, but were followed by twelve cartloads of arrows and provisions. They broke upon the French, hailed volleys into their lines, and had them in a bushment.[3] The Flemings, who were serving on compulsion[4] and thought far more of their homes than of the interests of the French, were the first to fly. The Genoese had wasted their quarrels[5] on the walls of Marck, and the arrow-smiths[6] had no relays pointed and ready to meet this new attack in rear. The French knights made the best stand they could, but at length, to the surprise[7] of all, the whole force broke up and ran in confusion for their lives, leaving their arms and harness in the hands of their plucky assailants. Some of the fugitives, including many of the Genoese arblasters, escaped to Ardres.[8] Fifteen French knights were killed and hosts of prisoners were taken, the killed and captured amounting in all to more than 900 men.[9] Amongst the notable prisoners were the Captains of Boulogne (Jean de Hangest),[10] Gravelines,

[1] Repente, ANN., 400; illico, ST. DENYS, III., 260. [2] WAURIN, 96; MEYER, 222. Called "Harson" in MONSTR., Ch. XXIV., SVEYRO, II., 58; or "Harsi" in LUSSAN, IV., 182. [3] "De certaine embusche," JUV., 431. For buschment, see ROT. PARL., III., 225; ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 393. [4] LETTENHOVE, III., 61. [5] For specimens see PLANCHÉ, I., 21. In 1403 1000 quarrels cost £3 10s., or at the rate of 7s. per 100; 16s. being paid for 1000 inferior ones.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A. [6] ROT. PARL., III., 594. [7] "Inopinatius," RYM., VIII., 397. [8] WAURIN, 98. [9] COCHON (210) gives 400. [10] ST. DENYS, III., 260; COUSINOT, 112. MEYER (222) gave up the list as hopelessly corrupt—quorum nomina linguâ provinciali corruptissimè traduntur.

Thérouanne, Ardres, Bourbourg, Le Montoire, Redelinghem,[1] and Liques.[2] Four standards were captured and 15 pennons. The Count of St. Pol escaped to St. Omer, but he left his pennon and his armour on the field.[3] The whole of the baggage and siege implements fell also into the hands of the English. Thus again the best laid plans of the Count of St. Pol were utterly wrecked in an instant. The garrison at Marck had suffered the annoyance of a three days' siege, but the result of this new Humbledon was to break the power of the French, and to leave an abundance of ammunition, trophies, and prisoners in the hands of the despairing and exhausted garrison at Calais. No wonder that when the news reached England, the King saw in it again the finger of God, and ordered[4] the Bishops to put up prayers and masses, and arrange processions in gratitude for the special favours bestowed upon him. The engagement took place on Friday, the 15th of May, 1405,[5] and the great news was carried at once to England by the Earl of Somerset.

Three days later, the same force of English, 500 in number, gathering up the very materials left behind by the French, stole out of Calais at midnight, and appeared at daybreak before the walls of Ardres. They planted scaling-ladders, and fired some shots into the town, but they were driven off with a loss of forty or fifty killed. Being masters of the open country they collected their dead, heaped them together in a house outside the walls, and set fire to the whole in one vast cremation in sight of the enemy. Enraged at their failure and heavy loss, they vowed that the Genoese had disgraced their calling by the use of poisoned arrows, and on their return to Calais the populace

[1] Called Rehlingham in ADD. MS., 30660; Ralingham, ANN., 401. [2] DESCHAMPS, V., 68, VI., 51. Called "Lisbe" in ANN., 401; "Lisk," OTTERBOURNE, 253. [3] EUL., III., 401. [4] RYM., VIII., 397, May 21st, 1405. [5] COCHON, 210.

demanded the death of the Genoese captives. But the panic was resisted, though it is more than likely that the foreigners owed their lives less to the claims of a humaner code of warfare than to the pressing need for money and the sweet anticipation of a rich prospective ransom.

The Count of St. Pol at once took heart again after the repulse of the English before Ardres. He collected another force among his sanguine and indefatigable neighbours at Thérouanne, and was preparing again to advance upon Calais. But this time he received an order from the council in Paris requiring him to desist, and to leave the conduct of operations in that quarter to Edward, Marquis of Pont-à-Mousson,[1] son of the Duke of Bar, a *protégé* of the Duke of Orleans, who was trying to arrange for him a marriage with Marie, one of the daughters of the King of France. The Marquis was to assemble his troops and wait for further instructions at Boulogne. Whether this order arose from a wish not to imperil the chance of negociations with the English, or from some natural dissatisfaction at the "evil fortune[2] and unfortunate chance" with which the name of Count Waleran was now associated, we do not know.

Discontent prevailed all over France, among churchmen and laymen alike, as one tax after another was imposed with no profit to the country, but to swell the gains of private pockets.[3] Violent storms[4] and floods added to the general

[1] ART DE VER., III., 52; MONSTR., I., 128, 397. Lo Marques deu Pont, JURADE, 162. Le Marquis du Pont, ITINÉRAIRES, 308, 320, 372, 568; METZ CHRON., 125. "Marques of Pownt," HALLE, 22; DOUET D'ARCQ., I., 237; BAYE, I., 264. He was one of those who tried to get the Dauphin out to Melun, in August, 1405.—BAYE, I., 138; GODEFROY, 415; MONSTR., II., 122. [2] HALLE, 22. [3] "Bourses particulières."—JUV., 431. [4] *Ibid.*; ST. DENYS, III., 282, who records a storm in Paris, July 13th, 1405, where a child was killed by lightning in a room. Flesh, bones, and all were consumed, and nothing was left but the skin, quite black. For waterspout at Cluny in the valley of the Saone, see JUV., 435.

distress, and "nasty[1] things" were said in public as the King showed signs of some recovery of his faculties. The displacement of the Count of St. Pol was due to intrigue on the part of the Duke of Orleans, and was taken as an insult by the Duke of Burgundy, who immediately sent a strong force of Flemish men-at-arms and archers under John van den Walle[2] to Gravelines,[3] to be ready to screen the Count and his lands from the probable vengeance of the English. He likewise threw men into Dunkirk and other places on the coast, fearing with good reason a speedy attack by the English fleet.

[1] "Ordes et deshonnestes."—*Ibid.* [2] MEYER, 222. [3] In August, 1403, a vain effort had been made to get the district of Gravelines recognised as a portion of Flanders, subject to Flemish instead of French law and customs. See memorandum dated November 10th, 1403, in ARCHIVES DEPARTEMENTALES DE LILLE, B, 1356, in VARENBERGH, 543.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SLUYS.

THE whole of the Flemish coast bore evidence of the frightful damage wrought by the storm[1] of the previous November 19th, when a hurricane from the North had burst upon the low-lying lands at the mouth of the Scheldt, lashing up the waters of the North Sea, breaking over the dunes and sweeping away the great dykes, which at that time were regarded as one of the wonders of the world.[2] Men and beasts were drowned by hundreds, and miles of polders[3] were flooded out. On the islands of Cadzand and Wulpen,[4] and the swamps round Sluys, Biervliet, and Damme, the traces of the damage remained for nearly a century after.[5] Coming as a sequel to a bleak spring, which had blighted the fruit-blossoms and spread a murrain[6] among the breeding cattle, the storms of the winter of 1404 had left a trail of misery in Flanders. It was known beyond dispute

[1] SOUTHEY, II., 12, quotes GABBEMA, NEDERLANDSE WATERVLOEDEN (1 vol., Franeker, 1703), p. 145, but it only contains two short extracts from MEYER AND REIGERSBERGEN. CHERYF-EDDYN ALI (IV., 208) notes the frightful winter in Asia. In January, 1405, when Timur started for the conquest of China, the great rivers were frozen, men and horses died in the snow, others lost hands, feet, noses and ears. For great storms in the Mediterranean, October, 1405, see GAMEZ, 161-4, 197. For a month no vessel could get in or out of the harbour at Cadiz (*ibid.*, 203). In Denmark it rained steadily from August to Christmas, see LANGEBEK, I., 397, V., 533. [2] DANTE, INF., XV., 4, 6; SOUTHEY, I., 425. [3] Poldros maritimi eos vocant agros unde mare per aggeres objectos excludunt.—MEYER, 202. [4] Or Wulpia, which at that time was an island, though now part of the mainland. In LETTENHOVE, III., 138, it is named with Guternesse, Schoendyk, Nieuekerke and Cadsand, all of which are close together over against Sluys. For changes in the coast see BAECKER, p. 41, and MESSAGER DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES DE BELGIQUE, 1885, p. 125, where Wulpen is marked as lying off Breskens, opposite to Flushing, on the south bank of the Scheldt, now submerged. [5] MEYER (220), who notes that he had seen leases of farms made out subject to an inundation clause. [6] "Moreyne," PIERS PLO., IV., 97.

that the Flemish people were heartily sick[1] of the war with England. Their fickleness[2] was a proverb throughout Europe. To them the continuance of the war meant the closing of the narrow seas through which all their trade with Italy,[3] France, Spain, and Portugal passed in and out of Sluys. They had no wish to quarrel with the English, nor the English with them.[4] They lived by draping[5] English wool, for which their country was the "staple to all nations of Christendom," and they longed for a return of the trade, and the good old times of peace with beer[6] and bacon.[7]

In West Flanders,[8] the country was poor and ground down with taxes, the population was thinning away and lived in constant dread of attack from Calais. Gravelines was the key to the country, but the garrison there was altogether too small, and the same was true of Mardick and St. George. At Bourbourg, some trenches had been dug but the work had not been fully carried out, and if the English took the place and put up a bastille there, they would soon make it into a strong fortress, commanding all the country up and down to Ypres and Bruges. Dunkirk had neither walls nor ditches, and the English could get in at any tide and make of it another Calais. Bergues was a fine town well placed, but the walls were not what they should be, and Furnes would make no real stand if seriously attacked.

[1] MEYER, 222. [2] Dont le peuple est mouvent rebelle et tendre.—DESCHAMPS, IV., 329. [3] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 3, 85. [4] Vol. I., 107. VARENBERGH, Bk. IV., Ch. I., pp. 469-489. [5] POL. SONGS, II., 161; RYM., VIII., 580. Grandement sur Draparie. — VARENBERGH, 549. Fondez sur le fait de draperie.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 3* She passed hem of Ipres and of Gaunt.—CHAUCER, PROL., 450. [6] Cf. "Alés boire vostre goudale."—FROIS., III., 277, unless the word is some of Raoul Tanguy's slang. See DESCHAMPS, II., xiii., and LETTENHOVE, GLOSSARY S.V., guielier. In MEYER (218), "potores cerevisiæ" is a term of contempt for the common people in Tournay, 1400. The better class are "potores vini." [7] POL. SONGS, II., 171. For "bondemenne bacon," see PIERS PLO., VII., 201; IX., 308; X., 148. Cf. "bacon-fed knaves," H. IV., Pt. I., ii., 2, 88. [8] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 5, 87.

If the country was to be in any way secure, the Duke must send at least 1,000 arblasters[1] and 1,000 pikemen, and their neighbours in East Flanders must be prepared to join in paying their wages if they were to bear the brunt of the attack. But already mutterings of grave discontent[2] were heard among the distressed workpeople of the towns and villages, and in the districts of Bourbourg,[3] Bergues, and Cassel, on the south border of Flanders, it was believed that they would welcome the English if they came. Moreover, they were determined to make their new Count reside amongst them and adopt the Flemish tongue, rather than be treated any longer as an appendage of France. The disaffection was checked by timely concessions. The Duke made a joyous[4] entry into Ghent, where he was inaugurated Count of Flanders on April 21st, 1405,[5] and proved himself lavish of good intentions. He selected Audenarde[6] as his official residence, all communications with his Flemish subjects were to be made in the Flemish tongue,[7] and he agreed to use his utmost efforts to secure[8] the restoration of peace between England and France, with a return of commercial prosperity to Flanders.

The English influence was thus for the moment checkmated, and many of the supporters of it paid for their disloyalty with their lives. The negociations, however, were not interrupted. Commissioners from the Duke, and deputies from the Four

[1] The number of men required would be—for Gravelines, 300; Bourbourg, 600; St. George's Church, 30; Mardick Church, 20; Dunkirk, 600; Bergues, 400, and Furnes, 500. [2] I cannot agree with GARDINER'S estimate (p. 296), that the "wise and firm government of the Duke of Burgundy attached the manufacturing towns of Flanders to him." [3] MEYER, 222; LETTENHOVE, III., 61. [4] In nostro jocondo et dominii nostri primo adventu. See his letter dated June 8th, 1405, in HR., V., 185. [5] MEYER, 222; ITINÉRAIRES, 347; LETTENHOVE, III., 59. [6] OUDEGHERST, II., 622; LABORDE, II., xix., 394. For speech made at his entry into Ypres, May 20th, 1405, see GACHARD, 55. [7] BARANTE, II., 177. [8] LETTENHOVE, III., 60.

Members, assembled at Ypres[1] and were actually on their way to Gravelines, thence to write to the English envoys at Calais, notifying their approval and their general good intentions in reference to a prolongation of the armistice. But the news of the attack on Marck and the discomfiture of the French had let loose the English fleet from Sandwich, and Prince Thomas was already on their coasts.

The Prince had been ready long ago for departure with his fleet, and had been feeding his men with promises from Sir John Pelham, one of the War Treasurers, that if they would have a little more patience, their wages would certainly be paid. As early as March 1st, 1405,[2] ships had been collecting at all the ports on the south and west coasts, from Poole to Bristol, to proceed forthwith to Sandwich. In the beginning of April,[3] troops had been ordered to assemble at Sandwich or Dover, to take the sea with the spring weather.[3] But the expedition was far from popular, and the merchants of London petitioned the council to urge the King to abandon it.[5] On the 6th of May, 1405, the fleet was still at Sandwich, but time and money were running out fast, and the men could not be kept much longer lining themselves with hope and eating the air.[6]

The port of Sandwich was better able even than Calais to hold vessels[7] of the deepest draught then constructed, but the town was almost depopulated owing to the ravages of the pestilence and the constant attacks of enemies. Fortifications, walls, and ditches had been begun, but they were left unfinished

[1] See letter from T. GHERBODE dated at Ypres, Saturday, May 23rd, 1405, in LILLE ARCHIVES, B, 3384, VARENBERGH, 495. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 26 d. [3] *Ibid.*, April 3rd, 1405. [4] Adonc prannent les galées leur erre ou moys d'Avril.—DESCHAMPS, VI., 98. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 101. [6] HY. IV., Pt. 2, I., III., 27. [7] WALS., II., 136; VEN. STATE PP., I., 54. For an early map of Thanet and the Channel from Sandwich to Reculver, see DUGDALE, MONAST., I., 84 (edition 1685), from MS. in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, originally in St. Augustine's, Canterbury, copied in ELTON, ORIGINS OF ENGLISH HIST., plate ix.

without prospect of completion,[1] and from an account subsequently rendered by the Captain, John Whitney, it appears that in February, 1405,[2] the armament consisted of only six lances, six poleaxes, six arblasts, 300 quarrels, ten bows, twenty sheaf of arrows,[3] two stone-guns with trunks, and 100 lbs. of powder. The fleet had been originally calculated at sixty sail, but it now numbered from eighty to one hundred vessels[4] of 36 tons[5] burden and upwards. Four of the King's ships, viz.:—"La Tour,"[6] "La Katarine de la Tour," "La Godegrace de la Tour," "Le Holygost de la Tour," carried 80, 70, 60, and 45 men respectively, and if we take an average of 50 men all round, we get a total of between 4,000 and 5,000 in all, which exactly agrees with the estimate in Monstrelet.[7]

On the 6th of May, 1405,[8] the Prince-Admiral sent an urgent request for payment, that he might be able instantly to take the sea. The King had already started for the border of Wales, but he had left orders with the council to provide for the necessities of the fleet, and at length they were in a position to make an advance, but only "with great difficulty," though the requirements had been fully considered and recorded nearly three months before.[9] Being now in funds, the Prince was commissioned to sail "on Thursday next, May 14th, or earlier if the tide should suit." No time was lost. The wind

[1] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 24, February 17th, 1405; PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 2, August 19th, 1412, authorizes murage for repair of walls at Sandwich. [2] FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. [3] Forwarded from the Tower on February 11th, 1404. Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{23}$, App. E. [4] See report from Ypres to Governor of Arras, in VARENBERGH, 494. [5] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH., July 20th, 1405. For "ton-tight," see NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 368. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 7. In PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 27, Dec. 3rd, 1407, the "Katerine de la Tour" is laid up on the banks of the Thames, debilitata et confracta. For other names of ships, *e.g.*, "The George," "The Little Jesus," see DEVON, 256, 505. "The Christopher," "Le Lenard," "Le Walfare," "La Busshi," "La Julian," "La Philip," "La Michel," "Le Marie," "Le Katherine," see DEP. KEEP., 36TH REPT., 81, 157, 262, 270, 485, 528, 529. [7] MONSTR., I., 107. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 263. This council seems to have met on Monday, May 11th, 1405. [9] Page 27.

was good, the ships were yare,[1] and they put to sea straightway. They passed close along the shores of Flanders, and made a mocking demonstration before Dunkirk and Nieuport. No enemy came out, and on the 22nd of May, 1405,[2] between four and five in the afternoon, they slipped[3] furtively into the channel called the Zwyn,[4] which forms the entrance to the harbour of Sluys. Four large vessels belonging to Rhenish[5] and Hamburg merchants were anchored in the harbour. These they burnt, and then landed a force estimated at 3,000 men, who proceeded along the sands to attack the town.

The citadel at Sluys had been fortified in 1385,[6] by the late Duke of Burgundy. It fronted[7] Sandwich and the entrance to the Thames, and with Nieuport, Courtrai, and Audenarde, completed the quadrilateral[8] of strongholds by means of which Duke Philip had hoped to command the narrow seas, and overawe the turbulence of his new subjects at Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent. Naturally enough the Flemings had no liking for the new works, and the English had all along regarded the fortifications at Sluys as a menace directed especially against themselves. In the negociations in the spring of 1404,[9] they had vainly endeavoured to insist on their being razed. Had they been able now to capture Sluys, they would have secured a second Calais, from which they could block[10] the whole trade of Flanders, with the further chance of playing off the rebellious grudge of the Flemish towns against their new French master.

[1] GOWER, CONF. AM., 256. [2] HR., v., 181; MEYER, 222. [3] See the Duke of Burgundy's letter dated June 8th, 1405, in HR., v., 185. [4] "The haven of Sluse, wheche is cleped Swyn."—POL. SONGS, II., 160. Cf. MINOT, *ibidem*, I., 72. [5] "Austrasiorum," MEYER, 222; ANN., 401. [6] MEYER, 206. [7] LETTENHOVE, III., 27. [8] OUDEGHERST, II., 593-601. Duke John had afterwards to build another fort (le petit chastel de l'Escluse), to keep an eye on the big fortress for fear of surprises from the French.—*Ibid.*, 617. [9] LETTENHOVE, III., 55. TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 5, where date should be January, 1404, not 1403. [10] In TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 3, 85, the Flemings complain to Charles VI. that their country is naturally poor, and depends upon merchants frequenting Sluys.

On the first alarm of the approach of the English fleet, large numbers of the peasantry[1] had fled for protection within the stockade[2] of Sluys, which was garrisoned by French, Flemish, and German troops.[3] The Flemings were utterly lukewarm. Some outworks which should have been manned by the men of Bruges were found undefended, and were burnt by the invaders. News of the coming of the armada spread fast. On the same day on which they entered the Zwyn, the Copman[4] of the Hanse factory at Bruges despatched letters to Hamburg and Lübeck, with warning that 100 English ships had arrived, and that another fleet would quickly follow. The Duke of Burgundy hurried up to head the defence in person. On the 23rd of May[5] he was at Ypres, and advanced to Thourout on his way to Sluys. On Monday, May 25th, 1405,[6] he reached Bruges with a large force and remained there a whole week, but the citizens through their Burgomaster,[7] Liévin de Sentclaere, refused to follow him, and left him with his French friends to get out of the difficulty as he might, though they afterwards gave a sullen consent and helped to drive the invaders away. But the French garrison in the citadel at Sluys did their duty, and braced themselves manfully for resistance. After an attack extending over five days, the English found that they could make no way against stone walls[8] resolutely defended, and they were compelled to retire, leaving sixty of their number dead on the ground.

Among the wounded was the young Earl of Kent, who fought with special bravery, and was twice badly hit so that the French believed him to be killed,[9] and it is probable that Sir

[1] MEYER, 220. [2] VEN. STATE PP., I., 45. [3] JUV., 431. [4] HR., V., 181. [5] VARENBERGH. 494; ITINÉRAIRES, 548. [6] *Ibid.*, 348; OUDEGHERST, II., 620. [7] VARENBERGH, 495. [8] MEYER, 206. [9] MONSTR., I., 107, followed by MEYER, 222, calls him Comte de Pennebruch. ST. DENYS, III., 260, 262, and JUV., 431, make the "comte de Pembroc"

Reginald Braybrooke received his death-wound here. He was carried to Middleburg, where he died September 20th, 1405.[1] The invaders then took to their ships and crossed to the opposite island of Cadsand,[2] where they landed "on the side toward the mouth,"[3] and burned some villages.[4] On sailing out they encountered three large Genoese two-masted caracks,[5] which declined their summons to surrender. One of them made straight for the vessel in which the Admiral sailed, and had it not been for the promptness of her steersman,[6] who shifted his dragon[7] just in the very nick of time, she would have received the charge broadside and have been sunk. As it was her "nose[8] was stroke off," and the Prince had a narrow escape. The caracks were secured, however, one after the other, and despatched with their cargoes to Winchelsea. But misfortune attended them even here. For as they lay off the Camber[9] at the entrance to Rye[10] harbour waiting to be

(comes de Panebroc) head the attack on the French at Marck and afterwards repair to Sluys. See also SVEYRO, II., 59; LUSSAN, IV., 185; though they may all really mean Braybrooke.

[1] For his brass in Cobham Church, see ARCHÆOL. CANT., XI., 89; WEEVER, 329; GOUGH, III., 17. For his arms in the cloisters at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, III. [2] Called "Cagent" in EUL., III., 401. Cf. MINOT, in POL. SONGS, I., 71. "Cahaunt."—CHRON. LOND., 89; "Cachante."—GREG. CHRON., 104. [3] "Au lez devers la mue."—VARENBERGH, 495. [4] MEYER (222), names "Heysfliet" and "Coudekerca," copied in HOLINS., (529) as Heisfleet and Condekirke, but I cannot find them on any map. [5] The word was seemingly still regarded as foreign by the English of that time, though they should have long been familiar with it. See NICOLAS, NAVY, *passim*. *e.g.*, "Karekkis" in POL. SONGS, II., 172; "carikkys," *ibid.*, 199; "carika," WALS., II., 83; "carykes," CHRON. LOND., 89; LEL. COL., I., 698; "cariks," ROT. PARL., II., 335; "Karak," TIT. LIV., 24. Ils avoient deux mâts et même davantage.—CHERYF-ED-DYN ALI, IV., 52. FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 1, refers to a "carike" or "carrake" from Barcelona, with spice, wine and fruit, passing to Sluys and back by England for cloth. See also *ibid.*, 5, 8, 13, 14, 16; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 160. [6] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{25}{30}$, App. F; PROMPT. PARV., 474; CATHOL., 362. Cf. "He that behinde sat to stere."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 152, 254. [7] For dracena, see JAL, s. v. [8] HOLINS., 529. [9] HALLE (25) calls it "the Chamber at Rie." See also HOLINS., 529; SANDFORD, 273. [10] For a view of Rye in the fifteenth century, see HORSEFIELD, I., 487. For map, see DUGDALE, IMBANKING, 16.

unloaded, one of them took fire, and the three were burnt alongside, "with all the good therein through misgovernance."[1]

No sooner had the fleet sailed from Sluys, than some Flemish privateers under Walter Janssen,[2] started in pursuit, and after a hard fight, captured one straggler with 120 men on board. The rest sailed across to Normandy,[3] and landed plundering parties on the eastern side of the Côtentin. The coast was quite unprotected. Barfleur, La Hogue de St. Vaast,[4] Montebourg, and Pernelle[5] were burnt, and the plunderers advanced along 30 miles of country doing irreparable damage.[6] They destroyed 36 villages, the poor Danish inhabitants flying before them and offering no sort of resistance. Posts were despatched[7] express to summon aid from Paris, but the English did not wait till their return. After such a round of exploits and adventures they sailed back to England about the beginning of July, 1405.

The Flemish towns had no mind to keep up a struggle in which they had all to lose, and they claimed that they had a right to an independent neutrality of trade,[8] whatever might be the quarrel between France and England. They put pressure on the Duke of Burgundy, and although on May 23rd, 1405, he was breathing slaughter against the English and threatening to sweep them into the sea, yet within a week,[9] his subjects had extracted from him a grudging permission to negociate a separate commercial treaty with his hated enemy. The short armistice would terminate on July 25th, 1405, and on June 1st,[10] the

[1] CHRON. LOND., 89. [2] Or John Galter.—SVEYRO, II., 59, quoted in SOUTHEY, II., 14. [3] POL. VERG., 434; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 269. [4] For "Hogges," see POL. SONGS, I., 76. COCHON (211) dates the landing at La Hogue in the last week of June, 1405. [5] St. Petronilla.—ANN., 401; not St. Patroails, as LEDIARD, 64. [6] MONSTR., I., 117. [7] ADD. CH., 51, shows that Geoffrey Goupil was sent to inform the council at Paris in June 1405. See WARS OF ENGLISH IN FRANCE, I., xiv.; JARRY, 322. [8] LETTENHOVE, III., 55. [9] *Ibid.*, 60. [10] TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 5, 90.

French King authorised the Duke to treat with the English. His envoys received their commission on October 5th, 1405,[1] and on November 22nd,[2] an order was issued that English goods should not be injured. Meetings were held at Calais before December 29th, 1405,[3] and after an adjournment the negociators met again at Gravelines on Thursday, February 4th, 1406, as a consequence of which the Duke caused a proclamation to be made at Lille, that a truce had been arranged to last for a year from February 6th, 1406,[4] and this was approved by the English King on March 10th, 1406.[5] The Duke soon afterwards made his great effort to assail Calais, but found himself faced by the strong opposition[6] of his Flemish subjects. After much mooting and brabbling[7] and frequent reference to Paris,[8] he gave up the attempt, and a further truce was arranged with the English on March 10th, 1407, and published at Calais on June 15th, 1407,[9] to last for a year from that date.

In the meantime, the question of a separate trade-truce *(trêve marchande)* to be established between England and Flanders had been under serious discussion. Many difficulties[10]

[1] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 5, 91. *Ibid.*, 92. [3] *Ibid.*, 93. [4] *Ibid.*, 94, also 143, 4, 7, for document dated April 14th, 1407, referring to letters of Charles VI. (January 15th, 1406) and the Duke of Burgundy (February 6th, 1406), as to treaty with England "pour la marchandise" for one year, see VARENBERGH, 496, quoting ARCHIVES DE LILLE, FONDS DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMPTES, B, 1368. [5] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 5, 95, 97, with seal in yellow wax. [6] On May 24th, 1407, fifty-five trades of Bruges complained of misgovernment during the last twenty-five years, and begged the Duke to accept one-seventh instead of the octroi.—LABORDE, I., lxii. [7] RYM., VIII., 534, 589. For a specimen, see VARENBERGH, 546, dated October 24th, 1406. [8] For consent of Charles VI. dated Paris, June 10th, 1407, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 3. [9] ADD. MS., 14820, e, IV., has a letter from the English ambassadors dated Calais, June 14th, 1407, notifying the commissioners of the Duke of Burgundy concerning the publication of the truce in London.—RYM., VIII., 469-478, 485; DUMONT, II., 302; VARENBERGH, 498, 499 (TILLET, RECEUIL, 314, has 1406); MONSTR., I., 152; MEYER, 225, b; DEP. KEEP. 45TH REPT., 315; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, dated Calais, June 8th (*i.e.*, 1407), in which J. Church and J. Pickering announce to the Flemish commissioners that the English King agrees to a prolongation of the truce for one year, from June 15th. [10] See memorandum in TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 5, 86.

were suggested as to possibilities that might arise. Were the Flemings to be allowed to supply England with guns, horses, provisions, armour, and other war material to be used against the French? Were armed English or Scots to be allowed to land in Flanders? and was Henry to be recognised as a King or treated as an usurper? and so on. But the principle of a separate treaty had been already conceded[1] by the French King to the Duke's mother a short time before, and in the end a separate indenture was drawn up at Calais on November 30th, 1406,[2] to which the French King and the Duke of Burgundy gave their consent (January 10th and 11th, 1407), it being understood that the French[3] were not to be debarred from using Flemish ports if they wished to fit out and despatch a hostile expedition against England. A passage was thus secured for traders, pilgrims, clerks, and all persons travelling on peaceful business, by sea or land, between England and the countries subject to the Duke of Burgundy, and by this means a safe road was kept open for trade as far as Cologne. On July 22nd, 1407,[4] King Charles VI. expressed a wish that all French subjects should be included, and August 1st, 1407,[5] was fixed for the opening of discussion as to a final peace. Representatives from both sides met at Gravelines in September, 1407,[6] and on December 11th, 1407,[7] the Duke appointed commissioners to discuss questions of trade. But rooted habits could not be all

[1] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3, May 24th, 1404. [2] For the original with ten seals quite intact, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 7, also *ibid.*, for document signed by the Duke of Burgundy at Bruges, on April 26th, 1407, declaring that the treaty will not begin till June 15th, 1407. In TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), is a letter dated Calais, June 15th (no year), from Aston, &c., to the commissioners from Flanders, announcing that one year's freedom of traffic has been published to date from this present Wednesday, June 15th (*i.e.*, 1407, not 1404 as supposed, in which year June 15th fell on a Sunday). [3] RYM., VIII., 144; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 292. [4] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 7. [5] RYM., VIII., 487; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 5, 98. [6] VARENBERGH, 499. [7] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 7.

at once abandoned. On October 5th, 1406,[1] a proclamation had been issued by the English King guaranteeing security for French and Flemish fishermen along the whole length of the Channel, but a dropping fire of plundering[2] was still kept up on both sides after the truce was well established. On the English side pressure was brought to bear on the council by the Calais[3] merchants, who urged that the staple at Calais was quite valueless without a truce with Flanders, and though the Flemish deputies were indignant at the piracies still kept up from Rye and elsewhere, yet the English envoys negociated "curiously[4] and diligently," and a better understanding was encouraged. Fresh commissions were issued by the Duke on March 5th, 1408,[5] and on June 10th, 1408,[6] the truce was further prolonged for three years, copies[7] of it being sent round from the Exchequer to the collectors at all the customs' ports on the English coast.

[1] RYM., VIII., 451. Also November 19th, 1406 (*ibid.*, 459). [2] ADD. MS., 24062, f. 147, has an undated letter from King Henry to the Duke of Burgundy, complaining of infringements of the truce. *Ibid.*, f. 156, b, has letter from Henry to the Flemish towns, referring to their complaints against the English. For numerous complaints dated June, 1407, or 1408 (?) from fishermen of Eastbourne, Flamborough, Plymouth and Winchelsea, against shipping from Treport, Dieppe, St. Valery, Le Crotoy, Harfleur and Boulogne, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 3, including claim for £2,000 against the Lord of Hugueville for holding prisoners to ransom. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 306, March 2nd, 1408. [4] *Ibid.*, 310. [5] RYM., VIII., 512, 530-535, 541, 589-614; VARENBERGH, 548-572, from Archives of Bruges. For confirmation by the French King in Paris, October 5th, 1408, see RYM., VIII., 548. [6] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 12; TILLET, GUERRES, 122, b. TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 2, 5 (June 13th, 1408), refers to letters of Charles VI., April 27th, 1408. For a subsequent meeting, November 18th, 1409, see ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 321. [7] DEVON, 311; ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., August 2nd, 1408.

CHAPTER XLIV.

RETRENCHMENT.

THE system of control over public money by means of War Treasurers appears to have answered fairly at first to the expectations of the country, but after a year of office, the four first appointed War Treasurers had given place to two others who would be likely to prove more obsequious to the wishes of the Court. The last payments to Oudeby[1] and his colleagues stand recorded on October 20th, 1404,[2] when they received £3,639 11s. 1½d. from the subsidy, and on January 18th, 1405,[3] one of the Barons of the Exchequer was told off to audit their accounts. Oudeby had personal claims[4] for money advanced by him at various times during his term of office. He retained his connection with the public accounts as one of the two Chamberlains[5] of the Exchequer, for which service he received 8d. per day.[6] He farmed the alien Priory of Wilsford,[7] near Sleaford, became Rector of Flamstead in Hertfordshire, held a Canonry in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary at Warwick, was made Archdeacon of Derby,[8] and in July, 1412,[9] was one of the

[1] For a file of 50 writs and acquittances subsidiary to the accounts of Oudeby, Hadley, Knolles, and Merlawe, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{20}$, $\frac{5}{21}$. [2] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 10. [4] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH., July 18th, 1405. [5] Ex parte comitis Warr., as appears from his brass. See also heading of REC. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., and REC. ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1404; ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., October 19th, 1406; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., MICH., and PASCH., Dec. 4th, 1408, March 9th and July 16th, 1409; *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 9th, 1410; *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH.; KAL. AND INV., II., 80, 84, May 6th, November 22nd, 1410. [6] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., July 15th, 1407; *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., February 26th, 1412; KAL. AND INV., II., 60, 66; III., 364. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 193; REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 16th, 1408. [8] PAT., 12 H. IV., 22 d., February 5th, 1411, calls him Archdeacon of Berkshire, though this is not in LE NEVE, II., 634, or JONES, 149. It may perhaps be a mistake for Derby. [9] RYM., VIII., 757; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 33.

Commissioners appointed to report on the troops mustering at Southampton for the expedition to France. In January, 1412, his name appears on the subsidy[1] roll of the city of London as the owner of a messuage in Silver Street.[2] He died at Flamstead on March 7th, 1413,[3] and lies buried beneath a fine brass[4] in the chancel of the village church.

His three colleagues were all laymen, and at one time or other became Mayors[5] of London. John Hadley[6] was on the list of Grocers[7] in 1373. He was a Master and Alderman in 1383, Mayor in 1394, and we know that he was dead in 1410.[8] The second, Richard Merlaw or Marlow,[9] ironmonger, was Treasurer[10] of Calais from March 9th, 1407, till October, 1409, when he became Mayor of London,[11] and negociated the treaty with the Hansers. He died[12] in London in 1420. Oudeby's third colleague was Alderman Thomas Knolles (otherwise known as Thomas Atte Mille),[13] grocer. He was still a young man, and was fully busy with the management of his large warehouse,[14] whence he supplied saltpetre[15] and sulphur for the King's guns, and grossed up lead, tin, horns, drugs, wax, woad, madder, brasil, flax, spices, black-soap, and all-sorts, from pennyworths

[1] ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 73. [2] GIBBONS, 131. [3] Not January 23rd, 1417, as LE NEVE, I., 576. For his will dated March 4th, 1413, see GIBBONS, 131; GENEALOGIST, VI., 132. In ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., February 17th, 1413, he pays £50 to the Abbot of Thornton (isto die), *i.e.*, Thornton Curtis, in North Lincolnshire. [4] CUSSANS, III., 107, where his death is wrongly placed in 1453. [5] The title of Lord Mayor never occurs in official records of this time.—PRICE, 158; LOFTIE, 105. In the bidding prayer he is "my ryth worship and reverente maister our Maier."—YORK MANUAL, I., 224. [6] Called Adeley in ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., March 22nd, 1405. [7] GROCERS ARCHIVES, 45, 58, 68, 73. [8] In CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 3, July 14th, 1410, he is referred to as dead. [9] From his birthplace on the Upper Thames.—SHARPE, II., 429. [10] KAL. AND INV., II., 82. [11] CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 3, 23, February 18th, and July 14th, 1410. In REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., October 29th, 1410, he is *late* Mayor and Escheator. [12] For his will dated September 18th, 1420, see SHARPE, II., 428. [13] GROCERS ARCH., 58, 71. [14] OLIVER, 276. [15] ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., September 10th, 1408; FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV.

of subtleware[1] to gymews[2] of avoirdupois for his general customers. He frequently advanced loans[3] to meet the King's immediate necessities. He was twice Mayor of London, viz., in 1399 and 1410,[4] and in his second mayoralty he began to re-build the Gildhall,[5] which was then but an old and little cottage.[6] But when he laid down his office in November, 1411, the "new work" ceased, and the funds[7] could only be got together by stringent measures. Every freeman and every apprentice was taxed to help on the work. Every deed or will enrolled, and every Close or Patent letter issued under the Mayor's seal was charged, fines were appropriated, and 100 marks were set aside every year from the tolls taken at London Bridge, to help forward the noble building that should have been the pride of every London craftsman. Knolles died in London in 1435,[8] and was buried in St. Antholin's Church in Watling Street.[9]

The two new War Treasurers, Thomas Nevil Lord Furnival[10] and Sir John Pelham, were appointed November 11th, 1404, just before the Parliament was dissolved at Coventry, and the earliest recorded payment to them is dated November 18th, 1404.[11] Sir John Pelham had been a squire to John of Gaunt,

[1] Sotilware.—GROCERS ARCH., 139, 154. [2] Graunt bale ou gymew.—GROCERS ARCH., 55. [3] *e. g.*, £200, November 20th, 1408.—REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH. [4] In REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., October 23rd, 1411, he is Mayor of London and Escheator. [5] CHRON. LOND., 93; STOW, 282; NICHOLS, 2; PRICE, 49. RAMSAY, I., 157, ascribes the building to the "liberality of Dick Whittington." [6] FAB., 387. "An evil-favoured olde house."—GRAFTON, 440. [7] PRICE, 51; SHARPE, I., XIV. STOW (282 b) adds that "offences of men were pardoned for summes of money towards this work," and it is probable that if the Bishop's Registers were searched, indulgences would be found to bear out this statement. [8] GROCERS ARCH., 400; PRICE, 49; HEATH, 186. For his will, dated May 26th, 1432, see SHARPE, II., 475; GENEAL., VI., 32. [9] For his epitaph, see WEEVER, 402; HERALD AND GENEAL., VII., 554. For account of the church, see KINGDON, XXIII. [10] Vol. I., page 479. [11] Page 6.

who made him Constable of Pevensey Castle.[1] He had been one of those who landed with Henry at Ravenser in 1399, and while the success of the revolution was still in the balance, his wife Joan[2] had held Pevensey against the combined forces of Surrey, Sussex, and Kent. In 1401, he was Sheriff[3] of Surrey and Sussex. On March 5th, 1405,[4] he was made Keeper of the New Forest, and on December 8th, 1405,[5] Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster. His colleague, Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival,[6] brother to the Earl of Westmoreland, was Lord of Hallamshire,[7] or South Yorkshire, in right of his wife Joan.[8] In 1403,[9] he had been charged with the defence of Newcastle, after the fall of Hotspur, and in the following year he commanded the castles of Montgomery,[10] Bishopscastle, and Cause[11] on the borders of Wales. Within a month after his appointment as War Treasurer, he was made Treasurer of England, December 13th, 1404,[12] in place of Lord de Roos.[13] While Treasurer of England he lent large sums of money to the

[1] For his possessions in Surrey and Sussex, see SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., X., 133. For his will, dated at Robertsbridge in 1428, proved at Lambeth, see GENEAL., VI., 134; COLLINS, V., 500. In INQ. P. MORT. DUC. LANC., I., 4, John Pelham, clericus (perhaps his son), is returned as wasting the domain at Pevensey. [2] HORSFIELD, I., 315, 433; COLLINS, V., 492; HALLAM, LIT. OF EUROPE, I., 51. [3] PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 4. [5] In succession to Sir Thomas Skelton.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 68^{IIII}. [6] Spelt Ffournyville in ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH. [7] HUNTER, 44. [8] For her effigy in the church at Barlborough in Derbyshire, see HUNTER, 58. [9] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. [10] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 12, August 7th, 1405. ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1406, has payment to him of £1,146, for wages to the garrison at Montgomery.—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{11}\frac{6}{}$, App. G. [11] EYTON, VII., 5. [12] DEVON, 300; HOCCLEVE, MIN. PO., LIV.; KAL. AND INV., II., 70, 71, 72, February 20th, 1405; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{5}$, App. F. The name does not occur in DUGDALE, CHRONICA SERIES, and the difficulty was felt by THOROTON, p. 457. He appears as Treasurer of England, December 12th, 1405, GEST. ABB. S. ALBANI, III., 499; also March 24th, October 29th, November 27th, December 22nd, 1406.—RYM., VIII., 435; DEVON, 304; ORD. PRIV. CO., I, 295; ROT. PARL., III., 585. [13] Lord de Roos appears as Treasurer as late as November 21st, 1404.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 244.

King,[1] who on April 2nd, 1406,[2] granted him the wapentake of Strafford, near Sheffield, for life. He died in March, 1407,[3] and was buried in an alabaster tomb[4] above the high choir in the Priory Church at Worksop. His eldest daughter, Maud,[5] became the wife of John Talbot, afterwards the great Earl of Shrewsbury.

From War Treasurers such as these no very effective control could be looked for in the direction of economy, and, as a fact, they seldom appear as acting in their official capacity at all. Occasionally they put their signatures to appointments of controllers of the customs,[6] and they lent large sums of money[7] to the King. During their term of office, each of them appears as Treasurer of Calais,[8] with large powers to appropriate half the subsidy. But their duties in this capacity were done by

[1] *e. g.*, £100, December 13th, 1404, ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH. (February 27th, 1406); £1,000, March 2nd, 1405, *ibid.* (November 9th, 1405); 100 marks. February 25th, 1406; £2,646 19s. 8½d., *ibid.*, PASCH. (August 14th, 1406); £2,448 11s. 9½d., December 11th, 1406, REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (December 11th, 1406), part of which was repaid to his executors after his death, ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (Aug. 2nd, 1408). [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 39. [3] SURTEES, IV., 159. His will dated March 12th, 1407, was proved on March 28th, 1407.—TEST. EBOR., III., 41; GENEAL., VI., 131. In PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 22, dated April 25th, 1407, and REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., May 9th, 1407, he is referred to as dead; and REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., November 16th, 1407, has an entry of £200 from his executors, Geoffrey Louther and Robt. Pudsey (for whose account, dated November 14th, 1410, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{11}$, App. G). Yet he was still summoned to Parliament, August 26th, 1407, and up till 1413.—REPORT DIGN. PEER, III., 802, 805, 808, 811, 814. [4] MONAST., VI., 123, from the rhyming account written by "one Pigote" early in the sixteenth century. [5] In REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., October 22nd, 1412, the two pay a fine of £60 pro relevio suo. See also PRIV. SEAL, 647/6484, March 4th, 1410. [6] *e.g.*, October 1st, 16th, and November 28th, 29th, 1405.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 40. [7] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., October 27th, 1405, records repayment to them of a portion of a loan of £2,108 19s. 7d. On November 20th, they again lent £1,987 13s. 11d. to the King, which was repaid December 3rd; also *ibid.*, PASCH., £333 18s. 7d., lent October 27th, 1405, repaid August 14th, 1406; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., November 3rd, 1412, repays loan made August 14th, 1406. [8] *e.g.*, Furnival, CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 14 (April 5th, 1405); FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 11, 13 (February 13th, 1406); ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., December 3rd, 1405, January 21st, 1406. For Pelham, see FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 15 (Dec. 17th, 1405).

deputy,[1] and the regular Treasurer, Robert Thorley,[2] was not long absent from his post. They soon showed great unwillingness for their work as War Treasurers, and frequently pressed for their discharge, which was finally granted on June 19th, 1406.[3] Nevertheless, the office had been to some extent a reality,[4] for when on January 20th, 1406,[5] the King issued an order to the collectors of customs at Southampton in reference to the remission of £100 as a personal favour to his Portuguese guests, the writ was returned as invalid, and a fresh one[6] had to be made out to the War Treasurers before his wishes could be carried out, while the account of Sir Thomas Swinburn,[7] as Mayor of Bordeaux, was paid by the War Treasurers as late as May 3rd, 1407.

There is no doubt, however, that in every direction reductions of expenditure were proceeding steadily, though under the most favourable conditions the desperate state of the revenue demanded at least some length of time before yielding symptoms of permanent recovery. From a comparison of the expenditure recorded in the Exchequer Rolls, it results that the

[1] *e.g.*, Richard Clitherowe.—FOREIGN ACCOUNTS, 13 H. IV.; ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 12th, 1407. In CLAUS., 11 H. IV., Clitherowe is vitellar of Calais, April 13th, 1410, to which office he had been appointed on February 21st, 1410.—FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 17. [2] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH. (December 3rd, 1405, and January 21st, 1406); also *ibid.*, PASCH. (May 13th, 1406). For Thorley's account (very full), as Treasurer of Calais, from December 31st, 1402, to May 9th, 1405 (£30,891 13s. 4d.), see FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. His latest entry is October 24th, 1406.—ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. In *ibid.*, December 13th, 1406, he is *nuper* Thes. His successor, Richard Merlaw, was appointed March 9th, 1407 (see p. 110). [3] ROT. PARL., III., 577, 584, when two auditors were appointed by the Crown and six by the Commons, to pass their accounts. See also PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 21; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 263. [4] HOCCLEVE'S COLLECTION, ADD. MS., 24062, p. 54, contains thirteen entries without date "As tresorers des guerres." See also ADD. CH., 11402, May 3rd, 1405. For the title "Tresorier pur la guerre" in 1377, see ROT. PARL., III., 7. [5] RYM., VIII., 428. [6] RYM., VIII., 431; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 31, dated February 18th, 1406; also *ibid.*, 32, January 20th, 1406. A similar remission to the envoy from Bordeaux is addressed to the War Treasurers direct, on March 12th, 1406 (*ibid.*, 24). [7] Page 56, note 3.

payments made in the half-year ending March 27th, 1405, actually *exceed* those for the corresponding period in the previous year by nearly £3,000. But this is to be explained by the larger sums now really available in the hands of the War Treasurers, arising from the proceeds of the immense subsidies sanctioned by the late Parliament. But from this date onwards for several years the expenditure suddenly drops, and whereas in the year ending September 4th, 1403,[1] it had amounted to £135,404 16s. 0½d., the total sum spent in the corresponding twelve months of 1405-6 is entered at £82,723 13s. 4½d., and the figures continue to decline, with occasional fluctuations, till the close of Henry's reign, when the latest recorded expenditure for a complete financial year (ending February 26th, 1412), amounts to only £74,964 13s. 7d., showing a decrease in seven years of nearly fifty per cent.

But before such equilibrium could be attained, great sacrifices must be endured, and rigid repression exercised over the frightful habits of extravagance[2] that were growing upon the Court and the nation. The pinch would be felt most keenly

[1] The ISSUE ROLL for the year 7 H. IV. is very seldom balanced, the spaces for totals being left blank. The Michaelmas RECEIPT ROLL for the same year is imperfect, being cut away after December 10th, 1405. The same blanks in the summaries occur in the PELLS ROLLS for 1406-7, though the total receipts for the Easter Term are given, viz., £42,913 9s. 9d. (RAMSAY, in ANTIQUARY, VI., 104, gives £50,790 15s. 6½d.) On the ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., £16,897 17s. 5d. was spent in four days before Trinity. RAMSAY (I., 143, 155, 160) calculates the average annual expenditure for the whole reign at from £103,000 to £104,000, and the average receipt at £106,000. In 1383, WYCLIFFE (SERMONS, II., 52) appears to calculate the expenditure at £100,000, and at the same time the subsidy of wool is said to have yielded £160,000 (CARTE, II., 670), though the total income recorded in that year only reached £100,000 (RAMSAY, I., 124).

[2] When Richard II. visited Ireland in 1394 he had a jewelled coat valued at 30,000 marks (£20,000).—GILBERT, 265; FONBLANQUE, I., 126, 155, referring to STRUTT, REGAL ANTIQUITIES. In the same year he paid £461 for a couple of diamonds to give away to friends.—DEVON, 253. He spent over 40,000 marks (£26,666 13s. 4d.) at his meeting with Charles VI. at Guînes in 1396.—ANN., 194. FROISSART (Ch. CXIX.), who knew him well, and had received from him a silver-gilt goblet with 100 nobles inside,

in the opening months of the year 1405, and there are not wanting, here and there, indications of the general distress. The North was so devastated by the Scots that it could bear no taxation at all, and on the recommendation of Prince John, the whole of the counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland were entirely exempted. At Wrangle,[1] in Lincolnshire, where much misery existed owing to the bursting of dykes[2] and walls in the Humber, John Newton, the farmer or collector of the King's dues, had his house broken into, and charters, deeds, and public documents were carried off, together with goods to the value of £200. He and his wife Beatrice were beaten and imprisoned, while two men were murdered and their bodies afterwards burnt.

The Convocation of Canterbury, which had met at St. Paul's on the 21st of April, 1404,[3] had sanctioned the unusual grant of a tax, amounting to 2s. in the £, upon all ecclesiastical offices or benefices which had hitherto escaped, half of it to be payable at St. Martin-in-Yeme[4] (November 11th, 1404), and the rest on May 1st, 1405. The higher church functionaries might meet and vote the grant, and even offer loans[5] in advance, being amply covered by substantial guarantees and having a

says that he spent 100,000 florins per annum on his household. In the "Form of Cury," composed by his Master-Cooks about 1390, he is called "the best and ryallest viander of all Christian Kynges."—NOBLE BOOK OF COOKRY, p. ix., quoting ANTIQUITATES CULINARIÆ, WARNER, Lond., 1711.

[1] Commission of enquiry dated October 18th, 1404, in PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 24 d. *Ibid.*, 2, 3, contains a pardon to Robt. Newton, of Wrangle, dated August 17th, 1405. [2] From Wrangle to Barton.—*Ibid.*, 2, 14 d; also *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 2, 23. [3] Vol. I., 415. REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 24th, 1408; also *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., February 26th, 1412. [4] *i.e.*, in hyeme.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 13. [5] *e.g.*, £40 from the Prior of Worcester to the Duke of York, to pay troops in Wales, November 4th, 1404.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 22; 2000 marks from Bishop Beaufort (Lincoln), October 25th, 1404.—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 23; £735 from Bishop Bowet (Bath and Wells), December 6th, 1404.—*ibidem*, 28; 2,000 marks from Bishop Skirlaw (Durham).—PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 5; repaid November 3rd, 1405.—ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH.

lively hope of favours to come, but when the first instalment fell due, it was found that many of the holders of small livings[1] and chantries refused to pay it, and violently resisted the collectors. Every parish chaplain,[2] beneficed man,[3] or clerk of rent, was required to pay his noble (6s. 8d.),[4] although the stipend of each was limited by statute[5] to £4 per annum, and this limit had been expressly fixed as entitling to exemption[6] in all previous legislation. Moreover, when we remember that out of this annual allowance the vicar or parson had to provide the church-bread,[7] wine, lights, books, and incense, and pay all charges[8] for the chancel and the high altar, as well as to repair

[1] For commission of inquiry in diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, dated January 22nd, 1405, see PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 13. [2] De quolibet capellano seculari.—REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., February 18th, 1413; GIBBONS, 94. [3] WYNT., III., 106. [4] CONC., III., 303. [5] STAT., I., 373; II., 188; ROT. PARL., II., 271; III., 501; REEVES, II., 454, 491; DENTON, 240. In 1285, the living of Banbury was worth 100 marks per annum; St. Peter in the East, at Oxford, £40; St. Mary the Virgin, 30 marks.—OXFORD CITY DOC., 205. In 1311, the statutes of University College at Oxford required that a fellow should cease to enjoy the charity of the college as soon as he was promoted to a benefice worth five marks (£3 6s. 8d.) per annum. In 1378, the Archbishop of Canterbury fixed the stipend of a chantry priest at seven marks (£4 13s. 4d.) per annum, and of a chaplain with cure of souls, at eight marks (£5 6s. 8d.), in consequence of the gluttony and licentiousness prevailing among the priests in his diocese.—CONC., III., 135. In 1409, Sir Robt. Rockley paid 40 marks for permission to build two chapels, one at Bolsterstone, and the other at Worsborough, near Barnsley. The chaplain at each was to receive eight marks (£5 6s. 8d.) per annum. Cf. RAINES' MSS., XXIX., 23 (in Chetham Library, Manchester), with HUNTER, HALLAMSHIRE, 478; SOUTH YORKS., II., 197, 294. In 1414, it was complained that they were getting from 10 to 12 marks (£6 13s. 4d. to £8) per annum, "because of their excessive array and and other charges," and the statute fixed seven and eight marks respectively for table, clothing and other necessaries.—ROT. PARL., IV., 52; STAT., II, 188; 2 H. V., 2, c. 2. [6] PARLY. WRITS, I., 25, from PAT., 24 Ed. I., m. 22. [7] See the case of the vicar of Bolton-upon-Dearne, near Rotheram, whose income was fixed in 1346 at eight marks and a manse.—MONAST., V., 132.

[8] Thoughe that his chancelle roof be alle to-torne,
And on the hye awteré rayne or snewe,
He (the parson) rekketh not, the cost may be forborne,
Cristes hous to repairé or make newe.—
HOCCLEVE DE REG., in MORLEY, VI., 129.

and wash the vestments and ornaments, it might be supposed that the payment of the tax was an impossibility, for the very lowest estimate[1] at which a clerk could live fixes £4 as necessary for food and clothing alone, leaving nothing at all for spending-silver.[2] But Parliament was well aware that the value of a benefice lay not in the fixed stipend,[3] but in the extra pennies[4] paid for baptisms, churchings, espousals, nuptials, purifications,[5] confessions, communions, anointings, burials, obits,[6] and vigils of the dead, together with small tithes,[7] heriots, and mortuaries,[8] not only of live-stock, but of hoods,[9] coats, tunics, bed-coverings, carpets, and the like. The halls and colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, though often weighed down with debt[10] and struggling against poverty, had all to pay their share,[11] and every annueller[12] or chantry priest was taxed

[1] Of six mark yerely, mete and drink and clothe
Thou gete maist, my child, withouten othe.—
HOCCLEVE DE REG., 44.
For "cloth and mete and drinke," see GOWER, CONF. AM., 290, 299. For "borde and clothing," see CHAUCER, 16485. [2] PIERS PLOUGHMAN, XIV., 101; CHAUCER, CHANONES YEMANNES TALE, 16486. [3] In 1412, the income of the Vicar of Staindrop was fixed at 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.), SURTEES, IV., 136. In 1439, it was decreed that all vicarages should be augmented to 12 marks (£8) a year. [4] MONAST., V., 134; WYCLIFFE, DE APOSTASIA, 36; APOLOGY, 50; RIPON MEM., III., 206-221, where the charges in 1401 are ½d. for baptisms and churchings, 4d. for marriages, with an extra penny for the purification of the woman after marriage (213), not the censing and sprinkling of the marriage-bed, as supposed by the editor (p. 207). For the mass-penny see TOWNELEY MYST., 104; P. PLO., IV., 280. For the "haly-bred half-penny" see FABR. ROLL, 254. [5] For sponsalia et purificationes see G. OLIVER, MONAST. EXON., 270. [6] GERSON, II., 439. [7] PORTER, HIST. OF THE FYLDE, 458; GNEIST, PARL., 156. [8] Apres le mort de chescun parochian que avoit bestes a son morant le Vicar a ew le meliour beast en le nosme de mortuary.—YEAR BOOK, 10 H. IV., MICH., 1. For Ireland, see BELLESHEIM, I., 481. [9] BLOMFIELD, BICESTER, II., 197. [10] BOASE, EXON., XLIV. [11] In Lent, 1405, Exeter College, at Oxford, paid 4s. 2d. to the King for "rateable proportion of our rents as other colleges paid."—BOASE, EXON., XVI, 14. [12] CHAUCER, CHAN. YEM. TALE, 16480; POLITICAL SONGS, II., 80, 94. "Eke prestis annueleris payed nobles to the King and alle religious if thei had swech annuelles."—CAPGR., 293, not "animalia," as OTTERBOURNE, p. 259. For "triennels," see PIERS PLOUGHMAN, X., 330.

in the same proportion.[1] The claim was often evaded by the

[1] The payment for each mass appears at 4d. or 2d.—Vol. I., 118; RYM., IX., 308; WILLS OF KINGS, 218; RIPON MEM., I., 158; but it might be less, *e.g.*, Thomas de Mussenden by will dated July 20th, 1402, left 20 marks to pay for 3,000 masses for his soul, which is about 1d. apiece.—TEST. VET., I., 161. In 1368, Gervase de Wilford leaves in his will six marks to each chaplain for masses, or if this is illegal, then as much as the statute allows.—GIBBONS, 89. The chaplains of the All Soulen Chapel, founded by Lord Cobham, at the entrance to Rochester Bridge, about 1383, were to receive £6 per annum each, besides lodgings in the common house. They had to say mass three times daily, and not to serve any other church. —THORPE, 556. The chaplain of the college at Bredgar, near Milton in Kent (founded in 1393), was to receive £2 per quarter and his rooms.—MONAST., VI., 1392. The two who served the chantry of John of Gaunt in St. Paul's originally received 10 marks each per annum (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 58, February 20th, 1382), afterwards raised to 12 marks (£8), but they were not to take any annal or trental besides (PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 34). In 1404, a chantry chaplain at Beaurepaire receives £2 per per annum (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 21, May 27th, 1404), and in the same year Eleanor, widow of Lord Cobham of Starborough, leaves 10 marks per annum for her chantry priest at Lewes (SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 186). On July 1st, 1406, John Legburn, parson of the church of Somercotes, founded a chantry for one chaplain in the church of All Saints, Legbourn, near Louth in Lincolnshire, and endowed it with a messuage and 80 acres of arable land, 10 acres of meadow, 16 acres of pasture, 20 acres of wood, and 40s. rent (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 68[I], 69[III], May 28th, 1411). The chaplains who said mass in the chapel built on the battlefield at Othée (1408), were to have 40 crowns each per annum (MONSTR., I., 139). In 1409, Beatrice, Lady de Roos allotted 12 marks per annum to her chantry priest in St. Paul's (DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 355). In 1412, William, Lord de Roos, left £400 to pay ten chaplains for eight years, *i.e.*, at the rate of £5 per annum for each, one of whom was to teach his sons *in disciplinâ et gramaticâ* (TEST. EBOR., I., 359). On February 26th, 1413, the executors of Thomas Hardwick founded a chantry in the cathedral at Lichfield, the chaplain to receive seven marks per annum. The fee paid to the Crown varied considerably according to circumstances. For instance, in 1412, the Bourchier family, at Halstead in Essex, paid 100 marks [£66 13s. 4d. (PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 27)], while in the same year in the neighbouring parish of Sible Hedingham (spelt Hengham Sibylle, Hegham, Heningham, or Hedningham, in MONAST., IV., 436), the birthplace of the great Sir John Hawkwood (MORANT, II., 287), chantries were founded in the parish church and in the nunnery at Castle Hedingham, for which only £20 was paid to the Crown (PAT., 14 H. IV., 18, October 20th, 1412). On May 6th, 1412, John Preston paid £40 to found a chantry in St Michael's Church at Coventry (PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 26). On February 7th, 1412, £20 was paid for one at Kirkby Green, near Scopwick in Lincolnshire (PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 27), and on November 3rd, 1412, a chantry was founded for five marks (£3 6s. 8d) in the parish church at Newark-on-Trent (PAT., 14 H. IV., 21). In PAT., 14 H. IV., 23, 40 marks are paid to the Crown for permission to endow a chaplain for the church of Winterbourn St. Martin, near Dorchester, at the instance of the Abbot of Abbotsbury.

holder sheltering[1] himself in some privileged institution, or it was refused[2] outright when the collectors presented their demand. Wherever excuses could be urged or evasions practised, a prayer was always ready against the tax, and some wit about the Court rapped out the joke that no King had ever made so many priests pray before.[3] Exemptions were allowed in the case of poor monks and hospitallers, and generally in districts where property had been destroyed by war or by the sea, and great difficulty was accordingly experienced by the collectors in such dioceses as Worcester[4] and Hereford on the border of Wales, but there is abundant evidence[5] that the refusals extended to counties where life and property were perfectly secure, such as Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, and the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, Chichester and Ely, in spite of the fact that the collectors were all Abbots or high ecclesiastics,[6] and that non-payment was followed by the thunder of clerical censures. The council in London suggested that the Archbishops should send round letters to the clergy commanding them to submit, but the Archbishop of York was already in sympathy with the spirit of rebellion, while his brother of Canterbury[7] saw the danger

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 8. ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 18th, 1406. [2] In PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 15 (1411-1412) is a record that the Abbot of Kingswood, near Wotton-under-Edge, refused to pay the tenth granted by Convocation, on the ground that all Cistercians were exempt from any jurisdiction except that of the Pope and the Roman Curia. [3] ANN., 418. [4] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 34, 36. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 25. [6] One of them, John Sudbury (MONAST., III., 34; SHAW, I., 7), Abbot of St. Modwenn at Burton-on-Trent, was the object of special vindictiveness on his property at Stapenhill, on the Derbyshire side of the river, and at his instigation the monks lay in wait on Burton Moor in the town of Burton (May 6th, 1406), to kill Richard Litster and John, his son. They beat and ill-treated them, and took a black horse (40s.), a saddle and bridle (3s. 4d.), and an axe (10d.). On December 18th, 1404, they carried off Alice Leche against her will, and took all her goods, valued at 100s.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 2; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 1, 29, 31, 33, 34; REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 799. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 102.

too well, and sent a significant warning to the King at Hereford (May, 1405), that the time was scarcely opportune for such coercion. Moreover, the clergy were not put into the most docile of moods by the issue of commissions,[1] in accordance with the promise made in the last Parliament,[2] to enquire into the condition of all manors and townships recently held by them to farm, and to report what they would probably produce if taken over again by the King. In face of all this difficulty, it is not surprising that the yield of the new clerical taxation which found its way into the Exchequer for the year was insignificant, amounting only to £383 15s. 6d.[3]

On the other hand, an analysis of the principal items of expenditure for war purposes shows that necessity was somehow securing money for the troops, for within the first three months of the year 1405,[4] payments are recorded to five of the principal garrisons, amounting to £10,818 5s. 2d., in the following proportions, viz.: Berwick, £4,596 3s. 0d.; Calais, £3,064 3s. 3d.; Guînes, £2,020 10s. 1d.; Carlisle and Roxburgh, £1,137 8s. 10d.; while a further sum of £4,521 was allotted to paying off loans. It is certain that great privations must have been endured somewhere before such a result could be brought about, but equally certain is it that the privation did not fall upon the King or his family, for within the same period of three months (if we include two sums paid December 2nd and 31st, 1404), the Queen took £2,823 11s. 5½d., and the Royal Household no less than £11,731 5s. 11½d., showing that no real efficient check had yet been put upon the reckless extravagance[5] which

[1] ROT. PARL., IV., 60. [2] Vol. I., 474. [3] In three takes, October 3rd, March 2nd, and May 16th.—REC. ROLL, 6 H. IV. [4] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., passim. [5] One curious entry is for yellow jars (ollis luteis), £33 14s. 5d., May 23rd, 1405.

was hastening the government to bankruptcy and the country to ruin, while on the 23rd of May and the 1st of June following, the immense sum of £14,821 18s. 10½d.[1] was allotted to Prince Thomas in connection with his sham position as the King's Lieutenant in Ireland.

[1] On October 3rd, 1405, he received £600 more on the same account.—ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH.

CHAPTER XLV.

WAR-GOVERNOR BUTLER.

THE annals of Ireland are at this time singularly thin and barren, though some side-light is thrown upon the darkness from the muniment room of the castle of the Butlers at Kilkenny. Prince Thomas[1] was still nominally the King's Lieutenant in Ireland, though he had not been near the country for the last eighteen months. His first three years' term of office had now expired, and he showed no inclination to return to the cares of state service in Dublin. His large allowance of 12,000 marks[2] per annum was in arrears to the extent of £9,000, he had spent all his private means,[3] sold his jewels and silver plate, and though he had plenty of exchequer tallies,[4] he was in fact reduced to great "poverty and weakness." The council allowed him £4,000 from the customs of London, Southampton, Melcombe, Chichester, Sandwich, and Hull, and, in glaring

[1] For the sake of brevity I have retained the title of Prince for the King's younger sons, though the usual official title is "Monsieur Thomas" (ROT. PARL., III., 612; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 183, 259, 268, 316-320, 340), or "My Lord," or "Lord John of Lancaster" (HY. IV., Part I., IV., 4, 29; V., 4, 3), or "Monsieur Thomas of Lancaster" (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 313, 339; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{20}$, App. E), or "the King's third son" (CAPGR., 289), "filz du Roy" (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 145, 264). In an inquiry held in 1410, the King's son John is officially addressed as "hault et puissant *Prince* Monsieur Johan fils de Roy."—C. J. YOUNG, 32. The King's sister is "Elizabeth of Lancaster," in PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 23. See also NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., X., 3. [2] In 1393 the Duke of Gloucester had been paid at nearly the same rate, viz., 34,000 marks for three years (GILBERT, 553), though in 1392 the Earl of Ormonde had received only 3,000 marks (*ibid.*, 262). In 1399 the Duke of Surrey had been allowed 11,500 marks per annum (DEVON, 272), but in 1413 a salary of 4,000 marks was considered sufficient for Sir John Talbot (GILBERT, 304). The earliest recorded salary of a Viceroy is in 1226, when Geoffroi de Marreis had £580 per annum (*ibid.*, 90). [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 27, November 1st, 1404; CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 11. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 21, April 6th, 1405; STAT., I., 361.

violation of the spirit of the Statute against Absentees, his commission was renewed for three years on October 1st, 1404,[1] with power to appoint a deputy, and as each year ran out, his position was re-affirmed[2] for the unexpired remainder of the term.

When he had left the country at Martinmas, 1403,[3] Sir Stephen Scrope had been appointed his deputy (November 7th, 1403).[4] On December 1st, 1403,[5] Scrope was at Kilkenny, but by the beginning of Lent, 1404,[6] it was announced that he had "suddenly departed"[7] without consulting the council and left no one to represent him. The colonists were in the depths of desolation and extreme necessity. The Irish were ready to attack them, and although a generation previous a clear revenue of £30,000 per annum[8] had been drawn from the country, it was now found that there was nothing in the Treasury,[9] no pay for troops, judges, constables of castles, or royal officers. It seemed as though the English settlers were at length to be swept into the sea, and the two centuries of struggle were to end abruptly in disaster, abandonment, and retreat.

But Ireland was too fertile and promising a field, and English energy and enterprise were not to be all at once baffled and gainsaid. Scores of castles and abbeys had been planted by them as outposts on the marches, and an effort must be

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 32. [2] *Ibid.*, 2, 1, September 28th, 1405; *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 3, March 1st, 1406. [3] Vol. I., p. 233. In CAREW MSS., 451, he is said to have stayed only seven months in Ireland. For a document witnessed by him in Dublin, February 20th, 1403, see HARRIS, HIBERNICA, II., 168. [4] CAL. ROT. HIB., 176. On November 16th, 1402, he had been appointed Governor of Connaught, with power to defend it till the Earl of March should be of age (*ibid.*, 172); but on December 5th, 1403, he appointed William de Burgh, or Bourke, to act for him there (*ibid.*, 178). [5] For a document signed there with his own signet, see *ibid.*, 176. [6] WARE, 65. [7] Subito recessit; departist si sodeignement.—GRAVES, XXI, 269. At a convocation of the clergy of the diocese of Armagh and the magnates of Louth, which met at Lyons, near Dublin, December 18th, 1403, and January 26th, 1404, reference is made to his absence.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 178. [8] Temp. Ed. III.—SINCLAIR, I., 125. [9] Riens en le Tresorye.—GRAVES, XXII. In Thesauro nihil.—J. DAVIES, 22.

made to save at least the ground in Leinster that they had claimed as their own since the landing of Fitzgilbert 240 years before. To the poets, who knew nothing of the horrors of living in it, Ireland seemed "a land of noble air,[1] of firth and field and flowers fair." It was lauded as "Nature's own Treasury,"[2] a "most beautiful and sweet country[3] as any is under heaven." But the statesmen and traders required more solid arguments to cover the risks they ran. To them it seemed that Ireland, with its "havens great and goodly bays, sure, wide, and deep,"[4] was a "buttress and a post under England." If Ireland fell, then "Farewell, Wales!" Scots, Spaniards, and Bretons would surround us, and we should perish as a nation. Moreover, from the fertile lands of Leinster, large stores of wheat,[5] oats, and pease were shipped every year at Baldoyle[6] to the English garrisons in Wales, Carlisle, and Man. England was stocked with Irish horses;[7] the Irish coasts and rivers swarmed[8] with eels, herring, hake, and salmon; the English fowler[9] knew the fame of Irish romletes,[10] tercels,[11] hobbies,[12] and austerers;[13] and the London mercer lined his shealds[14] with the fur of the marten, otter,[15] badger, beaver, weasel, squirrel, fox, foumart,[16] hare, kid, and coney, which

[1] WYNT, I., XIII., 51. Grato aëre temperatum.–NIEM, 501. [2] GIRALD., V., 23. [3] SPENSER, 320. [4] POL. SONGS, II., 185-190. [5] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 445; CAL. ROT. HIB., 162, 163; VOLATERRANUS, 70. Frugibus et optimis piscibus necnon animalibus magnis et parvis camporum et sylvarum permaxime opulentam.—NIEM, 501. [6] Ballydull.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 198. [7] WARE, ANTIQ., 38. [8] HIGDEN, I., 334. In CAL. ROT. HIB., 174 (Feb. 6th, 1403), 4,000 salt fish are sent to England. [9] CAL. ROT. HIB., 165; GRAVES, 162; GILBERT, 213; CONTEMP. REVIEW, Jan., 1893, p. 98. [10] KILK., 133. For gerfalcons, tercels, austures, laverets, lavers, scell gentills (*i.e.*, tercel gentils), sacrets, &c., see FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. Cf. "austure seu t'cel vel falcon."—CAL. ROT. HIB., 159. [11] PROMPT. PARV., 489; CATHOL., 380; DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., II., 386. [12] GIRALD., V., 37, 38; HARRISON, II., 30. "Li tercelet et li hobé."—DESCHAMPS, VI., 154 [13] DYMOCK, TREATISE OF IRELAND, 55. [14] LIB. ALB., XXXVIII. [15] GILBERT, HIST. DUBLIN, I., 235, quotes PIPE ROLL, 10 H. IV., for payment of rents in otter skins. Cf. RYM., VIII., 635. [16] Or polecat.—PROMPT. PARV., 182, 407; CATHOL., 145.

went wild in the Irish woods, bogs, and mountains. In the far North and West and centre, as well as in Wicklow and Howth, there was still believed to be an untold wealth of gold,[1] silver, tin, and lead. Twenty-five years before, permission had been given[2] to any English settlers to mine for metals on their lands, if they would give up the ninth part of any find to the King. But though the royalty was less than would have been claimed in England,[3] the offer had no large result. Nevertheless there was still great faith in the possibilities, if only there were peace and good-will with the "wild Irish," who might eventually be taught to "mine and fine and pure" the metals. Thirty years later, all these points were eloquently urged[4] when the "little corner" of Ireland still remaining to the English settlers was all but lost, and their means were quite as straightened now.

Finding themselves defenceless, they appealed for protection to James Butler, third Earl of Ormonde, who was at that time the most powerful man in Ireland. By inheritance he held the castles of Nenagh,[5] Roscrea, Templemore, Knocktopher,[6] Carrick-on-Suir,[7] Thurles, and Arklow, and besides these he had built castles at Gowran[8] and Dunfert,[9] and bought the great castle and domain at Kilkenny. The nearness and

[1] GILBERT, 10, 14, 197, 214; GIRALD., V., 21, 410. For Irish manufactures of silk, cloth, &c., see HIST. AND MUN. DOCUMENTS, XXXII, 124, 128. [2] In 1379.—ROT. PARL., III., 86; WARE, 74. Cf. RUDING, I., 125. [3] Where, in theory, all gold and silver found belonged to the King (BLACKSTONE, I., 294; SINCLAIR, I., 28), though in fact he only took half of the silver (RUDING, I., 126-128). [4] POL. SONGS, II., 185-190. [5] GILBERT, 262 (followed by GRAVES, XII.), says that Nenagh had been taken by the O'Kennedy's in his father's time, but it is still reckoned as one of his castles at his death, and was taken over in the King's name. CARTE, I., XXXVII. GILBERT, 205, refers only to the town. [6] CARTE, I., XXXVI.; DUBLIN ST. MARY'S, II., 285. [7] Or Carrick Macgriffin.—GILBERT, 135. [8] Called "Baligaueran" in a deed, temp. H. II., quoted in CARTE, I., XVI.; or "Baligam."—HOLINS, 74; "Bellyngan," *alias* "Belligard ut credo," —DOWLING, p. 26, 1405; "Raligauran,"—WARE, ANN., 65. [9] Possibly Danesfort, near Kilkenny.

number of these castles need not surprise us when we know that in the little county of Carlow alone, which was "one of the keys of the land" by which communication could be kept open between Dublin and Waterford, there were at that time no less than 148 castles,[1] the whole population being in constant apprehension of attack, and holding every acre by their swords. The Earl had royal rights[2] within the Liberty or Palatine[3] of the county of Tipperary, that is to say, over the whole county, except the Cross or church lands,[4] which were subject to the Archbishop of Cashel. He had also a claim[5] to two casks of wine out of every cargo exceeding twenty tuns landed in any port of Ireland except Cork and Waterford.[6]

He was now about forty years of age, and had already administered the affairs of the English settlers as Lord Justice of Ireland from October, 1392, to October, 1394. He was one of those mighty "idlemen"[7] who, being "far from the law,"[8] proved their superiority by their insolence and oppression, and his county of Tipperary became a byword as a "receptacle[9] to rob the rest of the counties about it." To the Irish he was known as the "head of the prowess of Erin,"[10] but he exacted tribute from settlers and natives alike. The Irish septs and their chiefs could be made to rebel or submit at his bidding,

[1] GILBERT, 331; KILK., 83. [2] See a pardon granted by him in royal style, dated Clonmel, May 29th, 1388, in GRAVES, XII. [3] For the counties Palatine in Ireland, *i.e.*, Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, Leix, Meath, Ulster, Desmond and Kerry, see J. DAVIES, 86; BELLESHEIM, I., 489. [4] DYMOCK, 18; J. DAVIES, 87; CAMBR. EVERS., I., 234, 280; BELLESHEIM, I., 489. [5] For supposed difference between prisage and butlerage, see ANTIQUARY, VI., 133; GENEALOGIST (1885), p. 186; H. HALL, CUSTOMS, II., 107. [6] In 1327 it was leviable at Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork and Limerick.—RYM., IV., 269. Cf. "per totam Hiberniam."—HIST. AND MUN. DOCUMENTS, IRELAND, 291. A return shows that from October 23rd, 1405, to June 30th, 1406, Drogheda yielded £4, Dublin, £8, and Waterford £2 13s. 4d.—IRISH RECORDS, 336. For large import of wine from France, see HIST. AND MUN. DOCUMENTS, IRELAND, XXXIV. [7] Vol. I., p. 222. [8] Si long de la ley.—ROT. PARL., III., 662. [9] SPENSER, 334. [10] LOCH CÈ, II., 109.

while from the English, under the pretence of protecting them from the Irish, he extorted blackrent[1] in the shape of mansmeat,[2] horsemeat, and "coins"[3] to provide livery and harbourage[4] for his horseboys[5] and kernes.[6] He was very fairly equipped with the accomplishments and vices of a great baron of his time. He sent his envoys[7] to Rome, wrote his letters in French, spoke English[8] with the settlers, and could parley[9] fluently in good Irish with the natives. He had property in thirteen counties[10] in England, had frequented the extravagant court of Richard II. in London,[11] and had married an English wife, Anne,[12] daughter of John, Lord of Welle, whose interests were now all bound up with the party of disaffection in England.

He had several sons and daughters, but like many another big man, he did not always "get his bairns lawfully."[13] One of

[1] ROT. PARL., IV., 198; CAMBR. EVERS., I., 203. [2] STAT., 10 H. VII., c. 4; J. DAVIES, 22, 115; SPENSER, 339. Cf. "taskes and knights' mete."—CAPGR., 293. For "houndesbred and horsbred," see P. PLO., IX., 225. [3] GILBERT, 174; WARE, ANTIQ., 33. "En gise de coynge,"—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 46; "coygnes,"—GRAVES, 272; "keyn,"—CARTE, I., XXXVI. In Cornwall the Bishop of Exeter's tythe of tin was called "decima de coignagio stannarum," or "decima cunnagii."—STAFF. REG., 349. [4] KILK., 127. Pro liberata sua et Herbergiagio.—RYM., VIII., 324. FINGLAS, in HARRIS, I., 93. [5] SPENSER, 397. [6] STAT., I., 359; KILK., 59; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 46, 49; GILBERT, 291; J. DAVIES, 37. [7] In CAL. ROT. HIB., 156, April 7th, 1400, Friar Adam, Prior of St. John Baptist, in Dublin, is going to England and thence to Rome in servic. Jac. le Botiller com. d'Ormon. [8] For a curious speculation as to whether the settlers spoke English, Welsh, or Norman French, see CAMBR. EVERS., I., 192. [9] FROIS., IV., 187. See his letter dated Carrick, October 9th, 1392, in GRAVES, XVI., when he was starting to parley with Mac Morough, at Tullow on the Slaney. Called "Tillagh en Offelmyth," or "Tallagh de Offelme,"—CARTE, I., XXXVII.; "Tullough O'Phelim,"—*ibidem*, XXXV.; "Tully Felim,"—MACGEOGHEGAN, 315; "Tulaigh O'Feilmeadha,"—BOOK OF RIGHTS, 208; "Tulagh ô Faidhlin,"—KEATING, 314; "Tylouth Offelmyth,"—CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO IRELAND, V., 180; "Tulleophelim, Co. Carlow,"—COMPLETE PEERAGE, I., 96. [10] Viz., Beds, Bucks, Suffolk, Warwick, Gloucester, Hereford, Oxford, Berks, Hants, Surrey, Sussex, Somerset, and Essex.—CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 5. *e.g.*, the manor of Aylesbury (ARCHÆOL., L., 83) with Hulcot (PAT., 7 H. IV., I, 29). [11] GRAVES, XII., quoting PAT., 12 R. II., No. 195. [12] CARTE, I., XXXVII. [13] DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 37.

his sisters, Joan,[1] was married to Tighe O'Carrol, King of Eile, the district between Parsonstown and Roscrea, to the west of the Slieve Bloom. She died in 1383, and the Earl afterwards fell out with his brother-in-law, captured him, and kept him a prisoner at Gowran for two years.[2] He had two lawful sons, and he took care that they should be well brought up. The elder, James, was now twelve years old,[3] the younger was named after King Richard, who had stood sponsor for him on his visit to Ireland in 1395. He kept up a show of loyalty to the English King, but whenever his family interests were touched he fought for his own hand.[4] King Henry had ordered that the Englishman, Peter Holt,[5] the Turcupler[6] of Rhodes, should be reinstated as Prior of the Hospitallers at Kilmainham,[7] but the Earl kept him out for years in spite of

[1] FOUR MASTERS, III., 691; GRAVES, XI. [2] LOCH CÈ, II., 89, 93. [3] GRAVES, XXIX. [4] Vol. I., p. 225. [5] Vol. I., p. 160. In 1392, Robert White (not Richard, as GILBERT, 561; W. M. MASON, 130) is Prior of of Kilmaignan.—GRAVES, 45, 512; Holt being away "resisting the infidels in the service of God." PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 27, shows that Holt was at Rhodes when Henry landed in Yorkshire in July, 1399. See also RYM., VIII., 14; DEVON, 282. In 1395, Edmund Vale is called Prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland.—GILBERT, 290. Holt died in 1415.—DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 381, quoting ARCHIVES OF MALTA. On January 26th, 1404, Prior Robert White is commissioned with others to summon a convocation, and on May 1st, 1404, he crossed to England.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 178. On December 29th, 1412, he is granted the custody of the alien priory of St. Andrew, in the Arde of Ulster, called the Black Priory, County Down.—PAT., 14 H. IV., 13. It was a cell to the Norman Abbey of Lonlai, near Domfront, in the diocese of Le Mans (STAPLETON, I., lxxvii.), and had been granted to Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh (1346-1360)—MONAST., VI., 1123; WARE, 93; but for the last eighteen years it had been wasted and unroofed. [6] A position of high dignity in the Order, always held by an Englishman, and originally meaning leader of the Turcopoles or light infantry of Rhodes.—VERTOT, I., 83; STAT., X., 26, 27; XIX., 8. The title appears as Tricoplarius,—RYM., VIII., 235; Turcoplarius,—*ibid.*, 525; Turcupler,—*ibid.*, XI., 45; Turcupellarius,—GRAVES, 310, 311; Tricopler,—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 358; Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{1}\frac{5}{8}$, App. G; BEKYNTON, I., 82; Turcopolier,—ALL SOULS MS., CLXXXII., quoted in PECKHAM REG., I., xlviii.; VEN. STATE PP., I., 47. See NOTES AND QUERIES, Ser. I, VIII., 189; X., 379. [7] Founded for Knights Templars, 1174; conferred on the Knights of St. John, 1312.—WARBURTON, DUBLIN, I., 660; GILBERT, 259. There were preceptories at Clontarf, Kilbegs,

the King's prohibition,[1] and the office ultimately came in 1408 to one of his natural sons,[2] Sir Thomas Butler,[3] known as Bacagh,[4] or the Lame, who had already served for four or five years with a great company of horse and foot in Cork,[5] Tipperary, and Kilkenny, and now took a prominent part in the government of the country.

During the lieutenancy of Sir John Stanley, the Earl was made Sheriff of County Cork,[6] about the time of the arrival of Prince Thomas he was appointed Constable of Ireland,[7] and at his departure he was again made Lord Justice of Ireland, October 26th, 1403,[8] having apparently spent the previous year in England.[9] On the disappearance of Sir Stephen Scrope, a council was held (March 3rd, 1404,)[10] at Castledermot (then called Tristel Dermot),[11] in County Kildare, at which "prelates, magnates, nobles, and clergy," attended. Here in accordance with their statutory right,[12] they agreed to acknowledge the Earl of Ormonde as their "soldier"[13] and War

Kilkeel, Tully, Killogan, Killergy, Trim, Kilmainhambeg near Nobir (Meath), Kilbarry, Killure, Crook, Morn (or Mora, or Ballinamony), Clonaul, Kinalekin, Randon, or Teacon.

[1] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 16, May 1st, 1408; RYM., VIII., 525. [2] LOCH CÈ, II., 149; CARTE, I., XXXVII.; ROT. PARL., IV., 198, where he is called brother to the fourth Earl. [3] KILK., 125. [4] FOUR MASTERS, III., 841. [5] GRAVES, 20, 109, 210, 214, 220, where he is called Thomas Fitz-James le Botiller. [6] By order dated Clonmel, May 28th, 1400.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 157. [7] CARTE, I., xxxvi. He had held the office before in 1393.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 150. [8] CARTE, who gives the date as 1404. [9] In CAL. ROT. HIB., 172, November 4th, 1402, he is going to England for a year, John Lumbard being appointed Deputy Constable of Ireland in his absence. [10] GRAVES, 269. [11] The Irish name is Diseart Diarmada, *i.e.*, the hermitage of St. Dermot.—FOUR MASTERS, III., 785. Called Tristerdermoth in GIRALD., V., 355. See WARE, 80. [12] Though it is remarkable that there is here no reference to the statute of "Henry Fitz-Emprice," referred to in 1484 and 1542 (GILBERT, 482), nor in a similar emergency in 1380 (W. M. MASON, 127). [13] For "souldeour," see GOWER, CONF. AM., 170; "soudeour,"—PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 26; "soudyour,"—WYCLIFFE (MATT.), 368; PROMPT. PARV., 466; "sowdear,"—HALLIWELL, S.V., also DUCANGE, S.V., solidata. For "souder," as a journeyman or paid workman, see LIB. CUST., I., 79; SHARP, COV. MYST., 181, 214. For "sowdyd," see GREG. CHRON., 106.

Governor,[1] granting to him half-a-mark (6s. 8d.) from every hide[2] of cultivated land in Leinster and the counties of Meath, Louth, Waterford, and Tipperary. The burgesses of Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, and other towns were ready to tax themselves at the same rate, one-half to be raised at once and the rest before June 24th, 1404, unless the King had taken some definite steps for their protection before that date. If, on the other hand, they still found themselves without a duly appointed governor from England, they were willing to be summoned again and continue the taxation if the Earl would really chastise the Irish for them. The only conditions imposed upon him were that he should not consider himself to be acting as Lord Justice,[3] or in the name of the King of England, but only as their paid War-Governor appointed under stress of urgent necessity, that he would give up his previous extortions, and not attempt to make the office hereditary in his family. The royal officers sanctioned the proceedings, and the Great Seal of Ireland was attached in the King's name to a document ratifying them in Dublin, March 12th, 1404, the Earl himself witnessing it in his official capacity as Justice of Ireland. The document was never enrolled, but the original was carried to Kilkenny castle, where it may still be seen. Six days afterwards, March 18th, 1404,[4] the Earl wrote from Waterford that the honour had been thrust upon him against his will, and that he had not the funds to undertake it. Nevertheless he would attempt it for a time on the understanding that the King should be urged at once to make permanent arrangements

[1] On December 19th, 1401, Scrope had been appointed gubernator guerrarum under the Lord Thomas.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 162. [2] For the varying area of the carucate, see WALFORD'S ANTIQUARIAN, IX., 118. [3] For the oath of the "Justices," see RED BOOK OF THE EXCHEQUER in IRISH RECORDS, Plate viii.; also KILK., 127; GILBERT, 64. [4] TITUS, B. XI., 17, 18, in GRAVES, XXI.

for the government in future. On October 30th, 1404,[1] Scrope was re-appointed Deputy-Lieutenant for three years. As early as October 18th, 1404,[2] orders had been sent to have ships ready at Chester and Liverpool to convey him across to Ireland with 300 horses, and he appears to have been back at his post before the end of the year.[3] About the same time, October 16th, 1404,[4] Richard Rede, who had been Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer,[5] was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench for Ireland.

But for some reason Scrope did not stay long in the country, and the Earl of Ormonde was practically master of the position. On June 25th, 1405,[6] the King's letters were issued at Drogheda, definitely appointing him Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, and on July 4th, 1405, he was formally acknowledged at Naas, in the presence of the Chancellor (Archbishop Cranley), the Treasurer (Lawrence Merbury), and others. But he seems to have come of a weakly stock. One of his sons was lame and another became "unwieldly[7] and lustless to travail" before he was fifty years of age, and it is probable that his own habits of life made him an unhealthy man, not likely to be a long liver. Two months after his final recognition, he died in the prime of his manhood at Gowran, September 7th, 1405,[8] and all his possessions were taken over[9]

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 27. [2] *Ibid.*, 32. [3] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 22, shows that he was at Castle Dermot on January 26th, 1405. He is officially referred to as Deputy Lieutenant in PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 2, 4, January 21st and March 23rd, 1405. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 25. In PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 22, dated May 30th, 1406, he has permission to live in England and have all his revenues, in spite of the Statute against Absentees. On March 10th, 1413, he is Deputy Treasurer of Ireland.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 201. [5] CAL. ROT. PAT., 237 b. [6] ROT. CAL. HIB., 179. [7] GRAVES, 274, 281; HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 54; GOWER, CONF. AM., 350. [8] J. DAVIES, 25; GILBERT, VICEROYS, 299; or September 1st, CAREW MSS., 342. For effigy found at the Grey Friars Monastery at Aylesbury, which he founded in 1387, see ARCHÆOL., L., 84; LYSONS, I., 502. [9] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 36, October 2nd, 1405.

in the name of Prince Thomas, till his son James should come of age to inherit them. His place as Lord Justice was taken by Gerald, the son of Maurice,[1] fifth Earl of Kildare.

The Earl of Ormonde had ruled the settlers for eighteen months and he left matters very much as they were. He held an enquiry[2] in Dublin as to extortions practised by Sir Lawrence Merbury[3] the Treasurer, and Thomas Mareward,[4] a wealthy citizen who had been twice Mayor of Dublin[5] and Sheriff of the county,[6] but as Merbury remained Treasurer[7] for another year, and was then promoted to be Chancellor, it is probable that nothing serious came of it.

[1] "Fitz-Moris."—GRAVES, 33; not "Fitz-Thomas," as O'CONOR, I., 184. In CALENDARIUM ROTULORUM HIBERNIÆ, 184, August 6th, 1406, he appoints William de Burgh to be keeper of Connaught, being himself much occupied in Leinster. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 17, Jan. 15th, 1405. [3] For his embassy to Rome in 1398 "for the safe estate and prosperity of the Holy English Church," see DEVON, 266. He was appointed Treasurer of Ireland, October 10th, 1401, with an allowance of £40 per annum.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 161. On October 20th, 1401, he was on the point of leaving Chester for Ireland.—DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 324. On June 8th, 1402, he and Edward Noon, Steward of the Household to Prince Thomas, were made Deputies of the Lieutenant for the defence of counties Carlow and Kildare.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 164. Merbury appears as Treasurer in a document dated at Naas on April 25th, 1404 (CAL. ROT. HIB., 178), though William Alington is Treasurer on June 1st, 1403. See Vol. I., p. 233. [4] GRAVES, 324. In 1385 he superintended the rebuilding of the bridge over the Liffey.—GILBERT, DUBLIN, I., 324. He married Catharine de Feipo, heiress to the manor of Skreen (Co. Meath), and is called Baron of Skreen in CAL. ROT. HIB., 188, January 24th, 1408. In 1410, he was engaged in a dispute with the Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, about the advowson of the church at Skreen, which he had forcibly seized.—DUBLIN, ST. MARY'S, I., 345. He was killed in a skirmish in Co. Meath, May 10th, 1414.—*Ibid.*, II., 23. In the chartulary of the Gresleys of Derbyshire (CHET. LIB. MSS. and RELIQUARY, VI., 144), Thomas Mawreward or Maureward, knight, confirms grants at Colton in 1405 and 1409. In 1406, Thomas Mawreward is a leading name in Leicestershire.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 39. [5] Viz., in 1388 and 1391.–HARRIS, 500. T. SMITH, ENGLISH GILDS, p. xxii., thinks that the name of mayor is modern; but mayors had certainly been elected in Dublin since 1229.—HISTORICAL AND MUN. DOC., 91; HOLINS., 75, though HARRIS calls them Provosts. [6] He was appointed May 3rd, 1400.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 156; ADAMS, 84, where he is commissioned to levy the "smoke-silver."—CAL. ROT. HIB., 227, 235. [7] HARRIS, HIBERNICA, II., 168. He witnesses a Cheshire deed August 17th, 1411.—ARLEY CHARTERS, 29. On June 28th, 1412, he appears as Sheriff of Chester.—*Ibid.*, 37.

The country was as disturbed as ever. We have notices of robberies, outrages, and murders occurring daily in County Meath. The judges were to hold assizes at Drogheda and Trim,[1] and lists were drawn up of the criminals (all with English names) still at large eluding justice. Janico Dartas,[2] the Constable of Dublin Castle, had large grants of land[3] in this county, which then extended[4] from the coast to the Shannon at Lough Ree, together with the custody of Trim castle[5] on the Boyne till the Earl of March should be of age. But though the castle was well placed[6] for resisting the Irish, it yielded no revenue and was sadly out of repair, and in 1403,[7] Dartas had to build another fortress at Liscarton, on the Blackwater between Navan and Kells.

Moreover, the appointment of the War Governor had not stopped the activity of the Irish. While he stayed in Dublin Castle his retinue made very free with the King's choice Rochelle,[8] and it must have been a frightful thing for any town to receive one of his official visits, if the requirements for his fare at Ross[9] in the winter of 1393[10] are any indication of his

[1] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 21, January 16th, 1405. [2] Vol. I., page 227. So called in CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 22. In ROYAL LETTERS, I., 76, he signs himself Janico. In SHARPE, II., 339, he is Janicus Dartays. [3] *e.g.*, Ardbrakan, November 22nd, 1400, and the alien priory of Fore.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 159. On November 24th, 1400, he was made a Justice of the Peace for Co. Meath.—*Ibid.*, 160. [4] It included the baronies of Duleek, Skreen, Dunboyne, Ratoath, Deece, Moyfenrath, Slane, Navan, Morgallin, Kells, Lune, Fore, Delvin, Farbill, Moling, Moygoish, Corkaree, and Moyashel.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 161. [5] March 30th, 1400.—*Ibid.*, 162, 171. Prince Henry had been imprisoned there by Richard II., also Humphrey, son of the Duke of Gloucester, who died there.—LEL. COL., I., 188. [6] Propter bonum locum quem dict. vill. in resistend. Hibernic. usque tenuit et jam tenet.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 185. [7] *Ibid.*, 169., May 4th, 1403, grants him permission to cut underwood to burn a "lymkyll" for the building. On Oct. 28th, 1402, he had a grant of 120 oaks and ashes, growing at Maundevillestown.—*Ibid.*, 174. [8] GILBERT, 557; LIB. ALB., 709, 711. [9] Then called Newbridge of Ros, or Rosspont.—J. WARBURTON, DUBLIN, 82; SPENSER, F. Q., IV., XI., 42. For a curious account of the building of the walls in 1265 to the sound of the fife and drum, and the singing of ladies, see ARCHÆOL., XXII., 307. For its trade with Spain, France, and Brittany, see CAL. ROT. HIB., 191. [10] GILBERT, 565.

ordinary wants. Sixty bullocks, four boars, 140 pigs, 100 geese, 100 ducks, 200 rabbits, 600 head of poultry, with salmon, ling, and cod by the hundred, and untold quantities of hay, oats, herrings, and flour were then requisitioned under penalty, to be paid for "at the King's price"[1] in tallies that might never be worth a groat, that the Justice might spend his Christmas merrily, while the impoverished loyalists lay through the long winter nights listening for the slogan[2] of some murderous kernes and knowing that at any time their homesteads might be burnt, their heads bashed in with an Irish axe,[3] or their hearts ripped out with Irish skeans.[4] At Ath-Dubh,[5] or the Black Ford over the Barrow (probably Rheban[6] above Athy[7]), the "foreigners" had been for the last twenty years oftentimes "preyed and killed."[8] If they left their goods or cattle in the field, night or day, the Irish stole them. They were now attacked by Gilla Patrick O'Mordha (O'More), king of the "wild forest" of Leix[9] (now Queen's County), who killed many of them and captured arms, clothing, and horses. The disaster was followed up by the dreaded MacMorough,[10] who

[1] GILBERT, 120, 206, *i. e.*, about one-third of the market value. The price was fixed, but the inadequacy of the scale may be seen by looking over a tariff quoted in 1422 for the Isle of Man, *e.g.*, 4s. for a cow, 6d. for a sheep, 4d. for a "porke," 1d. each for a lamb or a pig, and ½d. for a kid or a goose.—STANLEY LEGISLATION, 86. For the tariff in London in 1321, when the King's Justices held their Iter, see LIB. CUST., 303. For pre-emption, see SINCLAIR, I., 36. [2] SPENSER, 370. [3] GIRALD., V., 151, 165, 182. [4] FROIS., IV., 185; SPENSER, 368. For the cultellum Hibernicum, see KILK., 61, quoting C. P. ROLL, 8, 9 ED. I., m. 5. SPENSER, 427. [5] LOCH CÈ, II., 109; FOUR MASTERS, III., 781. [6] Or it may be Atady, CAMBR. EVERS., II., 534, or Athaddy, Co. Carlow, CARLISLE, III. [7] SPENCER (465) recommended Athy as a residence for the Lord Deputy rather than Dublin, so that he might sit at the very mainmast of his ship and overreach "all that heap of Irish nations which there lie huddled together without anyone to overawe them." [8] GILBERT, 305. [9] GIRALD., V., 356. [10] For his barony of Narragh, near Athy, on the eastern side of the Barrow (Co. Kildare), see DUGDALE, BAR., II., 76, quoting PAT., 22, R. II., 3, 8. DAVIES, DIX., 33; CAL. ROT., HIB., 156.

ravaged the whole county of Wexford[1] and advanced within ten miles of Dublin, where he fired the town of Saggart,[2] near Rathcoole (July 9th, 1405), an old rallying place for the "mountain Irish" from Wicklow. He burnt Kilcullen,[3] where the road from Carlow bridged the Liffey, and ravaged Castledermot, though the English sallied out to drive him back, and the priests within the castle put up prayers to heaven to protect them from the bloodthirsty tribes. But God was deaf.[4] The Earl's own county of Tipperary[5] was attacked on the north, and bands of plunderers, both Irish and rebel English from the south and west, were pouring across the Suir. The town of Lisronagh,[6] near Clonmel, was burnt by the Geraldines. Kilkenny[7] was desolated by attacks from the Irish of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, and Bennetsbridge[8] had to be strongly fortified to keep robbers off the lands lying in the very centre of his nest of strongholds on the Nore. In the north the towns of Louth[9] and Drumcondra[10] were burnt by the MacMahons, and the townsfolk fled in terror.

In August, 1404,[11] a Great Council met at Castledermot, at which the Commons of Dublin agreed to pay a levy of 9d. per hide to equip a force of 800 kernes, who should march northwards to recover Ulster from the attacks of the Irish and

[1] Known to the Irish as contæ Riabhach, or the Grey county.—LOCH CÉ, II., 111; FOUR MASTERS, III., 785. [2] This is the best suggestion I can make for "Oghgard," in WARE, 65, and HOLINS., 64. The old name was Tachsagard or Tassagard.—HIST. AND MUN. DOC., 372, 376, 539; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 24; CAL. ROT. HIB., 184; RYM., X. 406. [3] CAL. ROT. HIB., 170. [4] Cf. God is def now a dayes and deyneth nouht ous to huyre.—P. PLO., XII., 61. [5] GRAVES, 220. [6] CAL. ROT. HIB., 182. [7] *Ibid.*, 175, February 20th, 1403. In 1398, the Earl of March had been killed "apud Kenlis" (MONAST., VI., 355), *i.e.*, probably Kells on the King's River, Co. Kilkenny, not Kells "on the borders of Meath," as J. DAVIES, 31; GILBERT, 278. BAGWELL, I., 86, thinks it is Callistown, *i.e.*, Kellystown, Co. Carlow. MACGEOGHEGAN, 346, says Kenlis, Co. Kildare. [8] GRAVES, 234. [9] CAL. ROT. HIB., 180, April 1st, 1405. [10] *Ibid.*, 198. [11] *Ibid.*, 178, with a reference dated January 30th, 1404, to Roger Grymaston, of Dublin, who had been lately robbed by Scots tam de altâ patriâ quam de insulis.

the Scots from the Out-Isles, but the whole yield is only returned at £5 13s. 4d. During the winter, the Chancellor (Archbishop Cranley) was too much occupied in Dublin to be able to be present at the sittings of the Chancery in other parts of Ireland, and on March 7th, 1405,[1] Robert Sutton, the Keeper of the Rolls, was appointed to attend as his deputy in remoter places such as Connell,[2] Drogheda, Trim, Naas, Castledermot, Clonbur, Drumiskin, and Kilkenny. No relief had yet arrived from England, the Irish attacks always began directly after Easter,[3] and the Earl had called a Parliament to meet in Dublin on the 28th of April, 1405.[4]

The records[5] of the early Irish Parliaments are no longer preserved, but as the colonists followed, as far as possible, the forms and phraseology of the institutions of England, we may be sure that these assemblies were a reflection in small of the meetings held at Westminster. In the following reign (1419),[6] when dissensions were strong between the settlers near Dublin, one of them, Sir Christopher Preston,[7] of Gormanston, was arrested on his property at Slane.[8] He was a collector of documents, and had great numbers of charters copied and

[1] CAL. ROT. HIB., 180. [2] For documents dated at these places from March 12th, 1404, to September 7th, 1405, see *ibid.*, 178, 179. [3] ROT. PARL., 29 H. VI., in IRISH RECORDS, 84 a. [4] HOLINS., 74; DOWLING, 26; COX, 145. [5] The earliest roll of statutes dates from 1426.—IRISH RECORDS, 41; KILK., XVIII.; but an abridgment of the statutes made by Archbishop Usher is still in the library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, E, 3, 10. —IRISH RECORDS, 316. [6] Not 1405, as HARDY (in MOD. TEN. PARL., XXIV.), following COKE and SELDEN, reading 6 H. IV., for 6 H. V. [7] CAL. ROT. HIB., 157, April 14th, 1400, refers to Elizabeth, daughter of William de Loundres, wife of Christopher Preston, mil., Co. Meath. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Co. Meath on November 24th, 1400.—*Ibid.*, 160. On November 1st, 1403, his lands are reported as damaged by the Irish on the borders of Meath.—*Ibid.*, 178. He was the father of our knight, and had died before May 13th, 1406, on which date Janico Dartas had custody of his lands in Co. Kildare.—*Ibidem*, 180. [8] GILBERT, 311; called Clare, in SELDEN, 743; Calne, in HARDY, XXV.; Olane, in HOLINS., 76; Slain, in WARE, 69.

preserved.[1] In his possession was found a parchment roll containing a copy of the "Treatise[2] on the Method of Holding a Parliament." Like its fellow in England a high antiquity was claimed for it, but instead of ranging back to William the Conqueror, somebody had adapted it to Irish wants, and attributed it to Henry II. as the conqueror of Ireland. The document[3] is undoubtedly a forgery, but at the time it was considered to be a great find. The Deputy-Lieutenant ordered it to be copied, sealed, and attested, and it became henceforward an authority on questions of Parliamentary procedure. For us the only fair inference is that in the reign of Henry IV. the constitution of an Irish Parliament had as yet no authentic written sanction, but was, to a large extent, based upon shifting and unsettled precedents.

The period from 1367 to 1452 has been called "the great Parliamentary period[4] of Ireland," and at one time it would seem to have been the intention of the English Kings to call a Parliament in Ireland every year.[5] But this intention was very far from being carried out in fact, and in a petition dated 1435,[6] it is complained that a Parliament had only met once during the previous thirty years. This is certainly an overstatement, for we know that Parliaments met in Ireland in 1402, 1405, 1407, 1409, 1410, 1420, and 1426. But as a rule the money

[1] For his great Register see HIST. MSS., 4th REPT., 573-584; GILBERT, FACSIMILES, 116. [2] Vol. I., p. 46. A copy of the tract formed a portion of the Liber Custumarum at the London Guildhall when the table of contents was drawn up (temp. H. IV.).—LIB. CUST., 490. [3] It was published by Dr. DOPPING in 1692. [4] KILK., XIII. In STATUTES OF IRELAND there is a gap between 3 Ed. II. and 7 H. VI. The editor, SIR RICHARD BOLTON, who was Chancellor of Ireland temp. James I., states that: "In all the times of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., there is not any Parliament Roll to be found."—HARRIS, HIB., Part II., page 15. [5] CAMDEN, 733, from CLAUS., 12 Ed. II. In the Scottish Parliament held at Perth in 1399, it was ordered that "ilke yher the Kyng sal halde a parlement."—ACTS OF PARLTS. OF SCOTLAND, I., 211. [6] GILBERT, 333.

for defence was raised by means of councils called together in the several counties, at which two representatives[1] from each barony would meet the clergy and magnates of their county, and there are plenty of records of such meetings[2] at Dublin, Dundalk, Skreen, Castledermot, Kilkenny, and Ross, at which the amount of subsidy was assessed, and grants were made under the name of smokesilver[3] by the householders in towns, or according to the amount of land cultivated by each man in the country.

Soon after his landing in 1401, Prince Thomas is said to have held a Parliament at Ross,[4] though this was probably nothing more than a flying visit for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the tenants, who were urging all manner of excuses in order to be exempt from English rule. In September, 1402,[5] a Parliament was held in Dublin, in which ordinances were passed regulating the duties of the King's Escheator and the Clerk of the Market, and it was again enacted that none should exact "herbinage" or livery "without ready pay or agreement."

The truth probably is that Parliaments had to meet when they could in those wild times. No one would put forward any claim to attend as a privilege, all except officials looking upon attendance as an intolerable burden. The roads were bad,[6] and every bridge and ford was a gathering place for robbers.[7] Round the royal cities of Cork[8] and Limerick, and the town of Youghal, provisions could not be carted without convoys to protect the carriers. The Provost of Kilkenny[9] could not

[1] CAL. ROT. HIB., 201. *Ibid.*, 158, 159, 160, 166, 178. [3] Denarios vocat. Smoksilver, for expense of levies.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 165, 187. [4] DOWLING, 26; USHER in GUTCH, COLLECTANEA CURIOSA, I., 37. In CAREW MSS., 450, he examined all the charters and patents of those who held of the King in chief. [5] KILK., 127, 131. [6] GRAVES, 187. [7] *Ibid.*, LXI. [8] *Ibid.*, 120. The letter in HOLINS., 75, seems clearly out of its place. [9] GRAVES, 12, 190.

reach Carlow when summoned to meet the Barons of the Exchequer there on public business, while in Galway,[1] the King's Justiciary could get no escort even from the Sheriff,[2] and could only move about from place to place by paying heavy blackmail to the O'Kellys. From such distant places we may well believe that few representatives would come, for in a statement[3] of a subsidy of 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) granted by a Parliament which met in Dublin in 1420, the amount levied in County Cork was only £2 2s. 0d., all contributed by the clergy, while from the city of Limerick, where the whole proceeds of the salmon fishing at the Lax-wear[4] on the Shannon[5] were not sufficient to keep the walls in repair,[6] the Commons sent only £3 11s. 8d., and the clergy (apparently from the whole county) £1 9s. 7½d. The bulk of the contributions were from Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare, and the members most probably bore a proportion corresponding to the amount of the levy. We have no account of their names or numbers, but a serviceable hint as to the composition of an Irish Parliament may be gained by glancing over a list, still preserved at Kilkenny, of the names of those who attended a Great Council at Drogheda in 1444.[7]

By a statute[8] passed in 1357, a "Council" was composed of "councillors, prelates, magnates, and certain of the most discrete men of the parts adjoining the place where the meeting is held," while a Parliament was to consist of "councillors,

[1] GRAVES, 230. [2] In May, 1400, Walter Bermingham of Athenry, was appointed Sheriff of Connaught.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 157. For these Berminghams, see GRAVES, 230, 250; GILBERT, 204; T. SMITH, 236. For the Berminghams of Carberry, Co. Kildare, see GILBERT, 220. [3] CALENDAR OF CAREW MSS., 339; COX, I., 152; GILBERT, MSS., 117. [4] "La Lexwere."—CAL. ROT. HIB., 163. On January 28th, 1402, the mayor and commons of Limerick pay 40 marks per annum for custody gurgitum vocat. Layweres. [5] Called "Synnyne" in PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 7, February 6th, 1406. [6] Vol. I., 226. [7] GRAVES, 306. [8] STAT., I., 357, renewed by Richard II. in 1394.

prelates, nobles, and others in the land as the custom requireth," but in the reign of Henry IV. there would be practically very little difference between the two. The "Great Council" at Drogheda in 1444 was attended by 132 representatives, thirty-six of them being ecclesiastics, viz., the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, nine abbots, eighteen priors, four archdeacons, and a dean. Of the laymen, five are barons, six knights (probably two from each county, according to a custom[1] at least one hundred years old), and the rest burgesses from Dublin, Drogheda, Kells, Athboy, Navan, Trim, Naas, &c. But as the abbeys and priories on the list are all found within a radius of forty miles to the north and west of Dublin, we may fairly infer the like of the cities and boroughs, and have some idea of the character of the assembly which could make laws for the whole of Ireland. The meetings were held in the Cathedral Church[2] of the Priory of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church), in the centre of Dublin, in a portion of which the Four Courts[3] had also been held since the removal of the Common Pleas and the Exchequer from Carlow. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal sat in their "Parliament robes,"[4] and the Judges wore their official dresses and head-gear[5] *(habites et covertetes)*. The rolls and records of their proceedings were kept in the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary,[6]

[1] LELAND, II., 508. BAGWELL (I., 97) estimates the number of borough and county members at 60 at the end of the fourteenth century. In 1311, 87 barons were summoned (*ibid.*, 98), and the number of ecclesiastics is supposed to have been even larger. [2] STATE PAPERS, Part III., II., 544, 545, also III., 130; WARBURTON, I., 62; IRISH RECORDS, Plate XIII. In October, 1400, an English council met in the Church of the Black Friars in London.—FROIS., XVI., 369. For parliaments held in the same church, see STOW, LONDON, 373. [3] KILK., 79; WARBURTON, I., 61. [4] STATE PAPERS, Part III., II., 535. [5] For sketch of the Irish Exchequer Court, temp. H. IV., see KILKENNY ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 46; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIX., 363; GENT. MAG., New Series, XLIII., 37. [6] Where a number of them were destroyed by fire in 1304.—DUBLIN, ST. MARY'S, I., XXXIX.

on the north bank of the Liffey. It would be a mistake to suppose that their statutes were meant to apply only to the limited district afterwards known as "the Pale." No trenches,[1] dykes, "double earthworks," or other fortifications had yet been put up to protect the settlement. The King of England claimed the *whole* land of Ireland as his own on the strength of the grants[2] of Popes Adrian IV and Alexander III., the fluctuating borderland, where the actual influence of English authority began to vanish, being officially known as "the Marches."[3]

The results of the deliberations of the Earl of Ormonde's Parliament of 1405, are summed up in a sentence, viz.: "The Statutes[4] of Kilkenny and Dublin were confirmed, and likewise the Charter of Ireland." By the latter is meant the Magna Charta[5] adapted to suit the circumstances of Ireland on the accession of Henry III. The "Statutes of Dublin" are probably those passed in a Parliament which met at Dublin in 1320,[6] and so far as can now be made out, they were intended to protect loyal tenants against the violence and extortion of their Norman landlords, who took "what they will throughout the country without paying anything,"[7] and kept kernes[8] or

[1] GRAVES, XLVII, LXI.; KILK., 4, 68, 132; STATE PAPERS, Part III., II., 22. BAGWELL (I., 80), followed by BELLESHEIM, I., 493, thinks that "the statutes of Kilkenny in 1367 gave legal sanction to the fact that the King was no longer lord of more than a comparatively small portion of Ireland." GREEN (433) seems to include Drogheda, Waterford, Wexford and Cork in a supposed Pale, as early as King John. [2] LELAND, II., 509. For doubts as to their authenticity, see BELLESHEIM, I., 367-378. [3] STAT., I., 357. Cf. "the marche of Yrelonde."—PIERS PLOUGHMAN, XXIII., 221. [4] HOLINS., 74. [5] Now in the RED BOOK OF THE EXCHEQUER, Dublin, pp. 69-73. See IRISH RECORDS, Pl. viii.; KILK., 78; LELAND, I., 198-202, 355-362; DAVIES, 63; HIST. AND MUN. DOC., 65-72. [6] IRISH RECORDS, 77, 84 a. In CLAUS., 18 Ed. II., the "ordinances of Dublin" are referred to with "the common law" and the "good customs of the land."—KILK., 65. RED BOOK OF EXCHEQUER, p. 3, has "Statutum Dublin," 11 H. IV., relative to sheriffs. IRISH RECORDS, 159; CAL. ROT. HIB., 193. [7] STAT. OF IRELAND, p. 1. [8] For pedites vocat. "kernes," see CAL. ROT. HIB., 166.

armed retainers in time of peace, "to live upon the poor of the country." Parliaments had certainly met at Kilkenny in 1310[1] and 1326,[2] but the "Statutes of Kilkenny," which were now confirmed, we know expressly to have been those "made in the time of the Duke of Clarence"[3] in 1367, that is to say, they attempted now to reaffirm those impotent[4] and absurd enactments whereby a hopeless effort was made to stem by Act of Parliament the flood-tide of national vigour by which each generation of English settlers was being steadily absorbed[5] in the stronger vitality of the Irish. There are, it is true, plenty of instances[6] of Irishmen and Irishwomen buying their "English liberty" for sums varying from 6s. 8d. to 20s., but the conversions were mostly all the other way, and the newest arrived Hobs[7] from England had all their work to check their "degenerate"[8] countrymen from further lapse into the condition of "Irish dogs."[9] To this end the Kilkenny statutes made a settler liable to forfeiture, imprisonment, or death, if he married[10] an Irish wife, or gave his child an Irish name, or sent him to be brought up in fosterage[11] in an Irish family, or

[1] February 9th, 1310, not 1309, as USHER, in GUTCH, I., 38. [2] IRISH RECORDS, 77. [3] KILK., 125, summarized in LELAND, II., 320; GILBERT, 224; BELLESHEIM, I., 494; DUBLIN REVIEW, XVI., 156-185. Several of their provisions had been previously promulgated by the council at Dublin and Kilkenny in 1351 and 1360.—HIST. MSS., 10TH REPT., Pt. V., pp. 256, 260. [4] STOKES, 337. [5] GIRALD., V., 168. [6] *e.g.*, Maurice O'Monyle, Patrick O'Curnan, Patrick O'Molmartin, Thomas Golan (clerk), John O'Mulgan, *alias* O'Mullygaunt, J. O'Slattyr, Maurice Offyngan, J. Ohedyan, Rory O'Syredan, Peter O'Halpyn, J. O'Curtyne, T. Oshanaghan of Limerick, T. O'Creaghwyn, Howet Ohartyll, T. O'Lynnonan, Hugh O'Kerysane, Roesia Ynyhynwhyrty, Margaret Macconmare, &c. See CAL. ROT. HIB., 188-198, and *passim*. [7] RICHARD THE REDELES, I., 90; MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, 297; NARES, I., 423. [8] J. DAVIES, III., 227; DISCOV., 23; SPENSER, 362, 384. [9] The name given to Englishmen born in Ireland.—STAT., I., 363. In Waterford in 1384, it was ordered that anyone who should "dispice" any citizen by calling him an Irishman, should be fined 13s. 4d.—HIST. MSS., 10TH REPT., Pt. V., 292. [10] "Not marye, gossoppe ne foster." (1572)—KILK., 90. [11] For legal regulations as to this favourite custom, see SENCHUS MOR, II., XLIII, 147-193. In the statute of 1357 it is objected to as leading to "Forewarnings and Espyals

spoke Irish, or traded with the Irish, or presented an Irishman to a benefice, or admitted an Irishman to a monastery, or played quoits[1] or hurly,[2] or rode bareback, or grew a "beard[3] above his mouth" without shaving[4] the overlip[5] at least once a fortnight. In true Hibernian fashion also, they accorded a year's imprisonment to any poor spalpeen who crossed[6] the sea to better himself in England, that is to say, if he were simple enough to come back and take his punishment.

Needless to say, these statutes were "very slenderly executed."[7] Already they had become "clean antiquated,[8] and altogether idle," and what was said of Ireland one hundred years later was certainly true then, viz., that "the statutes were

on both sides."—STAT., I., 359. Fosterage extended from infancy to fourteen (girls) or seventeen (boys). SPENSER (381) saw a woman in Limerick pick up the head of her foster-son after execution, suck the blood from it and steep her face and breast with it, "crying out and shrieking most terribly." In chivalry the boys were given up to begin their training as pages or damoiseaux at seven years of age.—GAMEZ, 65.

[1] Et alters Jues que homes appellent coitinge.—KILK., 22. [2] Played by the Irish with a "hurlet" (SENCHUS, I., 139; IV., 555), or club. Cf. "hurlebatt,"—STRUTT, 79; "grand bastons sur la terre,"—KILK., 22. Chieftains sons had brass rings on their hurlingsticks.—SENCHUS, II., 147, 193; III., 253. In 1363, proclamations had been issued in England forbidding "idle, useless, and unhonest games," such as throwing stones, logs, or iron, playing ball with sticks, hands, or feet, and cockfighting.—RYM., VI., 417 (reading cambuca for canibuca). See DU CANGE, S.V.; DURHAM HALMOTE ROLLS, I., 171, 175. For "cambake," see CATHOL., 52; PROMPT. PARV., S.V. "cleystaffe" or "clawstaff"; also STRUTT, XLV, 81, perhaps the same game as "closh" or "claish."—STAT., 33 H. VIII., c. 9. For plaies unconvenable, see STAT., II., 57 (12 R., II.). For order of Charles V., dated May 23rd, 1369, forbidding all games but archery, see MOREL, 159; JURADE, 175, 348. [3] "That is to say, that he have no hairs upon his upper lippe."—STAT. OF IRELAND, p. 9, 25 H. VI., c. 4. [4] According to the Norman (not Irish, as SPENSER, 379) custom.—ANTIQUARY, XIII., 179, quoting MALMSBURY, 100. See also STOW, LONDON, 45; STRUTT, DRESS AND HABITS, I., 102; THIERRY, II., 147; FONBLANQUE, I., 12; KILK., 13 (Act of 1447). For the fancy of Englishmen for the moustache, see effigies of Edward III., the Black Prince, Richard II., Henry IV., the Earl of Westmoreland, &c., in GOUGH, I., 138, 165; III., 30, 80; BLORE, p. 17; STRUTT, DRESS, Pl. cvi. For labourers in the fifteenth century, see PLANCHÉ, I., 242. [5] GOWER, CONF. AM., 221. [6] KILK., 115, cap. XXXIII. [7] SPENSER, 498. [8] *Ibid.*, 335.

not observed[1] ne kept after the making of them eight days." Every article in them was broken every day, and no one dared to interfere. We know that Gerald Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond, sent his son as a nurry[2] in fosterage[3] to O'Konghir O'Breen, the Irish Lord of Thomond. The Earl of Ormonde's own sister had married an Irishman. He himself had parleyed and leagued with the Irish at his discretion, and his son after him did the same. King Richard II.[4] had a regular system of bartering both with "English rebels" and "Irish enemies" as necessity required. When Prince Thomas was coming to Ireland in 1401, it had been thought necessary to negociate[5] again with Maurice O'Connor, one of the chiefs of Connaught, who had previously made a bargain with the Earl of March at Kells in 1394, and to buy off the hostility of Donald O'Byrne,[6] of Wicklow, in order to obtain peaceable possession of Newcastle Mackennegan.[7] In the same way a sham submission was registered with Eugene O'Railly at Kells on February 4th, 1402,[8] while on December 13th, 1401,[9] MacMahon,[10] King of

[1] FINGLAS in HARRIS, I., 101. [2] For norry, nory, norischer, see CHAUCER, BOECE, 10/173; CHESTER PLAYS, I., 63, II., 162. In TREVISA (HIGDEN, VI., 43, 79, VII., 139, 379, 393, 519, VIII., 463), "nurri" = alumnus. See also SHARPE, I., 231; ROT. PARL., III., 374. Cf. les enfants du roy, MONSTR., II., 221. [3] KILK., 10, from PAT., 12 R. II., 88 (1388). In CAL. ROT. HIB., 180, 182, April 1405 and 1406, Robert and Henry Betagh send their daughters in fosterage to Machoun McKabe and Odo O'Railly. Similarly in 1410, James White sends his son to foster with Moritagh (or Murdach), son of Cowls O'Neil, in County Louth, *ibid.*, 196. [4] PAT., 9 R. II., October 18th, 1385, quoted in IRISH RECORDS, 78. [5] See Vol. I., 231. September 14th, 1401.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 165; KILK., 88; not 1402, as MACGEOGHEGAN, 348. [6] See the indenture dated Dublin, November 8th, 1401, in CAL. OF CAREW MSS., 480. Called O'Brain or O'Berne of the Mountains, in DAVIES, 36. See MOORE, III., 143, quoting PAT., 3 H. IV. [7] CAL. ROT. HIB., 157, has an order dated Ardbraken, April 21, 1400, appointing William Archebold as custos nov. castr. de Makyngan. [8] CAL. ROT. HIB., 165; CAREW MSS., 486. [9] KILK., 88. LAMBETH MSS., CAREW, 603 (p. 132), 608 (p. 65). [10] Ardghal MacMathghamhna became King of Uriel in 1402; he died in 1416.—LOCH CÉ, II., 101, 147; FOUR MASTERS, III., 775. In CAREW MSS., 480, 481, he is called Awghley or Aghi. His father, Brian More, had held it since 1365.—FOUR MASTERS, III., 629.

Uriel[1] or Louth, obtained a recognised footing in the Farney,[2] a district of County Monaghan, though the experiment proved a failure, the Irish being regarded as spies[3] watching their opportunity day and night. The men of Castledermot[4] and Ross[5] paid blackmail to the MacMoroughs; the farmers of Meath could only save their lands by payments to Owen O'Reilly,[6] captain of the nation of the Irish in Breifne or Cavan; in County Louth,[7] the traders of Drogheda[8] found a profitable market among the Irish for their wine, ale, armour, and artillery, while English beer and English cloth were carried round to be sold to the natives on the shores of Lough Swilly[9] and Lough Foyle. The Bishop of Ferns[10] had to temporize with the Irish in order to secure quiet in the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny,

[1] Called Oirghiall, LOCH CÈ, II., 101; Oriel or Yriell, GRAVES, 87; Iryelle, *ibid.*, 159; Urrielle, *ibid.*, 177; Iriel-Dymmock, 21. It consisted of the baronies of Ferrard, Louth, Dundalk, and Ardee.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 158. MACGEOGHEGAN, 112, makes it include Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh. KELLY (in LYNCH, I., 244) includes also County Fermanagh. The part of Drogheda north of the Boyne was called Drogheda versus Uriel.—HIST. AND MUN. DOC., 93. The part on the south bank was Drogheda versus Meath.—*Ibid.*, 196. [2] Called Fearnmhagh in LYNCH, I., 245, SHIRLEY. In CAL. ROT. HIB., 187, part of the district of Fernenoy is granted in 1408 to Coghonnaght MacMahon. [3] Vol. I., 229, where the document dates probably from the time of Henry V., not Henry IV. as supposed by Nicholas from mention of letters sent by the Earl of Ormonde (*i.e.*, James the fourth Earl) to the "King's brothers."—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 51. GRAVES (XIV.) assigns it to circ. 1392, and considers the "King's brothers" to be the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon (he wrongly calls them Dukes of Surrey and Exeter); but besides other difficulties, the document refers to the submission of the chiefs to Richard II. in 1395. Also it mentions (p. 47) John Liverpool, Constable of Wicklow Castle, who was murdered in 1421.—ROT. PARL., IV., 199. On December 10th, 1401, John Liverpool receives £40 per annum for his losses as Constable of Wicklow Castle.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 161. He is still Constable on August 6th, 1406.—*Ibid.*, 184. On June 29th, 1403, he is made Steward of the Liberty of Ulster.—*Ibid.*, 167, 169, 170. On January 26th, 1405, he has letters of protection.—*Ibid.*, 179. PAT., 7 H. IV., I., 30, December 1, 1405, shows that John Liverpool, senior, is about to cross to Ireland in company with Prince Thomas. On January 6th, 1409, John Liverpool, senior, is Sheriff of Co. Waterford.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 190, 193. [4] GRAVES, 128. [5] CAL. ROT. HIB., 164, 169. [6] GRAVES, 192. See indenture signed February 4th, 1402, in KILK., 88. [7] CAL. ROT. HIB., 196. [8] GRAVES, 160. [9] CAL. ROT. HIB., 169, 172. [10] *Ibid.*, 170.

and Carlow, while the Bishops of Meath,[1] Kildare,[2] and Limerick,[3] and the Provosts, Baillies, and Constables of Arklow,[4] Carrickfergus,[5] Kilkenny,[6] and Kinsale[7] were constantly taking out official permits to treat with the Irish as their only chance of living. Instances of similar transactions are on record in abundance, and from the nature of the case must have been regularly practised if the settlers were to escape extermination. The English knight, Sir Henry Cristede, who gave Froissart[8] his account of Ireland at Eltham in 1395, and whose identity[9] still remains a puzzle in spite of the exact heraldic description, had married the daughter of an Irish chieftain and found his father-in-law, as the story shows, a kind-hearted and humane man, notwithstanding his efforts to impress upon the chronicler that the Irish were a savage and blood-thirsty race.

[1] *Ibid.*, 163, April 27th, 1402. [2] *Ibid.*, 186. [3] *Ibid.*, 189. [4] *Ibid.*, 164, 169. [5] *Ibid.*, 193. [6] *Ibid.*, 175. [7] *Ibid.*, 158, dated Tristeldermot, March 30th, 1400. [8] FROIS., IV., 185. [9] The nearest approach to the name that I can find is that of a Benedictine, Henry Crixstede, in BALE, II., 95, who quotes from WHETHAMSTEDE, DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS. STOW, 335, refers to Robert Cristal, a citizen of London, and Agnes, his wife, in 1380.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE "WILD IRISH."

IF we look to English writers who lived in Ireland in the centuries before and after our present time for a sketch of these "wild Irishmen,"[1] whose lives filled them with horror, we gather up a strange picture, rich in interest, whose detail fascinates even where it is meant to repel. They come before us as living hogs lives,[2] base and sluttish [3] in their homes, their dress, and their food, neglecting marriage-ties[4] both as to wife and child, without manufacture of linen or woollen, having no sort of trade or mechanical art, nothing but idleness [5] and the sweet gay fingering[6] of the harp and pipe. Though "lovers of music,[7] poetry, and all kinds of learning," they are represented as cruel, treacherous,[8] cunning, and shifty, ignorant of the first rudiments of the faith, depraved with adultery [9] and incest, without religion [10] or honesty, by nature [11] all that is excellent, by practice

[1] "Nomez wylde Irishmen," ROT. PARL., IV., 190. For "wilde Yrisshe," see RICHARD REDELES, PROL., 10. "Crichemons," in CRETON (Vol. I., p. 219), should probably be "Irichemons." [2] Bestialiter vivens, GIRALD., V., 151, whose account, adopted in POLYCHRONICON (HIGDEN, I., 351), became an article of faith for historians in every part of Christendom. Cf. FROIS., IV., 187; GAMEZ, 337. "It is hogges lyfe."—HOCCL. DE REG., 131. [3] GIRALD., V., 164, 170; SMITH, 114. [4] "In the early Irish, as in other archaic societies, the *nexus* of the family was not marriage but acknowledged *actual* descent from a common ancestor.—ANCIENT LAWS, III., CXLIV. Children were considered as a benefit and not a burden.—*Ibid.*, CXLVII. [5] SPENSER (399) reports that they were "inquisitive after news," and J. DAVIES (108) that they had a "whining tune or accent in their speech." [6] GIRALD., V., 152, 153; BELLESHEIM, I., 47. [7] J. DAVIES, 104. [8] GIRALD, V., 166; J. DAVIES, 107. SPENSER (326) calls them "cautelous and wylieheaded." O'CONOR (I., 186) credits them with "love-like simplicity." [9] See GIRALD., V., 135, 147, 282, for Synod of Cashel, 1172. "Variable and unstedefast, trecherous and gileful, frowarde and inconstant, diverse and wily."—HIGDEN, I., 357. [10] GIRALD., V., 174. [11] *Ibid.*, 153.

all that is vile. Numbers of them were blind[1] or lame or hideously ugly, others tall[2] and handsome in person with ruddy cheeks and comely features, their strong bushy[3] beards and shaggy[4] glibs of knotted yellow hair[5] tangling over their eyes or tossing[6] down their necks and shoulders. They built no towns and enclosed no land. "All held themselves to be gentlemen"[7] counting their wealth by their cows[8] and garrons "gotten by the gentlemanly trade of stealing," the nimble kerne,[9] armed with his keen axe and wrapped in his rug[10] of black frieze[11] to shield his naked[12] sides and legs from the gnats[13] by day or the "sharp and bitter air" at night, and the uncivil hind driving his masters cows to the boolies[14] on the mountain sides in summer or slugging[15] through the winter with his beast in one bed, in cabins fit for swine-sties.[16]

To the English mind the Irish law was "a damnable thing,"[17] and until it was "utterly abolished" there could be no peace, plenty, or civility. Irish customs were such as "must of necessity bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world."[18] And yet when these pernicious customs are examined they amount only to this: that murder[19] and manslaughter were not punished with death but by a fine varying according to the rank of the victim or the offender, that land was not to descend entire from father to eldest son but

[1] GIRALD., V., 181. [2] *Ibid.*, 150. [3] *Ibid.*, 153, 389. [4] WARE, 6, 19. For "culans," see LYNCH, I., 195. [5] GIRALD., V., 170. [6] SPENSER, 369. [7] J. DAVIES, 105. [8] SPENSER, 329, 480, 506. [9] GIRALD., V., 397; SPENSER, 393, 399. For Kernys et udifs gentz, see ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 49; also de illis qui dicuntur homines otiosi et malefactoribus qui etiam kernys dicuntur.—STAT., I., 359. For "idlemen," see STAT. OF IRELAND, I. [10] For the "fallaing" or mantle, see HIST. AND MUN. DOC., XXXII. For Irish rug, see HOLINS., II., 24. In 1380, the Count of Flanders paid 51s. for six mantiaux d'Ierlande.—LABORDE, I., LI. [11] GIRALD., V., 150; WARE, 29. [12] STATE PAPERS, III., 444; SPENSER, 426; ARCHÆOL., XX., 302. [13] SPENSER, 368. For St. Nannan and the fleas, see GIRALD., V., 119. [14] SPENSER, 363, 496. [15] *Ibid.*, 396, 406. [16] ROT. PARL., IV., 60. [17] J. DAVIES, 74. [18] *Ibid.*, 102. [19] See the Book of Aicill, in ANCIENT LAWS, III.

only "as a personal estate for a lifetime"[1] to be afterwards subdivided among many heirs. For the custom of "coign and livery" was a Norman innovation not fairly chargeable to the Irish at all, except as connected with their practice of "food-rents," while the genuine Irish customs of "gossipred"[2] and "fostering" are admitted to be "of themselves indifferent."[3]

Before accepting however this purely *ex-parte* view from English pens and English eyes, let us look for a moment at the condition of the Irish peasant as disclosed[4] in the Irish law-tracts that have still come down to us. The description shall be pieced together from the native code of law known as the *Senchus Mor* probably compiled[5] in the fifth century, with copious glosses and comments by later hands at dates varying from the ninth to the fifteenth.

In place of the indolent savages "little better than cannibals"[6] who puzzled and scared the English settlers, we find prosperous tribal and village communities, long familiar with the plough,[7] the hook,[8] the flail,[9] the hatchet, the grindstone,[10] the bellows,[11] the anvil,[12] and the sledge, raising crops of oats, wheat, flax, and barley, malting,[13] brewing,[14] steeping and scutching flax, and combing,[15] spinning,[16] weaving, and dyeing wool. They fence[17] their land, have highways,[18] byways, fair-greens,[19] and stone bridges.[20] They amuse themselves with horse-races[21]

[1] SPENSER, 306. [2] GIRALD., V., 167. [3] DAVIES, 110. [4] O'CURRY, *passim*. [5] ANCIENT LAWS, I., 300; II., LIII. "They thus exhibit a strange mixture of the ancient and the modern, an unevenness and irregularity of development."—*Ibid.*, III., XXX. BELLESHEIM, I., 60. [6] J. DAVIES, 102. [7] ANCIENT LAWS, III., 267. [8] *Ibid.*, II., 379. [9] *Ibid.*, III., 221. [10] *Ibid.*, 295. [11] *Ibid.*, 187, 191. [12] For their metal work, see M. STOKES, 52-116. For the Limerick mitre made by Thomas O'Carty, see SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. II.; ARCHÆOL., XVII., 38. [13] *Ibid.*, II., 239. [14] *Ibid.*, 243. [15] *Ibid.*, 37, 421. [16] *Ibid.*, I., 151. For the laken of Munster, see LAPPENBERG, II., 117. [17] ANCIENT LAWS, IV., 49, 71, 113, and 129, with elaborate rules for fencing. See also D'ACHERY, IX., 46, for church laws in the eighth century. [18] ANCIENT LAWS, III., 113, 305; BOOK OF RIGHTS, LVI. [19] ANCIENT LAWS, I., 157. [20] *Ibid.*, II., 233. [21] *Ibid.*, III., 255.

and dog-fights,[1] jugglers[2] with spears and balls, tumblers who "go out of their shapes," fools, jesters,[3] and buffoons. They keep cows,[4] pigs, sheep, horses, geese, and hens. They mine[5] with the spade for coal or silver, and pierce[6] the cliff for iron and copper ore. They keep bees,[7] make candles[8] "eight fists in length" out of rushes dipped in tallow. They tan hides[9] with bark for shoe leather, and cure pork[10] or beef with salt for winter use. They have toys,[11] brooches, looking-glasses, and ornaments, they keep cats,[12] wolves, herons, hawks, foxes, badgers, fawns and little pigs as pets, and rear gooseberries,[13] leeks, garlick, and other garden stuff. Their boys[14] are taught from seven years of age to sit a horse, to use the bow, to herd lambs, swim, and play chess, the girls[15] to use the quern, the sieve, the kneading-trough, the griddle,[16] or flag, for baking, and the needle for embroidery. They are fed on stirabout,[17] or oatmeal and buttermilk, with delicacies such as salted venison, sea-grass, onions, butter and honey, on Sundays. The marriage[18] age was fixed, as in England, at fourteen for girls and seventeen for boys. They have their "hill of meeting,"[19] where they can degrade[20] a false-judging king, a stumbling bishop, a fraudulent poet, or an unworthy chieftain. Their laws inculcate the duty[21]

[1] ANCIENT LAWS, III., 193. [2] *Ibidem*, 285. [3] *Ibidem*, III., XLVIII, 25. [4] *Ibid.*, III., 381. [5] *Ibid.*, III., 20. [6] *Ibid.*, I., 185. [7] *Ibid.*, IV., 163; I., 167; II., XLI, 120, 421; III., 433-441. LYNCH, II., 135. [8] ANCIENT LAWS, II., 249, 251, 253. For the taper with wax and wick, see P. PLO., XX., 169. [9] ANCIENT LAWS, IV., 149. [10] *Ibid.*, II., 203, 247. For the "larder of the swine," see GOWER, CONF. AM., 283, 354; DENTON, 170, 209, 217. For salted boar or deer, see ITINÉRAIRES, 582. [11] ANCIENT LAWS, I., 127. [12] *Ibid.*, III., 297; IV., 109, 115, 121; also D'ACHERY, IX., 46. For the French Queen's cat (fifteenth century) in HARL. MS., 6431, see SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. II. [13] ANCIENT LAWS, II., 255; IV., 149. [14] *Ibid.*, IV., 335. For specimen of Irish chess-men, see BOOK OF RIGHTS, LXII., and ARCHÆOL., XXIV., 203. [15] ANCIENT LAWS, II., 153, 155; III., 275; IV., 9. [16] Spelt "gredill" in NOTT. REC., 124 (1390). [17] ANCIENT LAWS, II., 149, 177. GIRALD., V., 28, notes the abundance of honey and milk. [18] ANCIENT LAWS, II., XLV, 152, 193. Cf. ROT. PARL., III., 637. [19] ANCIENT LAWS, I., 167, 175; III., 405. [20] *Ibid.*, I., 55. [21] *Ibid.*, I., 41; LYNCH, II., 245.

of open hospitality or the ever-full caldron, and the binding force of verbal contracts. They must nurse[1] the sick, maintain the aged, the madman, the idiot, and the half-wit, house the ship-wrecked, and care for the infant from the mother's dead breast. The woman stands on an equality with the man, there are fines for her evil-speaking[2] tongue as well as for women-fights,[3] when they fight raising their distaffs and comb-bags, but the "price of blushing"[4] is strictly enforced for offences against the woman's honour. The wife has her rights of contract and property equally with the husband, and the mother and father alike have equal claims upon their children. There are penalties[5] for seeing a beast near a river or a pit at night, or being worried by dogs, without rescuing it, rules for adjusting differences arising from the dual[6] ownership of a cow, when the beast belongs to one man and the milk to another, for assessing damages[7] done to flowers and blossoms by poaching bees, or for apportioning the bones[8] of a stranded whale,—rules which could have no meaning except in a community highly advanced in civilization, where chieftain and tenant, churchman and layman, tutor and pupil, brother and sister, father and son, are bound by strictly defined ties of mutual obligation, of great complexity[9] and extreme interest. The heir is not bound by his father's debts, for "the dead man kills his liabilities."[10] The land[11] is a common possession to support every tribesman. No person can hold property in it or will it away at death. The tribe alone can claim it and allot it, as is thought best, for the good of all.

[1] ANCIENT LAWS, I., 123, 139, 201, 229. [2] *Ibid.*, I., 149. [3] *Ibid.*, III., 291. [4] *Ibid.*, II., 397. Cf. "May no man do my chekés rede."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 178. [5] ANCIENT LAWS, II., 59, 61. [6] *Ibid.*, II., 43. [7] *Ibid.*, II., 121. [8] *Ibid.*, I., 125. [9] *e.g.*, *ibid.*, II., 367, where a woman may get the eighteenth part of a pig for swineherd's service; or II., 391, "half the produce of the land"; or II., 365, 391, 393, one-third of a pail of milk belongs to the holder of the land, one-third to the owner of the cow, and one-third to those who get the milk, subdivided between the woman who milks, the owner of the vessels, the man of the house, and the attendants of the house. [10] *Ibid.*, II., 271. [11] *Ibid.*, III., lxvii, 53, 55.

Such, at least, was the earlier economy of the Irish village or tribe, but long before the fifteenth century disintegration had set in. In presence of a constant condition of internal warfare, and the devastating fury of plundering Danes,[1] the tribal[2] development had been arrested, the personal rights of the humbler members were obliterated, and the masses were degrading into mere retainers and dependants of the greater chiefs or kings. From some legal tracts[3] written probably about the fourteenth century we may gather a rough outline of the altered position of the various members of an Irish community, from the "crumb-fox,"[4] who "has nothing but what he cranches," up to the "king of kings,"[5] with his Brehon or judge, his rhymers, harpers, fluteplayers, and hornblowers, "coshering"[6] or living at free quarters on the food-rents[7] supplied by the tenants and sub-tenants, in their wattle-huts.[8] He has his bodyguard of hirelings, set free for this service from the dungeon or the gallows, and others to watch the bodyguard, whose record is too black to be trusted. He never travels out alone, nor handles "clod-mallet," shovel, or spade, but lives in a "dun"[9] or stone fort, on a mound, surrounded with his mercenaries.[10] The Sunday is spent in drunkenness,[11] for "he is not a lawful chief who does not distribute ale[12] every Sunday." If this were the ideal of the head

[1] For the nose-tax, see LYNCH, III., 291. ANCIENT LAWS, IV., xiv.; III., xxxiv. [3] *Ibid.*, IV., 298-369. [4] *Ibid.*, IV., 355. [5] *Ibid.*, IV., 331; BELLESHEIM, I., 43. [6] WARE, 22, 32. [7] See the claims of MacNamara and O'Brien in TRANSACTIONS OF IRISH ACADEMY, XV., 39-48, and O'Reilly in BOOK OF RIGHTS, XX. [8] ANCIENT LAWS, IV., ccvi. It was from these that the natives were said to have been called "Creaughts."—STORY, 16; FOUR MASTERS, III., 811; GILBERT, IRISH CONFEDERATION, I., 163; J. DAVIES, DISCOVERIE, 99, 128; or "Creetes."—SPENSER, 425, 449, 455. [9] For specimens, see M. STOKES, 150. [10] ANCIENT LAWS, IV., 337. [11] *Ibid.*, IV., 335, 341. In 1354, a Papal collector could get no money out of the Irish, for they "never saved anything, but lived riotously."—BAGWELL, I., 62; DENTON, 204. [12] Ale was the usual drink.—ANCIENT LAWS, II., lii, 35, 203, 229, 243; III., xlviii, 21. See the story of Sir Robert Savage, of the Ards, in 1360.—DUBLIN ST. MARY'S, II., 393; SAVAGES OF THE ARDS, 139.

king or "king of kings," we may well guess the oppressions that would be exercised by the little[1] kings, the "king of hills," the "king of companies," the tanist, the flaith, and all the petty ranks of privileged plunderers. What chance of escape or legal redress at the hands of judges guided by the maxim that "the king is higher than the people?"[2] Outside the law, again, stood the mass of churls or serfs, without land or legal rights, shut out from assemblies, forbidden to take oaths, or tender evidence. Ground between the exactions of their own chiefs and the onset of the "rebel English," they had no choice but to take service as kernes, and live themselves by plunder, or toil on with their dirt and their swine-sties, in slavish and hopeless degradation.

The question has been treated from both sides with all degrees of exaggeration. It has been asserted that "all who have spoken of the Irish since the days of the first Norman settlers, in the twelfth century, have no other foundation than the authority of Giraldus," who is stigmatised as the "most savage enemy of the people of Ireland,"[3] an "impostor," a "jealous foreigner,"[4] an "arrant calumniator,"[5] whose works are a "nuisance,"[6] an "absurd collection of old women's,[7] sailors'[8] and soldiers' stories," which "every stranger of good discernment should distrust," and we are asked to believe[9] that "all the

[1] ANCIENT LAWS, IV., cxvii. [2] *Ibid.*, IV., 333. [3] LYNCH, III., 207. [4] *Ibid.*, III., 229. [5] *Ibid.*, II., 143. [6] *Ibid.*, I., 371. [7] MACGEOGHEGAN, 12, 13. [8] GIRALDUS (v., 170), believed, on the authority of some sailors, that there were islands in the west of Connaught where the people wore no clothes, and had never seen bread or cheese, but lived on fish, flesh, and milk, and knew nothing of Lent or baptism, or the divisions of the week, month, or year. If there is any truth in the story it must refer to some very unapproachable island indeed, or the sailors must have been out in their latitude. For the divisions of the year amongst the Irish, see BOOK OF RIGHTS, XLVIII.-LV. For the general accuracy of GIRALDUS, see letter of LINGARD (October 29th, 1848) in LYNCH, II., 529. BELLESHEIM, I., 408, as might be expected, charges him with Einseitigkeit. [9] LYNCH, I., 223, where the translator has improved upon his original. In II., 125, he despatches Spenser as Hibernis injuriosissimus.

blemishes of the Irish character are the spawn of English barbarism," and that the Norman invaders became "civilized by their intercourse with the natives whose manners they assumed, and thereby lost that ferocity of disposition which is the attribute of the inhabitants of Great Britain." But the plain statements of writers who actually saw what they relate cannot be set aside at the bidding of patriotic Irish religionists, smarting under the irritation of seventeenth century wrongs, and wedded to a fanciful theory that their country was once an Eden of Saints, till it was defiled[1] by contact with the vile tyranny of the English. This cannot be true, for, half-a-century before Henry II.'s Anglo-Normans set foot in the country, Primate Mael-Maedhog[2] or Malachy O'Morgair,[3] when Bishop of Connor, had described his flock, in the north of Ireland, as "beasts rather than men, profligate in their morals, brutish in their habits, barbarous in their laws, and filthy in their lives,"[4] though all this time eminent Irish missionaries were founding monasteries[5] to evangelize the degenerate Germans in Ratisbon,

[1] WARBURTON, I., 268. [2] LOCH CÈ, I., 143. [3] COTTON, III., 10, 247; BELLES., I., 350. [4] ST. BERNARD, I., 671. BELLES., I., 353, 360. Malachy died in 1148. [5] LYNCH, II., 408, 429; ALZOG, II. 385; BELLES., I., 339-346, 586; M. STOKES, 30-50. By the beginning of the fifteenth century these monasteries had become hopelessly degraded and corrupt. They had no books and no vestments. In some the mitre and Abbot's staff had been pawned. They took to wine-selling, drinking, and the grossest forms of viciousness. In 1412, four monks went from Ireland to Nuremberg, but as soon as they arrived they declared openly that they had not come to practise mortification but to be merry.—ULSTER JOUR. OF ARCH., VII., 227, 295, 305. For drinking capacities of the Irish clergy when their day's work was done, see GIRALDUS, V., 172. The description in NIEM., 501, from his LIBER DE REGIONIBUS ORBIS, written circ. 1400, shows the character of the Irish clergy in his day: Clerus humilis cultu ornatuque vestium, cæremoniis paucis et sollennitatibus nullis ad divinum cultum peragendum, non liberalibus artibus aut aliis scientiis imbutus. Clerks and laymen drink warm beer together, and no one was thought happy unless drunk. No one would believe if they had not seen it, how much both men and women can drink at a time till they fall drunk on the ground. Bishops and priests have concubines openly. He gives the same character in this respect to the clergy of Gascony, Spain, and Portugal. He blames the Bishops, Abbots,

Constance, Nuremberg, Erfurt, Würzburg, Eichstädt, and Vienna. In 1155,[1] Pope Breakspeare, who had legates in Ireland and must have known the condition of the country, described the Irish as an ignorant and barbarous people. His successor, Pope Alexander III.,[2] both in his letters and in his official bull, calls them "a barbarous nation, Christian only in name," and, in 1172, the synod of Cashel[3] was called to deal with a condition of moral depravity that cannot by any possibility have arisen all at once.

How then is it possible to explain the curious paradox that the English settlers should be conscious of the low and degraded condition of the Irish natives, yet generation after generation of them threw off allegiance to their own King and adopted Irish ways? The explanation is doubtless two-fold. On the one hand, their own distant government proved powerless to protect them. On the other, the altering conditions of Irish tenure offered just the field for energetic Englishmen to occupy the place of some petty chieftain,[4] and lord it over a degraded and

and clergy of Italy for being stingy and giving nothing to the poor, they take invitations but give no entertainment in return. He says that the Greek priests are drunken liars as he knew from actual personal experience. In P. PLO., XXIII., 221, a mansed priest from the "March of Ireland," says:

"I count conscience no more, by so I catch silver,
Than I do to drink a draught of good ale."

1 LYNCH, II., 413, 443. For doubts as to authenticity of this Bull, see BELLESHEIM, I., 369-378. For previous letters of Gregory VII., and Anselm, 1083, 1093, see BELLESHEIM, I., 319, 321,. 2 LYNCH, II., 468. In 1395, when the Irish chiefs were asked about their religion in Dublin, they seemed displeased, but they said they believed in God and the Trinity, and held to the Roman Pope.—FROIS., IV., 431 (JOHNES). 3GIRALDUS, V., 280; LYNCH, II., 473; BELLESHEIM, I., 382; LINGARD, II., 186. For the practice of selling their wives, as well as deserting them, see letter of Gregory VII.; LYNCH, II., 586; BAGWELL, I., 33. 4 GIRALD., V., 408; LYNCH, I., 229. In Lower Connaught a "degenerate" descendant of the Norman marcher, Guillaume Fitz Aldelm de Burgh (GIRALD., V., 337; GILBERT, 126, 184), passed for an Irish chieftain under the name of Mac William Burk (LOCH CÈ, II., 13; GILBERT, 260; DAVIES, 120). In CAL. ROT. HIB., 157 (Kilkenny, May 11th, 1400), Thomas, son of Edmund de Burgo mil. is appointed deputy for Sir John Stanley in Connaught.

submissive peasantry. Under them the "coshery" and "food-rents" and "bonaughts"[1] became "coign[2] and livery," and the serfs and lower freemen took service with them as "gallow-glasses and kernes." Surrounded with these quick-witted and agile thieves, they could defy the English power and plunder any rivals that might stand in their way.

On April 27th, 1404,[3] a few weeks after the appointment of the Earl of Ormonde, died John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh, at an advanced age. His career is another striking instance of the attractions offered by the church in those days to a versatile genius in the paths of learning, piety, soldiering,[4] diplomacy, and statecraft. Colton was a Norfolk man, with no advantage of birth or prospects. He was born at Terrington, in the Marshland near Lynn, in the early part of the fourteenth century, and was seemingly trained for the church from the outset. About 1343, he became chaplain to William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, the founder of Trinity Hall at Cambridge. A few years after this, Edmund Gonville, the wealthy Rector of Terrington,[5] and Commissioner of the Marsh-lands, founded his hall[6] at Cambridge for twenty scholars in dialectics, and

1 DAVIES, II., 114; MACGEOGHEGAN, 322. [2] Though "coinmhe" as a genuine Irish word for food and lodging occurs long before the landing of the Normans.—LYNCH, II., 530. [3] HOLINS., 74. WARE, ANNALS, 65, PRELATES, p. 15, says May 1st, but the custody of the temporalities was granted April 28th, 1404, occasione mortis Johannis ultimi Archiepiscopi ibidem.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 178. The year is also proved by a deed of his successor, Nicholas Fleming, in COLTON, 39. In LOCH CÈ, II., 89, the name is Irished into Coltunach. [4] As late as 1398, Colton was sent to Rome on secret affairs of the King.—DEVON, 268. [5] He was presented to this living in 1342, and died in 1351.—STEVENSON, 15. He was previously Rector of Rushworth (now Rusford), near Thetford, where he founded a college, circ. 1342.—BLOMEFIELD, I., 194; MONAST., VI., 1385. For his letters written from Rushworth, see HIST. MSS., 12th REPORT, 9, 376. [6] WILLIS & CLARK, I., xvii, xliii.; FULLER, UNIV. CANTAB., 78; MULLINGER, I., 239. He meant to call it the Hall of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. It is called Gonvile Hall in the Bishop of Ely's REGISTER in 1397.—T. BAKER, I., 42; C. H. COOPER, MEMORIALS, I., 73.

made Colton the first Warden (1348).[1] Here he employed himself for five years, getting a name as "a good and learned man[2] above the ordinary," and he afterwards turned his learning to account in writing treatises[3] on the Papal Schism. According to one account he became Rector of Terrington[4] on Gonville's death, but there is no certainty about this.[5] Something however tempted him across to Ireland, where he became Vicar of Tallaght,[6] near Dublin. Here he took very practical means of asserting his Christianity amongst the wild Irish. When they attacked and burned the town of Athy, he put himself at the head of a motley force, including 26 knights, all of whose expenses he paid, and with these he rode at them,[7] slaughtered them, scattered them, and stayed twelve days on their ground. Bands from Wicklow appeared at Carrickmines; Colton again went for them at great expense and personal risk, staying at one time eight days, at another a month. Newcastle was in danger and almost abandoned; Colton with 36 followers held it against the O'Byrnes, losing his horse in one of the frays. Such services did not long remain unrewarded. In 1373, he was Treasurer of Ireland, and in 1374, he was made Dean of St. Patrick's, holding at the same time a prebend in the cathedral at York,[8] and constantly crossing and re-crossing on public business to England, or occasionally to Rome.[9] In 1379, he was made Chancellor of Ireland, and in 1381, he accompanied the Lord Lieutenant, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, to Athlone, to try and make an impression on the O'Briens, O'Connors, and

[1] FULLER, UNIV. CANTAB., 79; R. PARKER, SKELETOS, 213, 219. [2] LELAND, quoted in FULLER, II., 134. See BALE, 531; PITS, 587. [3] BALE, 531; LEL. COLL., III., 49; TANNER, 192; BELLESHEIM, I., 592. He may perhaps be the "Cowtonus" quoted in WYCLIFFE, DE BENEDICTA INCARNATIONE (HARRIS, 57, 239), as an abbreviator of Duns Scotus. [4] PARKER, 78; LELAND, V., 219. [5] BLOMEFIELD, IX., 95. [6] W. M. MASON, 125. [7] GOWER, CONF. AM., 119. Cf. "ridingtime," WORCESTER, 443. Bot out sal ride a chivauché.—LANGTOFT, II., 460. [8] LE NEVE, III., 179. [9] MACGEOGHEGAN, 348.

Barretts of Munster. From Athlone they made their way to Cork, where the Lord Lieutenant died almost suddenly. His armed retainers withdrew, and the Chancellor found himself defenceless in mid-winter, cut off from all communication with Dublin, except by a stormy voyage on a dangerous sea.[1] He pulled himself together however, collected as many bishops as he could, and others of the settlers from the neighbourhood, to meet in St. Peter's Church at Cork,[2] and there called upon them to elect a governor for the country till a new lieutenant should arrive. All agreed that "a man of valour and an experienced soldier from England" was wanted to deal with the emergency, and when the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde had declined the task, the meeting with one voice forced Colton to accept. He took up their mandate, led them out against the enemy, captured a chief of the Barretts, and saved Cork from destruction. In 1381, he was made Archbishop of Armagh, but we may be sure that this "clerk nought clerklike"[3] did not spend a mellow age in pastoral care for his flock. In 1393,[4] he was cited before the council for seizing land and tenements by "fraud and collusion" in the King's name, and then keeping all the profits to himself. The case was proved and he was made to refund the money, but this did not disqualify him from being continued as Primate of Ireland. In 1401,[5] he crossed with the Archbishop of Dublin as a deputation to London, but the rest of his days he spent at Drogheda,[6] and was buried in St. Peter's Church in that town. Some of his "constitutions"[7] as Archbishop of Armagh are curiosities in their way. Like his predecessor he fulminated[8] against laymen or

[1] LYNCH, II., 119. [2] MASON, 127. [3] WYNT., III., 2950. [4] GRAVES, 104. [5] Vol. I., 219. [6] GILBERT, 275. [7] Extant in SWAYNE'S REGISTER; COTTON, FASTI, III., 16. [8] Sub nomine Cayf alias Cloghir. For explanation of this curious phrase, see COLTON, XVI.; also ORD. PRIV. CO., II.. 50, lour caifs norys et lour enfauntz. From ANCIENT LAWS, IV., 63, it appears that by Irish law, the head of the tribe claimed his share in the earnings of a harlot.

clerks in his diocese who kept women for hire, and he urged his suffragans to preach peace and labour for peace between the English and Irish, though the prayers must have come tardily from him after spending so many years in hostings and raids against the natives. He urged them to observe the feasts of Patrick, Bridget, Columba, Ronan, Fechin, and other saints in the Irish calendar. He prohibited the game called "galbarey," a kind of hurling then popular in the North of Ireland, on Easter Monday and Tuesday, as causing mortal sins, wounds, and homicides; and he tried to stop hunting and sport on Good Friday,[1] especially the chase for hares,[2] whose blood was supposed to have a special medicinal value if caught on that day.

In 1395,[3] John Dongan, Bishop of Derry, was translated to the bishopric of Down, and for six years no one was appointed to succeed him. During the vacancy, rents fell into arrears, and the rights of the church were encroached upon by the O'Donnells,[4] O'Doghertys, O'Kanes, O'Gormleys, Mc.Gilligans, and O'Neills. To add to the confusion, the Archdeacon and Chapter of Derry refused to recognise the Primate as their superior, or to admit

[1] COLTON, XVII. For dies Parasceves, see YORK MANUAL, 109, 156; SHARPE, II., 448; OLIVER, 280; WALS., II., 282; RYM., VIII., 755; IX., 291; ACTA SANCTORUM, October 8th, p. 452; CATHOL., 168; MARTENE, MON. RIT., 409; WYCLIFFE, SERMONS, IV., 311, 436; DE BLASPHEMIA, 162, 252; DU CANGE S.V.; MIRROURE OF OURE LADY, XVIII.; TRAIS., 284; HAMPSON, MEDII ÆVI CALENDARIUM, II., 301; RIPON MEM., III., 212, 226, 244; BOUILLONS, 527; RAYNALDI, XVII., 292; DUGDALE, WARWICKSHIRE, 192; RATISBON, 2130; HIST. MSS., 2ND REPT., 139; FANT, I., 146, April 18th, 1426; ROCK, III., 139; HOLT, 40. PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 16, and 2, 21, records pardons granted ob reverentiam Dei et diei Parasceves. In SHARPE, I., 305 (1323), it seems to be the same as Maundy Thursday. Cf. ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., November 8th, 1408, where £33 6s. 8d. was distributed to the poor from the King's bounty. For "goode Fryday," see P. PLO., XII., 254; XV., 132, 142. "Le jour de bone Vendredy."—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$; "les bons Vendredys, les Vendredys a ovez."—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{56}{20}$, m. 27. [2] For superstition as to hares, see HARRISON, I., 143. In Scotland there was a close time for hares, tempore nivis.—ACTS PARL. SCOT., I., 214. [3] COTTON, III., 200. [4] COLTON, 49.

his claim[1] to interfere in their affairs. Colton must now have been eighty years of age, but the fire and fight that had forced him into Ireland's battlefield was quick within him yet. Late in the autumn of 1397, he resolved to make a visitation of the diocese of Derry and assert his claims in person, cost what it might. Accompanied by Maurice O'Corry (Dean of Armagh), Nicholas O'Lucheran (Abbot of the great Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Armagh),[2] a canon, a crozier-bearer, various rectors, monks, servants, and many others, he started on his perilous journey. They took with them a notary, Richard Kenmore,[3] a clerk from the diocese of Meath, who kept a diary of their proceedings, recording the events of their progress with punctilious accuracy; though his account would have had greater interest for us now, had he given more of his own impressions of the country and its people. However, as a scrupulous official, he has left us an authentic record which is of priceless value as a solitary survival[4] in the literary blank of those far-off and troubled days.

The party left Termonmaguirk, near Omagh, with an escort, on Monday, October 8th, 1397. They crossed Mullaghearn and came down on the village of Cappagh. Here they approached the vicar and the erenagh,[5] a man of importance, who figures frequently in the record as the holder of Termon lands, *i.e.*, land free from taxation but held subject to the condition of

[1] As to the shadowy nature of these claims, or the very existence of Bishops of Derry at all, prior to 1279, see ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, I., 68. [2] BELLESHEIM, I., 77. [3] COLTON, 61; COTTON, III., 313. [4] "To his (GIRALDUS') industry we are indebted for *all* that is known of the state of Ireland *during the whole of the Middle Ages.*"—BREWER, Preface to GIRALDUS, I., xl. [5] Air einnech.—ANCIENT LAWS, IV., CCXXV. He was equal in sanctity to a bishop.—*Ibid.*, I., 58, 59; III., 37. In *ibid.*, II., 223, if a bridge is built, the mason can claim the thigh steak of a beast from the erenagh for dressing the stone. See WARE, Ch. XVII., p. 42; ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCH., I., 74; BELLESHEIM, I., 276, 584. Cf. the œconomi in Wales, whose encroachments in the parish are lamented by GIRALDUS, VI., 120.

contributing to the support of the church. Finding on enquiry that they were now within the diocese of Derry they explained the purpose of their journey, adding that the Archbishop had come to assert his rights. Cappagh was too small a place to accommodate them for the night, so they passed on to Ardstraw, on the river Mourne, the vicar sending with them a fat mart[1] for their supper. At Ardstraw they were hospitably received, getting bread, butter, milk, and flesh, straw for their cattle, and fuel and houseroom for themselves, with a special guard to protect them. On the next day the Archbishop purged[2] the churchyard, which had been polluted with some of the murderous blood-drawing which forms the staple history of the time. He blessed salt, ashes, wine and water, in the church, the town freely supplied seven horses to carry the baggage, and the party moved on to Urney near Strabane. Next morning they were early up and, after mass, got on their way down the Finn valley. They halted at mid-day at Leckpatrick, where the inhabitants were quite willing to forward their baggage free, but as their horses were out grazing, and the party could not wait till they were caught, the villagers agreed to pay money to the Urney people if they would continue their horses a stage further on the road. So they passed on and came in sight of Derry. They crossed the Foyle in boats, were met by the Dean (William Mc.Cathmaill) and rested for the night (October 10th) in St. Columba's Abbey, known as the Black Cell, an offshoot of St. Patrick's Abbey at Armagh. October 11th and 12th were spent in the Abbey deciding disputes which had arisen amongst the inmates, and on the next day (October 13th) the clergy were

[1] In STANLEY LEGISLATION, page 86, the price of a "merte" for the Lieutenant is put down at 3s. 4d.—BRAND, I., 314; JAMIESON, s.v. [2] For similar cases in the diocese of Exeter, see STAFF. REG., 6, 8, 14, 23, 24, 38, 63, 78, 103, 106, 304, and *passim*; also YORK MANUAL, 119; RYM., IV., 455; HIST. MSS., 2ND REPT., 135; GIBBONS, ELY REC., 396.

cited to appear in the cathedral. The Bishop of Raphoe (Cornelius or Conchobhar Mc.Cormaic) was present with his Dean. The Dean of Derry was also there, but the Archdeacon and the ten Canons (who formed the Cathedral Chapter at Derry), were conspicuous by their absence, and were straightway declared to be "contumacious." The next day was Sunday, and the Archbishop crossed the river to Clooney, where a great crowd had assembled. An altar was extemporized in front of St. Brecan's Church, with decent trappings, and the Archbishop celebrated mass in the open air "in presence of thousands of the population."[1] The party then took leave of Derry and passed on to Dermot O'Kane. Here the Archbishop's services were called in to adjudicate on certain claims brought by wives of Irish chieftains, as to alleged breaches of the marriage law. The chieftains were present with bands of followers, and both sides appear to have submitted humbly to the English-bred Archbishop's decision as final and binding. Thence they moved to Banagher, where they were again entertained with the usual village hospitality. The next day (October 16th), an excursion was made to the neighbouring Priory of Dungiven. Returning to Banagher, the Archbishop was gratified to receive the absolute and unconditional submission, on oath, of the contumacious Archdeacon and Canons of Derry. The Dean and the Archdeacon each presented a horse, and in making their submission they only prayed that their revenues might not be granted out to some powerful layman to farm. The object of the journey was thus fully accomplished, and the victory of the representative of English supremacy is all the more striking when we look over the names of the contumacious clerics:—O'Kane, Mac Heyge, Mc.Glachlyn, O'Morrissy, Mc.Calmer, O'Kinlay, Doyle,

[1] COLTON, 30. The whole population of Ireland at the close of the twelfth century is estimated at about 900,000.—LYNCH, II., 764.

O'Fenaghty, O'Cassidy, all of genuine Irish extraction. After settling one or two disputes between natives, and excommunicating the laymen who had usurped illegal rights in the diocese, the Archbishop and his party left Banagher on October 17th, the Dean and the Archdeacon of Derry accompanying them two miles on their road. They crossed the Sperrin mountains, where roads were quite unknown, and followed the course of the Glenelly till they found themselves in their own diocese again, at Desertcreat, in the present county of Tyrone, where the notary's record abruptly leaves them. It is significant however that the practical results of the visitation are summed up in the appointment of certain ecclesiastics to represent the Archbishop as collectors of rents, and an elaborate schedule[1] is affixed in which the rent-roll of the diocese is set out with business-like detail.

The Archbishop and his officials had been ten days "amongst the Irish,"[2] and the ease with which they moved from place to place, the kindness and deference with which they were everywhere received, prove conclusively that if the account of the Frenchman[3] who accompanied King Richard II. in his hosting against the Irish in Waterford, Kilkenny, and Carlow is correct, the same cannot be true of the whole of the country. In distant Derry, far "out of the world's eye,"[4] where the tribes were reputed to be "more warlike[5] and more truculent" than in the South, there are good roads, the people traffic with coined money,[6] they plough their land, grow wheat,[7] rear

[1] Dated Derry, October 8th, 1397,—showing that their visit was to some extent pre-arranged. [2] Inter Hibernicos. [3] Vol. I., 219. [4] SPENSER, 410. [5] GIRALD., V., 340, 350. [6] In 1851, about fifty coins, temp. II. IV. and VI., were found at Grey Abbey, Co. Down.—ULSTER JOURN. OF ARCH., I., 167. In the TRIPARTITE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK, compiled about the eleventh century, there is no trace of coined money.—STOKES, I., cli. For mints at Downpatrick and Carrickfergus, see NUM. CHRON., N. S., III., 149. For Danish coinage at Dublin, see NUM. CHRON., 3rd S., II., 308; III., 32. For Anglo-Saxon coins in Meath, see *ibid.*, V., 129. [7] COLTON, 39.

cattle, swine, garrons, and nags, they have scarlet cloth and grey cloth, they distil whiskey[1] in "corkans" and great brass pans, they are hospitable and devout even where they have to deal with a red-hot partisan of English rule, coming to enforce claims upon them that their leaders refuse to admit, after a quarter of a century spent in acts of bloodshed against their nation in the name of a government which they hated. It is true that the Archbishop was accompanied by the Abbot of Armagh, who would come well credentialled to his brethren the Austin Canons of Derry and Dungiven, that the civilising Christianity of Patrick and Columba had struck deeper root among the Scots of the north than in the south, and that these distant parts had kept their primitive customs[2] uncorrupted by contact with greedy adventurers from England.

These momentary lifts of the curtain which shrouds the "wild Irish" of the North are a startling proof of the misconceptions that blinded the eyes of English statesmen and writers. To them the "mere Irishman" was a felon.[3] To murder[4] him was no crime in English law, and even if he begged for naturalisation[5] his prayer was generally refused. Moreover, such scanty light as we find thrown here and there upon the life of the Irish in the Western parts of the island, reveals a condition of things similar to that which we find in the North.

[1] COLTON, 51. In 1405, the Irish annals record the earliest known instance of an Irish chief killing himself with drinking too heavily of whiskey (usque-baugh or uisce-betha, aqua vitæ) LOCH CÈ, II., 113; the hero thus immortalized being the heir of the MacRaghnaills or Reynolds of County Leitrim. WRIGHT (I., 219) is wrong in supposing this to be the first mention of whiskey. See ULSTER JOURN. OF ARCHÆOL., VI., 283; VII., 33. For the process of distilling, and the sovereign virtues of this "queen and mother of medicines," see RED BOOK OF OSSORY in HIST. MSS., 10TH REPT., Pt. V., p. 254. In 1417, the REGISTER OF EXETER COLLEGE, Oxford, has 16d. pro aqua vitæ et zuccara.—BOASE, EXON., 10. In KINGSTON'S COMPOTUS, 1390-91, is an entry: pro aqua ardenti, bought at Königsberg. HIRSCH, II., 791. [2] O'CONOR, I., 75. [3] DUBLIN ST. MARY'S, I., 275. [4] J. DAVIES, 65; LYNCH, I., 215, 221. [5] J. DAVIES, 72.

An examination of some original Irish deeds executed about this time in Limerick[1] and the district of Thomond or North Munster, exhibits very much the same level of civilisation as in Derry. The Brehons commit their decisions to writing, and base their judgments on appeals to written law. The people traffic with English nobles,[2] groats, and pence, and cast accounts in marks and shillings. They will away their land at death and seem reasonably clad, the women wearing gowns, shirts, and barries.[3]

St. Patrick's Hole,[4] or "The Purgatory,"[5] on the island in Lough Derg, in County Donegal, was in those days a famous place of pilgrimage, and every now and then some English or foreign dare-devil would enter it to hold a night's communion[6] with the dead. But though the feat is always spoken of as perilous, the danger consisted in facing the horrors reputed to be working underground, rather than in venturing amongst treacherous half-savage tribes in the surrounding country. All that was wanted was a passport properly *viséd* in Dublin, and the adventurer found his journey ordinarily secure. In the winter of 1353, a lusty[7] young Hungarian noble, living in Apulia, named George Grissafary, arrived at Lough Derg with a letter[8] from the great Archbishop, Richard Fitzralph, the

[1] TRANSACTIONS OF IRISH ACADEMY, XV., 32. [2] RUDING, I., 480. [3] "Barread." Cf. "barrow-coat," in PATERSON'S DIALECTS OF ANTRIM; and "barra-cwoat" in ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., Ser. V., I., 7, January, 1884. [4] FROIS., IV., 177 (JOHNES); STOW, CHRON., 310. [5] MATT. PAR., II., 192-203; MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, 180, pp. 971-1003. For a transcript from BARBERINI MS., 270, in the Vatican, now in the Record Office (TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 158, pp. 174-182), see HARDY, SYLLABUS, III., L. It contains the account of Gilbert, a monk of Louth in Lincolnshire, afterwards Abbot of Basingwerk (circ. 1196), and is the original authority for the story of Owayne Miles.—BURTON (MELSA), I., 139-149; HARL. MS., 273, f. 191; BELLESHEIM, I., 580. For account by Marie de France, see SANTANDER LASERNA, 6; LEGRAND D'AUSSY, V., 93; MÉRAY, I., 282. [6] In Hibernia ubi vident mortuos.—WYCLIFFE, DE EUCHARISTIA, 185. For Wycliffe's protest against it, see BUDDENSIEG, I., 148. [7] Homo robustus et cordatus. [8] It is dated at his manor of Rivernieschnie, February 22nd, 1353.

island monastery being an offshoot of the Abbey at Armagh. George was then only twenty-four years of age, but he had already killed 260 men in various encounters, and after visiting the shrine of St. James at Compostella, he was advised to enter the Irish Hole[1] at the ends of the earth. On his arrival, he fasted for fifteen days on bread and water. Then for five mornings in succession he lay on a bier in the chancel of the Priory church, covered with a black cloth, while the bells tolled and the monks chanted the office for the dead over him with censer, cross, and holy water. Machamatery, the king of the district, with his nobles, then came to see him enter. They crossed to the little island where the Hole was covered with three large stones weighing 700 or 800 lb. apiece. These had not been moved for the last thirty years, but George lifted them off with ease. Dressed in three white tunics, without girdle, hood, or sandals, he stood a step or two down, so that half of his body was still above ground. He then tied a St. Patrick's cross to his left hand, and they lost sight of him as he sang: "Christ, have mercy on me a sinner!" All that follows is his own account authenticated by the Prior twenty-four hours afterwards, though not committed to writing in its present form[2] till more than a century later. He found himself on a winding stair made like a creeping vine, of firm and solid steps, such as you have in a belfry, but more than two miles deep! After he had gone down about a mile he prayed, and immediately he saw a great light like the sun rising, which increased in brightness till he got to the bottom step. Here he came to a small hole, and beyond was a field of clean earth without grass, trees, or stones.

[1] Puteum seu senscla (speluncam?) putealem et profundam valde quâ descenditur ad purgatorium S. Patricii. [2] See extracts from Vatican MS., 5802, m. 8, written in 1474, in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 158, p. 137; also BELLESHEIM, I., 581, from monastery at Melk, or Mölk, on the Danube near Vienna.

Crossing this he saw a very white chapel with two doors, before which he prostrated himself, till three old men came out. They had white robes and white beards down to their waists, and they were all so much alike that you could not tell one from the other. They led him in and whispered in his ear what he would meet on his journey, but told him always to turn his cross to the demons. He then seemed to be filled with heavenly food which flowed like honey through all his limbs. The old men vanished, and he went on to another field and saw 3,000 demons in the shapes of different horrible animals, lions, bears, and wolves, breathing a nasty sulphurous fire through their mouths, noses, eyes, and ears. They began to puzzle him with logical syllogisms about the Incarnation, but he baffled them all by the virtue of faith, or by the shrewdness[1] of his distinctions, till all the objections of the devils were burst up by his school theology.[2] He then passed to the gates of hell and saw divers souls being tortured in purgatory. Then St. Michael appeared and took him to Paradise, and showed him all the joys of the Blessed. Then all melted away, and Michael took him back in an instant to St. Patrick's chapel, where King Machamatery and the Prior found the two of them talking together. Michael made the sign of the cross, gave them all his blessing like a bishop, and vanished, leaving a very nice smell[3] to refresh them with wonderful suavity. Then they began to snip off pieces of George's garments as relics, and would have perhaps cut off all his hair and sent him away naked, if King Machamatery had not forcibly stopped them.

In the winter of 1397, a Spaniard, Raymond[4] Viscount of Perilhos[5] came to Drogheda[6] to consult Archbishop Colton, on

[1] Distinctionis acumine. [2] Derumpta ex theologiâ scholasticâ. [3] Odor valde placabilis. [4] T. WRIGHT, 136; O'SULLIVAN, HIST. CATH., 14; LYNCH, I., 150; BELLESHEIM, I., 581, calls him chamberlain to the King of *France*. [5] For la Perilhos Hall at Oxford, see LYTE, 141. [6] GILBERT, 276.

his way to the Purgatory. Colton strongly urged him not to try the "perilous risks,"[1] but the Spaniard went forward with unshaken determination. He returned loaded with presents and delighted with the friendliness of the native chiefs who claimed affinity[2] with the Spaniards by a long-standing tradition. The journey was likewise performed in perfect safety by an Englishman, William Staunton,[3] in 1409, and a Hungarian, Lawrence Rathold,[4] in 1411. In 1414,[5] the French traveller, Gilbert de Lannoy, after visiting Spain, Prussia, Russia, and Lettowe, came to England, intending to make the *voyage de St. Patrice*, but he was detained a prisoner in England and we have therefore missed all chance of a description from his practised and observant pen.

[1] RYM., VI., 107; VIII., 14. [2] SPENSER, 344, 346, 353. [3] LYNCH, I., 150. [4] For account by James Yong, see WARE, IRISH WRITERS, I., xi, 22; ROYAL MS. (Brit. Mus.), 10 B. IX., 36 b; TRIN. COLL., DUBL., E, 3, 31; LAMBETH, 633; DUBLIN ST. MARY'S, I., XXVIII.; DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 224; GIRALD., I., 63. For YONG'S translation of the PRIVITY OF PRIVITIES (Secreta Secretorum) in 1419-1422, for James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormonde, now in Bodl. Lib., see GILBERT, MSS., 117. [5] LANNOY, 31. For the visit of Conrad von Scharnachthal in 1446, see ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XVI., 360.

CHAPTER XLVII.

USK.

IMMEDIATELY after the success at Grosmont an order was issued (dated March 24th, 1405[1]) appointing the Prince of Wales Lieutenant of North Wales for a year. He was to command the army originally intended to serve under the King himself, and the number of archers was to be raised, at the end of June, from 2650 to 3000. The Duke of York was of course relieved of all command. The King was to lead a smaller force of 144 men-at-arms and 720 archers, bound to serve for a whole year, and besides this 356 men-at-arms and 1780 archers were to be distributed as garrisons in the castles of Carmarthen,[2] Newcastle-in-Emlyn, Cardigan,[3] Brecknock, Radnor, Abergavenny and Hay, while Oswestry[4] and Chepstow were to be defended against the attacks of the Welsh. On May 2nd, 1405,[5] orders were given to send guns and stonebows[6] into Wales, and the King had already left Windsor to take up his command. We trace him at Oxford[7] (April 25th and 26th, 1405), at Woodstock (April 27th), and at Chipping Norton (April 29th). His tents and pavilions were sent down to Worcester[8] where he had arrived by May 4th,[9] but before he could advance further another decisive blow had been struck at the Welsh.

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 29. [2] Under Thomas Roche, PAT., 6 H. IV., 29. August 31st, 1405. [3] Under Sir Thomas Beaufort. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 18, 19. [5] *Ibid.*, 2, 26 d. [6] See CONGREVE, s.v. BALISTA; also VIOLLET-LE-DUC, ARCHITECTURE, s.v. ENGIN, v., 249. For the portable stonebow *(arc-à-perre)*, see LIB. ALB., I., 278. [7] DUC. LANC. REG., XI., 15. [8] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 1, APP. C. VESP., F., XIII., 20 (17), has a letter from John Prophete, the King's Secretary, dated at Worcester, May 3rd, desiring payment of £100 due to him for salary. The year should be 1405, not 1406 as in Catalogue. [9] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Pt. 3, m. 5, shows that he was at Worcester, May 4th, 6th, 9th, and 10th, 1405.

The Prince had not yet gone to his command in North Wales but had advanced from Hereford southwards, where he came up with a large band of Welshmen near Usk.[1] The English attacked,[2] and in spite of the courage of the Welsh, and their skilful[3] use of pikes and bows, 1500 of them were killed or captured. Owen's younger[4] brother Tudor was amongst the killed, and from the resemblance it was believed by the English that they had despatched the dreaded leader himself, but on examining the body it was found not to have the wart over the eyebrow which was known to be Owen's distinctive body-mark and the rebel chief was still at large. Among the prisoners was Griffith,[5] one of Owen's sons, and towards the end of October, 1405,[6] the English had the good fortune also to secure the persons of John Hanmer,[7] Griffith Yonge the Chancellor, and

[1] CARTE (II., 665) quoting ELLIS, names the place Mynydh Pwlwellin, which he thinks is "near Grosmont," probably guessing from RYM., VIII., 390. See also BRIDGEMAN, 263; WILLIAMS, APP. 114. PENNANT (I., 370) gives Mynnyd-y-Pwll-Melyn, and places it in Brecknockshire. See also CAMBRO-BRITON, III., 24. IOLO MS., quoted in HIST. TRADITIONS, IV., 30, calls it "Pwl Melyn mountain near Usk." STOTHARD supposes the Earl of Warwick to have been present in the engagement. [2] ANN., 399, gives May 5th; OTTERBOURNE (251) has March 15th. [3] HISTORICAL TRADITIONS, IV., 29. [4] Three years his junior.—SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, I., 260; BRIDGEMAN, 250, 263. Called Clindon Tider in LUSSAN, IV., 110, 189, 193. [5] RYM., VIII., 484; DEVON, 305, 312; MONSTR., II., 55. RAMSAY, I., 85, thinks that he was captured at Grosmont. For another son, named Meredith, see p. 15; RYM., IX., 330; WILLIS, ST. ASAPH, I., 77; BRIDGEMAN, 262. For four of his illegitimate children, see PENNANT, I., 331. In COTHI, 392, is a reference to Gwenlliant, a daughter of Owen, who married Philip ap Rhys, of Cennarth, or Kennarth, near St. Harmon's, in Radnorshire. — DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXI., 434; LEWIS, S.V. From VINCENT'S COLLECTIONS in the College of Arms (T. ELLIS in BRIDGEMAN, 262), Owen's sons were Griffith, Madoc, Meredith, Thomas, and John. His daughters were Isabel (married Adam ap Jorwerth Dhu), Alice (married Sir John Skidmere, or Scudamore, of Kentchurch, Co. Hereford, or Holm Lacy, according to PENNANT, I., 331), Janet (married Sir John Croft, of Croft Castle, p. 89), Margaret (married Roger Monington, of Monington, Co. Hereford), and one who married Edmund Mortimer (Vol. I., p. 344). When IOLO GOCH says that Owen's children "came in pairs" (PENNANT, I., 330), he surely cannot mean that they "were introduced in pairs to the venerable stranger," as CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 459. [6] ANN., 400; OTTERBOURNE, 251. [7] Vol. I., p. 447. Called Hanimer or Hannimer in YEAR BOOK, 49 Ed. III., HIL., pp. 6, 7, 9.

Owen's relative and secretary named Owen ap Griffith ap Richard.[1] These were all sent to London and lodged in the Tower,[2] suitable payment being provided for their maintenance during their stay.

The King in the meantime had written to the council from Worcester, on May 8th, 1405,[3] desiring information as to the arrangements for meeting all necessary demands. The council replied that they had arranged for full payment of the King's forces for three months, as well as providing £1,000 for the expenses of the Royal Household. But this was all that they could do, and the garrisons in the castles had to be put off with promises based upon the next quarterly receipts, which were not claimable till next Midsummer Day[4] (June 24th, 1405). In the case of Brecknock and Radnor, Lord Grey, of Codnor, had advanced wages for the troops[5] to the amount of £556, taking jewels and gold vessels in pledge, and before many weeks were out, he sent the usual dunning protest[6] that the receivers would not pay him, that he could not find the money himself nor get his goods and harness across from Carmarthen to Brecknock, that the expense was unbearable, and that if he did not get paid at once he must beg the King to hold him excused from further service. Before leaving Worcester, the King issued proclamations[7] to the Sheriffs of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derby, and Nottingham, requiring them to arrest all persons who were found to be spreading rumours of disaster. Then in pursuance of his declared intention to enter Wales, he moved on to Hereford, where he made his headquarters from the 14th to the 23rd

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 304; DEVON, 306. [2] EUL., III., 402; RYM., VIII., 484; EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., IV., cci., from ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 259. CALIG., D. IV., has a heading dated May 8th,—Henry IV. to Privy Council. [4] Vol. I., p. 478; DEP. KEEP. 2ND REPT., APP. II., 182. [5] Eighty men-at-arms and 400 archers.—ROT. VIAG., 18. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 277. [7] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 7, dated Worcester, May 9th, 1405.

of May.[1] But there was a general lukewarmness and great unwillingness to join the expedition, and the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties were ordered to arrest deserters[2] and imprison them on their return to their homes. Moreover, the danger was now subsiding in South Wales and the Prince hastened to his command at Chester, where he had called a council to meet on May 27th, 1405.

All further question, however, of serious operations was promptly settled by the arrival of intelligence which forced the King to quit Hereford abruptly on the 23rd of May. He left William Beauchamp,[3] Lord of Abergavenny, as his Lieutenant in South Wales, and on May 24th,[4] he was back again at Worcester, and after a stay of three days he sped on to the post of danger in the North. The Prince of Wales likewise gave up his proposed council at Chester. His presence was required elsewhere for more stirring work. On Thursday,[5] May 28th, 1405, he was at Warrington, on the following day at Preston, and on May 30th at Skipton, moving forward by forced marches to join his father at York.

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 18, 19, though CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 17, has a document dated from Worcester on May 22nd. See LANC. REC. CHANCERY MISC., 1-4 H. IV., m. 13, and DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Pt. 3, mm. 3, 46, for documents dated at Hereford, May 15th, 20th, 22nd, 23rd. [2] ROT. VIAG., 18, May 14th, 1405. [3] For his will dated April 25th, 1408, see GENEAL., V., 214. He died May 8th, 1411.—DUGD., I., 239. In CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 5, 20, July 6th and 20th, he is referred to as dead. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Pt. 3, 5, has a document dated Worcester, May 24th, 1405; also PRIV. SEAL, 7193, May 26th, 1405. [5] BEAMONT, I., 228, quoting ADLINGTON PAPERS (*i.e.*, MS. account of the Legh Family, RENAUD, 87; EARWAKER, II., 235, 237; CROSTON, NOOKS AND CORNERS, 301), shows that Sir Robert Legh, of Adlington, was to join the Prince at Warrington with 100 men. See HALL, NANTWICH, 88, from HARL. MS., 1988, f. 135, for Kingsley and Minshull.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LORD BARDOLPH.

ONE of the Barons who should have joined the King at Worcester, was Thomas, Lord Bardolph of Wormegay,[1] in the Marshland near Lynn. He was the fifth Baron in direct descent from an old family originally settled in Essex, where he still had possessions in the marshes on the east coast and had doubtless helped to stir up the recent sedition. But his ancestors had likewise secured by marriage large estates[2] in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Sussex, Oxford,[3] Bucks, and other counties. He was born in December, 1368,[4] at the manor of Birling,[5] near Cuckmere Haven, on the grassy downs behind Beachy Head. In 1382, he married Avise,[6] daughter of Sir Ralph Cromwell, of Tattershall, near Horncastle, in Lincolnshire. He was connected with the Mortimer family by his mother's second marriage with Sir Thomas Mortimer,[7] a partisan of the Duke of Gloucester, who had been declared a traitor by the Parliament, in 1397,[8] and had fled to Ireland, where he died in 1402.[9] Lord Bardolph was now thirty-six years of age, in the full prime of his strength, famed for his manly[10] form, his feats of arms and powerful *physique*, a member of the council, and closely connected by personal and family interest with the

Wormiga.—GASC., 229; or Wyrmegeye. See will of Lord William Bardolph, dated September 12th, 1384, in TEST. VET., I., 116; or 1385, in STAPLETON, CXXII. [2] INQ. P. MORT., III., 286,—4 H. IV., 39. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., I., 25, 26. [4] STAPLETON, CXXVIII. [5] *Ibidem*, CXL.; SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., XI., 151. [6] Called Avicia in STAPLETON, CXXIII., CXLIX.; PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 18; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 17; 9 H. IV., 11; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 57; but Amicia *ibid.*, III., 53; IV., 465; PAT. 6 H. IV., 2, 7, August 11th, 1405; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 38. [7] TEST. VET., I., 162; not Roger, as DUGDALE, I., 683. [8] ROT. PARL., III., 380. [9] STAPLETON, CXLII. [10] ANN., 402.

Earl of Northumberland.[1] His mother, in her will,[2] directed that the Earl should superintend the arrangements for her funeral; his daughter, Ann,[3] then fourteen years of age, was married to Sir William Clifford,[4] who was the Earl's right-hand man, and there can be little doubt that he was one of those who were prepared for a rising in the winter of 1404, as soon as they should have secured the person of the young Earl of March. Previously to the events with which we are now concerned he is said to have been convicted[5] of treason and pardoned, possibly in connection with the rising in 1403.

At Henry's first landing in Yorkshire he appears to have been one of his steady supporters, more perhaps under the influence of the Percies than from genuine personal attachment. In the Great Council held February 9th, 1400,[6] at a supremely critical moment in the opening of Henry's career, he volunteered to help him against the French or the Scots, in his own person, "without wages or reward." On May 24th, 1400,[7] his services were acknowledged by a continuation of a grant of manors in Yorkshire, Surrey, and Oxford; he was with the King's army which invaded Scotland in August, 1400,[8] and he appears as a member of the council, advising on the weightiest affairs, even down to the opening of the year 1405.[9] At the

[1] DUGDALE, I., 683. [2] Dated January 9th, 1403.—TEST. VET., I., 162. [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 16; CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 6; INQ. P. MORT., III., 327; AD QUOD DAMN., 359; STAPLETON, CXLIX. She afterwards married Sir Reginald Cobham of Starborough, and her monument is still in Lingfield Church. — SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 146, 150; MANNING AND BRAY, II., 353. Lord Bardolph's other daughter, Joan, became the wife of Sir William Phelip, of Dennington in Suffolk.—PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 9 (June 28th, 1409); CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 23 (February 11th, 1409); STAPLETON, CLV. [4] Vol. I., p. 450. In CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 27 d., Sir William de Clifford de com. Lincoln was present in the Chancery on November 15th, 1408. [5] CHRON. GILES, 42. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 106; Vol. I., p. 124. [7] DUGDALE, I., 683; STAPLETON, CXLII. [8] Q.R. ARMY, $\frac{55}{12}$, APP. G. [9] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 245. *Ibid.*, II., 98, contains his summons to a Great Council without date, referred by Sir H. Nicholas to 1405, but this is probably too late, for Sir John Dabridgecourt is in the list, and he was killed at Shrewsbury, July 21st, 1403.

meetings[1] in London and St. Albans he had led the party who were opposed to granting funds, and on receiving his summons to meet the King at Worcester and proceed with him against the Welsh he disregarded the order and secretly went northwards to join the Earl of Northumberland.

That scheming old kingmaker had learnt neither wisdom nor candour from his former failures. It would seem as though King Henry was personally[2] devoted to him. The remembrance of his obligations to him in the past, the pious drops that he had shed over Hotspur's corpse at Shrewsbury, and the longing for some real friendships in a court charged full with treason, appear to have blinded him to the dictates of prudence, and driven him into the toils of his faithless "Mattathias"[3] once again. On the 16th of November, 1404,[4] he returned the castles of Berwick and Jedburgh to the Earl's keeping, and the close of the year brought no abatement of his confidence.[5] Like the Duke of York and others who proved themselves utterly unworthy to be trusted, the Earl was made a leading member of several of those county commissions which were appointed in October, 1404,[6] with large powers to repress "travellingmen" and keep the peace in the counties. He was summoned to take his place at a council which would meet at Westminster, on January 21st, 1405. The summons reached him at Warkworth on the

[1] ANN., 402. [2] FONBLANQUE, I., 177, thinks that Henry made the Percies "the *unconscious* instruments of his unscrupulous designs," in 1399. In 1405, he thinks "it was an easy matter for *designing men* to work upon the mind of the old Earl, as by his desolate hearth he brooded over the past."—*Ibid.*, I., 233. [3] Cf. CHRON. DE LANERCOST, 347, 350. See also POL. SONGS, CAMD. SOC., p. 75. Deus dat in fine seculi novum Mathathiam et cum suis filiis zelans zelum legis:—of Simon de Montfort, written after the battle of Lewes. Cf. KNIGHTON, 2445, where Símon de Montfort, struggling for the liberties of his country, is called "Simon Machabæus." Add the inscription on the tomb of Baldwin (son of Godfrey of Boulogne), at Jerusalem.—"Rex Baldwinus alter Judas Machabæus, spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque."—(HIST. DES CROISADES, I., 429, II., 441.) [4] Vol. II., p. 57. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 244. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 35 d, Oct. 11th, 1404.

3rd of January, and on the 12th of January[1] he replied in his old playful name excusing himself on account of his recent arrival in Northumberland, his advanced age, and his poor health, which could not endure so long a journey in the winter. He finished his letter with a prayer that heaven would grant an honoured life and joy and health to his most dread Lord and Sovereign. He continued his dissimulation as late as March 22nd, 1405,[2] when he attended a council at Westminster. On leaving London he betook himself to the North where he was joined by emissaries[3] from the Welsh, including Bishop Trevor, of St. Asaph, and Bifort, Owen's nominee for the vacant see of Bangor, to keep him informed as to the prospects in Wales, together with the Abbot[4] of the Premonstrants, or White Canons, from Welbeck, in Nottinghamshire, who would advise and assist him in winning over partisans amongst the disaffected clergy in the north of England. The failure of the Duke of York's plot, the recapture of the Mortimer boys, and the disastrous defeat of the Welsh at Grosmont, must have hastened his determination to strike a sharp blow in the North before it was too late. By advice of Sir William Clifford the garrisons of the recovered castles had been strengthened, and the conspirators only waited for the King's departure for Wales and the arrival of Lord Bardolph from London. The Earl received his summons[5] to attend the council, at Easter (April 19th), but it is needless to say that he did not heed it, and before Lord Bardolph could arrive the rising had begun.

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 103; FONBLANQUE, I., 234. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 250, not 120, as Vol. II., p. 54. Amongst the members present are "Messires les Ducs." It is difficult to say who can be meant. Except the Prince of Wales, who was Duke of Lancaster, Cornwall, and Aquitaine, the only living Duke was the Duke of York, who was at that time a prisoner. [3] SCOTICHRON., II., 441. [4] In CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 12 d, John, Abbot of Welbeck, comes before the Prior of Newstead at Welbeck on April 2nd, 1408, to acknowledge a debt. [5] HARD., 362.

After the close of the Great Council, reports had come in of disturbances in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Yorkshire. Disloyal emissaries[1] were passing night and day from town to town, spreading rumours of disaster and rousing the people to rebel. On April 7th, 1405,[2] Sir William Gascoigne and Sir Henry Fitzhugh were despatched from St. Albans to enquire and report, and there can be little doubt as to the tidings they brought back. Early in May, 1405, Robert Waterton was sent to the Earl of Northumberland at Warkworth, bearing a message in the King's name. But the Earl was now fully compromised. He seized the envoy (May 6th, 1405[3]) and threw him into prison. The Earl of Westmoreland was staying in Sir Ralph Viner's[4] castle. Four hundred armed men were hastily collected to surround the approaches and seize him in the night, but he got wind of their purpose and escaped in the darkness. Prince John was perilously isolated at Berwick, and sent word to London of his danger. Hereupon the Council ordered two of their most discreet[5] and trusted members to proceed to the North without delay. These were the Ex-Treasurer,[6] Lord de Roos, and Sir William Gascoigne, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

[1] ANN., 402; CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 7. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 28. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 605, 607. In PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 6, this date is referred to as the beginning of the treason. [4] ANN., 400. The name does not occur in the rolls of Bishops Skirlawe and Langley, calendared in DEP. KEEP. 33RD REPT., and the only reference that I can find to it is in the CHRONICLE OF ALNWICK (HARL. MS., 692, Art. 12, fol. 195-203, printed in ARCHÆOL. ÆLIAN., III., I., 44), where Sir Ralph de Viners is one of thirteen knights who dined with the Earl of Northumberland (then Sir Henry Percy) in 1376, when upwards of 200 persons dined (in two relays) in the refectory of Alnwick Abbey, and 1,020 in the cloisters. The name is certainly Vyner in the C. C. C. MS., but it may be meant for Sir Ralph Eure, otherwise Ewerye, Ewere, Evers, Iver, Yver, Yuere, Yvers, &c.—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{55}{12}$, App. G.; WILLS AND INVENTORIES, I., 110, 234, 254; ROT. SCOT., II., 173; RYM., VIII., 384. The castle would then probably be Witton on the Wear, above Bishop Auckland, which was fortified about this time.—DEP. KEEP. 33RD REPT., 91; SURTEES, I., lvii. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 262. [6] Vol. II., p. 112. Appointed September 9th, 1403.—DUGDALE, CHRON. SER.; KAL. AND INV., III., 364; ROT. SCOT., III., 172; RYM., VIII., 364.

CHAPTER XLIX.

JUDGE GASCOIGNE.

THE two were intimate[1] friends, and both were Yorkshiremen of influence and position in their native county.

The former, William, seventh Baron de Roos, Lord of the castles of Belvoir and Helmsley (or Hamlake), was descended from a long line of statesmen and warriors who ruled[2] in the wooded shelters of the Hambledon Hills in right of their descent from the family of Walter Spec,[3] founder of the great Cistercian Abbey at Rievaux. In the delicate negotiations with the captains of the northern castles, in the previous summer, Lord de Roos had proceeded to Berwick[4] at great trouble and expense, had secured "certain bonds" made between Hotspur and his Scottish prisoners and brought them safely to the King at Pontefract. He had just resigned office as Treasurer of England, receiving an annuity of 100 marks[5] per annum.

[1] See DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 354; BARONAGE, I., 550, for document dated at Helmsley, April 12th, 1409, in which Sir William Gascoigne and his brother Richard are parties to a deed whereby Beatrice, mother of Lord de Roos, founds a chantry in St. Paul's for the soul of her second husband, Thomas, fifth Lord de Roos, who died in 1384. See ARCHÆOLOGIA, L. 518; PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 13. For his will, proved August 19th, 1384, see GIBBONS, 30. [2] For manors belonging to Mary, wife of John de Roos (died 1393), see INQ. P. MORT., III., 182. She was sister to Henry, Earl of Northumberland.—ARCHÆOL. INST., 1846; NOTES OF MSS., 12. [3] "L'Espec,"—LEFROY, 7; "Especk,"—MONAST., V., 280; or "Spec," as he signs himself in RYM., I., 10 (edition 1816); T. SMITH, 152. [4] DEVON, 300; ROT. SCOT., II., 172 a, July 9th, 1404. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 18 (December 18th, 1404); ISSUE ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., February 24th, 1411. On November 30th, 1406, he claims to be cousin and heir to Thomas de Roos, of Domseby (Dunsby?), Lincolnshire, deceased. —DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 81[III]. At Michaelmas, 1408, he is Steward and Master Forester of Pickering Forest, and Constable of the castle.—LANC. REC., XXV., A. 20. On November 15th, 1408, he was present in the Chancery at Westminster.—CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 27 d. In December,

Sir William Gascoigne, or Gascon,[1] was a commoner. His grandfather, William Gascoigne,[2] was a Yorkshire merchant living, in the reign of Edward I., at Kirkby Overblow, on the hillside overlooking Wharfedale. He purchased lands in the neighbouring district of Harewood. William Gascoigne the judge was the eldest of a family of eight, five of them sons and three daughters. He was born about 1350 in his father's manor house, at Gowkthorpe,[3] or Gawthorpe, "an old building with four rooms all wainscotted and coloured like walnut-tree."[4] The young Yorkshireman is said to have been educated at the university of Cambridge, though this is more than doubtful. He studied law as a member of the Society of Gray's Inn,[5] in London, where the buildings were so cramped that the "young gentlemen"[6] had to "lodge double," or sleep two in a bed.[7]

1411, he was appointed a member of the Council, with a salary of £100 per annum.—ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., October 27th, 1412. See his will dated February 22nd, 1412, in TEST. VET., I., 181; TEST. EBOR., I., 357; GIBBONS, 136. He died September 1st, 1414, and was buried in the Priory at Belvoir.—DUGDALE, I., 552. For his monument in alabaster, now in Bottesford Church, see NICHOLS, II., I., 29, 98.

[1] His son's name is so spelt in GILD OF CORPUS CHRISTI, YORK, 14. His nephew spells the name Gascoygne or Gascoyn.—GASC., (Hearne) II., 529. For 20 different ways of spelling the name, see THORESBY, 181; CAMPBELL, CH. JUST., I., 121. This is outdone by the Lindsays, where the family biographer records 88 different ways of spelling the name.—LIVES OF THE LINDSAYS, I., 413. [2] FOSTER, Vol. I., s.v. Memoirs of the family, communicated to the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, III., 2137, "by a descendant thereof," claim a very distinguished and remote origin; but they had the good fortune to have "a celebrated antiquary" amongst them in the seventeenth century, who busied himself with "emendations and enlargements of Pedigrees." In REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV. MICH., November 3rd, 1412, John Gascoigne is a collector of subsidy in York city. In *ibid.*, December 10th, 1412, Robert Gascoigne is late escheator of Yorkshire. [3] So called in his will dated December 15th, 1419.—TEST. EBOR., I., 394. For Gowk (cuckoo), see BRAND, I., 121. [4] So described in 1656, when it was put up for sale with Harewood Manor.—WHITAKER, 167. [5] Where his arms may be seen in the west window of the hall, figured in DUGDALE, ORIGINES, 308. In HARL. MS., 1912, is a list put together in 1676 by a butler of the house, where Gascoigne's name appears as one of the "readers," or senior officers of the Society. FOSS, III., 383, calls the list "apocryphal." [6] DUGDALE, ORIG., 271-292; STOW, CHRON., 1076. [7] HOLT, 70.

Here he would exercise his ingenuity or his memory by the usual eight years course of study and training. At the opening of each term cases were propounded, pleadings were got up by the students and "mooted"[1] or "bolted" in presence of the Society in the dining hall, each aspirant being bound under penalty to take his part in the argument without book or note. In 1367, he married a Yorkshire wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Mowbray,[2] of Kirklington, near Bedale, and before the close of the reign of Edward III. his name appears as an "apprentice of the law" in the Year Books,[3] or official reports, made up by authorized clerks at the public expense. In these were entered short summaries of the pleadings and decisions in all cases of interest where difficult issues were raised. In 1374,[4] an action was brought against a surgeon, J. Mortimer, in Thames Street, London, to recover damages sustained in some clumsy leechcraft,[5] done on a man's hand. Gascoigne appeared for the surgeon, and argued:—first, that his client never bargained to heal the wound at all, as was frequently[6] the custom in those days; and secondly, that the writ was bad, in-as-much as it made no mention of the place where the alleged bargain was entered into. Gascoigne's name does not occur again before the death of Edward III., but in the reign

[1] "In our law-universities at five years we deserved the title of moot-men, that is of those who could then like children begin to word it."—LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., v., 235. For "motyng at barre" and "motehalle," see PIERS PLO., v., 132, 148, 163. [2] GOUGH, III., 37. [3] BLACKSTONE, I., 71. [4] YEAR BOOK, HIL., 48 Ed. III., 6. For the Magistri Sirurgici, see LIB. ALB., I., cix. [5] P. PLO., VII., 81; XIX., 138; XXIII., 173; SMITH, 322. [6] See the action at Nottingham in 1436 against William Wawne, who bargained to cure a man's wife, and charged 11d., which was prepaid; but he mixed some stuff which almost killed the poor woman when she drank it, and the husband claimed 20s. damages.—NOTT. REC., II., 156; see *ibidem*, 316. In 1411, Boniface Ferrer (MART., ANEC., II., 1469) says that doctors exaggerate the complaints of their patients according to the fatness of their purses. Cf. Fals leches Thei asken hure huyre er they hit have deserved.—P. PLO., IV., 303. For an order (dated August 4th, 1404,) allowing only authorized persons to practise, see ORDONNANCES, IX., 26.

of Richard II.[1] he rose rapidly to eminence. In 1386,[2] he was employed as counsel for the Abbot of Whitby in a dispute with the neighbouring burgesses. Before 1391,[3] he had attained the degree of a sergeant-at-law and was retained as one of the council[4] of Henry, as Earl of Derby, at a fixed fee of 20s. per annum, with 26s. 8d. as extras. None but sergeants could count (*narrare*),[5] or plead[6] at bar for pence and pounds, and the dignity was only conferred on "the discreetest persons" chosen from amongst the apprentices[7] of the law, in batches of seven or eight at a time as vacancies occurred, by the Chief Justice of Common Pleas[8] with the assent of all the judges of the land. It was usually a stepping-stone to the bench, or at least it was understood that no one, be he never so cunning and skilful in the laws of the realm, stood any chance of becoming a judge without having first served as a sergeant-at-law. None were eligible but those who had served at least sixteen years[9] in the "general study of the law," but so highly was the position rated in the fifteenth century, that it was believed that there was "no man of law[10] throughout the world which by reason of his office gaineth so much as one of these serjeants."

The ceremony of installation was burdened with suitable circumstance, and the poor men were kept feasting, kneeling, curtseying, posturing, and processioning about London "for the space of seven days." The pageantry is attractive enough to

[1] FOSS, IV., 164, quoting RICHARD BELLEWE'S REPORTS. [2] WHITBY CHARTULARY, II., 504. [3] FOSS, 290, following DUGD., CHRON. SER., 55 (who quotes LIB. 21 R. II., m. 1), wrongly supposes that he was first appointed a serjeant in 1397. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 4, APP. A. [5] LIB. CUST., 281; LIB. ALB., I, 570. For narrator or conteur, see LIB. ALB., 21, 530. [6] That serven at barre
To plede for penyes and poundes the lawe.—
P. PLO., I., 160; IV., 451; X., 45.
[7] ROT. PARL., IV., 107. [8] Formerly they had exclusive audience in the Court of Common Pleas.—BALLANTYNE, 166. [9] Or by another reckoning thirty years from their first beginning as scholars.—LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 235. [10] FORTESCUE, Ch. L. p., 377; DUGD., ORIG., 112.

read about, the "new blue gowns[1] close afore with whole sleeves," the white silk coifs[2] fitting close to the head like a nightcap, the medley-coats,[3] and the hoods of murrey[4] and russet furred[5] with white budge.[6] But all this pomp and bobance[7] was dearly bought, for each candidate had to spend at least 400 marks (£266 13s. 4d.) out of his own pocket, some £40 of which went in buying gold rings to be given away as "tokens" to every person, of whatever rank, who took part in the ceremonies. One of Gascoigne's successors, Sir John Fortescue, who was made a sergeant in 1429,[8] speaks feelingly on the subject, for "the rings which he then gave stood him in £50." Moreover, the sergeants-at-law were liable to be called upon to advance loans[9] to the King like wealthy abbots and traders in time of need.

[1] For the ceremony in 1521, see DUGD., ORIG., 114. For 1552 and 1559, see MACHYN, 26, 195. [2] They cared for no coyffes that men of court usyn.—RICH. REDELES, III., 320. See PLANCHÉ, I., 120; STRUTT, DRESS, Pl. lxxx.; BLOXAM, 197; KNIGHT, II., 163. Also brasses, *e.g.*, William Yelverton, at Rougham, near Lynn, GOUGH, III., 230; Sir John Cassy (died May 23rd, 1400, GENEAL., VII., 208), at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, GARDINER, 298; GOUGH, III., 349; LYSONS, GLOUCESTERSHIRE VIEWS, Pl. xvii. (called an inscription on a marble stone in ATKYNS, 387); Sir Hugh Holes (1415), at Watford, HAINES, I., xc.; Judge John Martyn (1436), at Graveney, BOUTELL, BRASSES, 44; Thomas Rolf (1436), at Gosfield, Essex, *ibid.*, 46. [3] CHAUCER, PROL., 330; LONDON AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 241, 250. For motley, see ANN., 191; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIX., 359, 1863 (not 1846, as ANTIQUARY, XII., 35); PLANCHÉ, I., 426. For "a long gown of ray," see LYDGATE in SKEAT, 25, 374, 375. [4] *i.e.*, deep crimson or maroon.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIX., 368. [5] FORTESCUE, Ch. LI., p. 380; GASCOIGNE, 201. Cf. "ij doctorys arayd with pellys aftyr the olde gyse and furryd cappys on here hedys."—COV. MYST., 246; also "ray tabardys furryd with ray hodys aboute here neckys furryd.—*Ibid.*, 247. [6] HIST. MSS., 2ND REPT., 140; LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 99; PLANCHÉ, I., 63; S. W. BECK, 34; HOLT, 75, 91. For fur' Bog' alb'., I capuc' Boget alb'., see L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 11, m. 12, APP. C. In Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{13}$, APP. B., I fur' Boug' costs 3s. 4d.; I fur' agnell', 2s. [7] WILLS OF KINGS, 84; CHAUCER, WIF OF BATH, 6151; MONSTR., III., 389; GOLDEN LEGEND, ST. ELIZABETH, CCCXXXVII.; PROMPT., PARV., S.V., CRAKYNGE. Cf. haultain et boubensier.—PISAN, II., 153; de grant bobans.—DESCHAMPS, VI., 26; orgeuil et bobance.—*Ibidem*, V., 167. [8] FOSS, IV., 309; though twelve years elapsed before he was made a *King's* sergeant (1441), FORTESCUE, 5, 7. For the distinction, see LONDON AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 238. [9] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 202; KAL. AND INV., II., 63.

These were the busy days of his life. The forenoon would be spent from eight o'clock[1] till eleven in attendance at the courts. He would then repair to the Paradise[2] or Parvis[3] at St. Paul's, where each sergeant had a pillar[4] alloted to him in the nave on the north side as his recognised *rendezvous* for advising with clients.[5] The centre aisle in the nave, known afterwards as Paul's Walk,[6] was the great meeting place at midday for hiring[7] and gossip, tables[8] for scribes were provided there "for the accommodation of the public," who were represented by a "waltzing,[9] jangling, brawling, fighting, and bargaining" throng of bookhawkers,[10] beggars, budgetmakers, and busy idlers, who played palm[11] or tennis in the church, or pelted rooks and pigeons within the great walled[12] cemetery[13] outside.

[1] FORTESCUE, 380. [2] For Hell and Paradise at Westminster, see DEVON, LXVIII. [3] In PROMPT. PARV., II., 385, Parvyce = Parlatorium. See the quotations in MÉNAGE; also TOWNELEY MYST., 200; COLLIER, II., 211, from "Mind, Will, and Understanding," temp. H. VI., printed as "Wisdom" in NEW SHAKESPEARE SOC., 1882, pp. 137-168. For a priest's parvise and porch in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, see WALCOTT, 133; also PETRI in MURATORI, XXIV., 975; ante frontispicium Basilicæ Sancti Petri videlicet in Paradiso supra ubi venduntur sudarii, and *ibid.*, 1004, where it is certainly outside the church. In 1406, a heretic was "preached" at the parvis of Notre Dame in Paris.—JUV., 438. See also *ibid.*, 447; ACAD. DE BELGIQUE, II., XI., 570; BAYE, I., 231; ST. DENYS, III., 728; IV., 58, 288; la ruelle de parvis.—G. METZ, 56. For the parvis at Oxford, see MUN. ACAD., 242, 684. It is defined as a "cloister, paved platform, or other open space, immediately adjoining a church."—LYTE, 305; "a church porch or portico."—R. MORRIS, PROL. TO CANTERBURY TALES, 128. The derivation "a parvis pueris," is guess-work.—SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., I., 443; WALCOTT, CHURCH ARRANGEMENT, 182. [4] DUGDALE, ORIG., 117; MACHYN, 27, 195. [5] Soy en ala a Powles pur conseil.—YEAR BOOK, 12 H. IV., 21. [6] EARLE, 116; LONGMAN, 44; W. S. SIMPSON, GLEANINGS, 268. [7] "I bought him in Paul's."—Hy. IV., Pt. II., I, 2, 48, with Halliwell's note. In 1407, the bargain for letting the house from which the Duke of Orleans was assassinated, was struck with a broker in the church of St. Mary in Paris.—ECOLE DES CHARTES, F. I., 243, 244. [8] W. S. SIMPSON, STATUTES, 78. [9] SERES in ANTIQUARY, XII., 29. [10] MATT. PARIS, V., 172. For the practice of teaching schools close to the church, see FABRIC ROLLS, 250. [11] T. SMITH, 387; GROCERS' ARCH., 124. [12] W. S. SIMPSON, DOCUMENTS, LXV.; CHAPTERS, 62; GLEANINGS, 257; MILMAN, 83, For the mur de la chanoinerie de Seint Poul, see LIB. CUST., 149. In 1321, the mayor brought an action for encroachment against the Dean and Chapter, in connection with this enclosure.—LIB. CUST., I., 338. [13] For the "cymitory or londe spirituelle," see T. SMITH, 390, 393; WYCLIFFE, DE ECCLESIA, 236; RYMER, IV., 955.

In the seventeenth[1] and eighteenth centuries the notion of transacting business *in the church* seems to have shocked the legal mind, and an explanation was forthcoming either that the sergeants were brought to a pillar "for their private devotions," or that there was "some Inn of Court in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Church." But there is no need for any such hypothesis. In the fifteenth century, the inside[2] of "Poules,"[3] like that of York Minster,[4] Westminster Abbey,[5] Exeter Cathedral,[6] and probably every large church in the country was a common market,[7] with all its accompaniments of noise and filth.

As a sergeant-at-law, Gascoigne might be called upon to do the work of an assize judge[8] on circuit, or attend in Parliament

[1] WHITELOCK (1648) and REEVES (1787) in ARCHÆOL., XXXII., 433. [2] See Bishop Braybrooke's letter (1385) in CONC., III., 194; SIMPSON, 78. WEEVER (373) gives a fragment of a notice (legible in 1631) on the south door, letting out vigorously against the "godless uncleanness" that offended the eyes and the nose of passers through St. Paul's. See also NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th S., V., 429; STAVELEY, 159; ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY, I., 74. [3] YEAR BOOK, 7 H. IV., TRIN., 19 b. [4] FABR. ROLLS, 244, where in 1409, complaint is made of vicars chatting and gossiping and using "much confabulation" (273) in the choir at the time of Divine Service, men and boys playing and making a noise in the church during mass, dogs and others "doing dirtinesses and usefulnesses," officials playing ball in the close, and *mulierculæ* slipping in in the evening twilight. On high festivals there was a regular fair in the church, causing "notorious and immense discredit to the discipline of the Gospel." For the fray in York Minster, where Richard Hemingburgh was wounded by Lord Richard Scrope, of Bolton, and his men, see TEST. EBOR, II., 185. For pollution of churches, see CONC., III., 325; RYM., IV., 455; RAINE, NORTHERN REGISTERS, 398. [5] For affray in 1378, see MONAST., I., 275. [6] YEAR BOOK, 8 H. IV., MICH., 4. [7] For beggars in churches showing sham wounds and carrying babies in their arms, et font tel presse qu' à peine y puet l'en oir messe ne avoir sa devocion, see DESCHAMPS, VI., 231, 237, 279; VII., 52. For fair in a church in Devonshire, see STAFF. REG., 85. Cf. "that cheaping and fairs be not used on the Sunday and in the holy church."—WYCLIFFE, 280; DE ECCLESIA, 236; APOL., 50. For dancing, wrestling, and games in New College Chapel at Oxford, see A. CLARK, 158. For order issued in 1405 by the Bishop of Nantes, forbidding players and jesters from dancing or exhibiting in the churches or cemeteries in his diocese, see MART. ANEC., IV., 993. For "hogges bringing karen" (*i.e.*, carrion) into the Black Friars Church at Shrewsbury, see OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, II., 449. See the curious passage in GOWER, CONF. AM., 302:—

In chirches and in minsters eke,
They gon the women for to seke, &c.

[8] ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., October 19th, 1408.

as a Receiver of Petitions. No busier life could then be spent, and it is with regret that we must admit that with all the opportunities of the last nineteen years of his life, spent in the learned leisure of a judgeship, he has left us no word of record of the stirring times in which he played his part, and that we know no more of him at first hand than can be gleaned from pleadings clothed in the mongrel French of the Year Books.

From the beginning of his career he had been retained as a feed member of the Council of Henry as Earl of Derby, and on October 3rd, 1398,[1] he was one of the lawyers appointed to represent him and sue in his name, if required, during his exile. In the same year he appears as trustee for some property under a codicil to the will of John of Gaunt.[2] In the Parliament of 1399, he was nominated as counsel for the Commons, to watch their interests in the intricate legal technicalities involved in the wholesale repeal[3] of the statutes passed in 1397. These important positions of trust paved the way for his final promotion, and on November 15th, 1400,[4] he was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench on the resignation of Sir Walter Clopton.[5] He had now some smack[6] of age in him, some relish of the saltness of time, and henceforward his active service should be drawing to an end. After eleven o'clock his time would be his own, and he could "pause[7] and bestow the residue of the day

[1] RYM., VIII., 49. [2] TEST. EBOR., I., 238. [3] Vol. I., 63; ARCHÆOL., XX., App. vi., p. 280. [4] Vol. I., 173; YEAR BOOK, 1 H. IV., MICH., I., not 1401, as DUGDALE, CHRON. SER., 54, quoting PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 28. The mistake is repeated in TYLER, I., 371, and TEST. EBOR., I,, 391. FULLER (II., 505) gives November 1, 1399, from original de ipso anno, bundello II., rot. 52. In ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 20th, 1405), he receives £40 per annum as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, plus £120 per annum; also *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., MICH. (October 19th, 1408), where he has an additional £20 per annum as an Assize Judge. [5] His will was administered at Lambeth, dated January 24th, 1400 (? 1401), GENEAL., VII., 208, though by INQ. POST. MORT., III., 335 (13 H. IV., 14), he would be supposed to be living till 1411.—FOSS, 171. [6] H. IV., Pt. II., 1, 2, 91. [7] FORTESCUE, Ch. LI.,—an ideal picture.

in the study of his pleas,[1] terms, registers,[2] or statutes, in reading of Holy Scripture, or in using other kind of contemplation at his pleasure." In 1401,[3] when the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas could not agree, the last word was left to Gascoigne, who was on the bench with them at the time. The question had reference to an action brought by an abbot against a vicar for damage done to a house. The vicar contended that the building was not a house, but a chapel attached to his "vikery"[4] which he claimed as his own freehold property. The court thereupon fell to discussing what constitutes a freehold in such a case. What they all said we do not know, but Gascoigne's argument at least appears to have the touchstone of common sense. "If a vicar takes *my* offerings, he must not make this a reason for damaging *my* house and *my* chapel."

In 1402, a case came before him in which one of the members of the suite, that accompanied the lady Blanche to Cologne, claimed protection on the ground that he was employed on a royal journey and on royal business. Gascoigne decided that the claim was valid, "for nothing can be of more profit to the realm than to make alliance with another realm."[5] In 1405,[6] he gave an important decision that in matters relating to the Duchy of Lancaster, or any such Duchy, the King could be sued "like any common person." Henceforth, however, his name occurs but seldom in the Year Books[7] in squabbles about housebreaking, kidnapping, tree-cutting, cattle-lifting, advow-

[1] GIBBONS, 101. [2] His "Great Register" found its way into the possession of John Dautre, of York, who died in 1459.—TEST. EBOR., II., 233. [3] YEAR BOOK, 2 H. IV., TRIN., p. 24. [4] Or "vicary."—STAFF. REG., 392. For "vekery"=vicar, see FIFTY EARLY ENGLISH WILLS, 12; P. PLO., XXII., 411. [5] YEAR BOOK, 3 H. IV., PASCH., 11. [6] *Ibid.*, 6 H. IV., HIL., 2. [7] *e.g.*, 3 H. IV., HIL., 17, 18; PASCH, 4; TRIN., 4; also 7 H. IV., *passim*; 6 H. IV., HIL., 2, 4, 6, 32, 36. The Editor of REEVES (II., 516) is wrong in inferring from this that he lost his judgeship because he refused to condemn the Archbishop in 1405. For rolls of Court of King's Bench, see KAL. AND INV., I., li.

sons, dilapidations, debts, dowers, damages, perjury, false imprisonments, and other such petty storms of life.

But though his time was no longer taken up with conies and barbits,[1] and all the dreary clap-and-jangle[2] of feudal courts, yet his work was far from done. On the day after the battle of Shrewsbury, July 22nd, 1403,[3] he was ordered to join the Earl of Westmoreland in raising the loyal forces of the North, but the submission of the Earl of Northumberland made this part of his duties light, and throughout the Patent Rolls for the year 1405 no name is more conspicuous than his, whether on circuit for gaol delivery, for special assize, or special commission. In almost every legal enquiry[4] of that eventful year his name is foremost as a working member whose presence was indispensable to form a quorum. In May, 1407,[5] he was appointed to arbitrate between William[6] and Hugh Venables, the brother and the son, respectively, of Sir Richard Venables, of Kinderton, who had been beheaded after the battle of Shrewsbury, and his award resulted in an equitable[7] division of the dead man's wiches, tofts, advowsons, and other property. A month afterwards, viz., June 1st, 1407,[8] he received permission to hunt and kill game in all or any of the forests, chaces, warrens, and parks, belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster, and on April 22nd, 1408,[9] when he was about to re-roof the church at Harewood, the King granted him six oaks from his park at Rothwellhaigh.

His name is also associated with a case which curiously illustrates the way in which quarrelsome neighbours used to settle

[1] YEAR BOOK, 4 H. IV., HIL., 9. [2] HOCCL. DE REG., 85, 87. [3] RYM., VIII., 319. [4] *e.g.*, PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 4, 8, 9 d. [5] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 15. [6] He was appointed Constable of Chester, November 18th, 1399.—DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., 14, 193, 224, 274, 430, 491. By 1404, he had married Blanche, widow of Sir Hugh Browe.—*Ibid.*, 492. In 1408, he appears as a robber defying the King's officers in Staffordshire.—ROT. PARL., III., 631. [7] ORMEROD, III., 191. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 77[III], showing that by this time all trace of any royal displeasure in connection with Archbishop Scrope's case had quite disappeared. [9] *Ibid.*, XI., 16, 115[III].

their differences in Old England. In 1411,[1] a dispute arose between Robert Tirwhit,[2] a newly appointed Justice of the King's Bench, and the tenants of William, Lord de Roos, about a right of pasture and turf-graving on some lands connected with the Belvoir estates, at Melton Ross, near Wrawby, in Lincolnshire. It was agreed to submit the case to the arbitration of Gascoigne, who appointed a "love day"[3] for a peaceful conference at Melton Ross, when the principal disputants should meet him on the disputed property, attended each by two friends. Lord Roos came with two of his friends, as agreed, but Judge Tirwhit had 500[4] armed followers in ambush, denying that he had ever consented to the arbitration. The love-day accordingly broke down, but such a

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 649; FOSS, IV., 368. [2] He was a native of Kettleby, near Wrawby, had been a member of the council of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was made a King's Sergeant on Henry's accession in 1399 (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 203), and a Judge of the King's Bench in April, 1408.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 6, App. A; not 1409, as FOSS, IV., 367 (665). [3] Cf. quâdam die amoris, at Honiton, August 31st, 1392.—FACSIMILES, I., xxxviii.; "day of love."—HIST. MSS., 11TH REPT., III., 214; PROMPT. PARV., 315; WYCLIFFE, 172; P. PLO., IV., 196; XII., 17.

But helle is full of such discorde,
That there may be no love-day.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 47.

[4] For a similar case in 1406, see ROT. PARL., III., 561, where Sir John Cockayne, Chief Baron of the Exchequer and one of the Judges of Common Pleas, brought 200 armed men to take forcible possession of the Manor of Baddesley Ensor, in Warwickshire, in consequence of a dispute with Gascoigne, Allerthorpe, and others. For Lawrence Allerthorpe, see Vol. I., p. 173. He was one of the Barons of the Exchequer (FOSS, IV., 143), a stagiary of St. Paul's (ARCHÆOLOGIA, L. 517; PAT., 7 H. IV., I, 17, Jan. 16th, July 21st, 1406), and held prebends in Hereford and York.—LE NEVE, I., 529; II., 372; III., 219. From April 13th, 1396, to April 27th, 1397, he was rector of Charleton, in Devonshire, on the presentation of Thomas, Lord Berkeley. He was also rector of Brantingham, near Hull (STAFF. REG., 3; GIBBONS, LINCOLN WILLS, 76), Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, at Stafford (MONAST. ANGL., VI., 1438), and of the King's Free Chapel at Wolverhampton, where he left great dilapidations for his successor.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 14; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 25; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 5. For plenary indulgence granted by Boniface IX., found in his tomb at St. Paul's, see DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 57; WEEVER, 366. For a letter from him to the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, see ALL SOULS MS., 182, in PECKHAM REG., I., liii. He is called Ailthorp in GESTA ABB. S. ALBANI, III., 476.

breach of faith, on the part of a Justice specially appointed to keep the King's peace in the county, could not be lightly passed over, and after a little pressure the offender was required to submit himself publicly to the King's decision. At the joint expense of the two disputants Gascoigne repaired again to Wrawby, where Tirwhit had to produce two tuns of Gascon wine, two fat oxen, and twelve fat sheep. He had then publicly to apologize to Lord Roos, in presence of the tenants, and offer to pay him five hundred marks. The apology was to be accepted and the money refused, but the good things were to be consumed by the tenants in a regular English jollification.[1]

About the middle of May, 1405, Gascoigne started with Lord de Roos for the North, with orders from the council to await instructions from the King as occasion should require. Messengers were at the same time sent to Worcester to warn the King of his danger, and inform him of the steps taken so far to meet it. In view of his "great need of money for his own person,"[2] they took to him £400 to be disposed of at his own will and pleasure. On May 22nd, 1405,[3] proclamations were issued announcing that the rebels in the North were preparing to burn, slay, and commit unheard-of atrocities, and that the King intended to put them down, "even by force if necessary." Levies were called out in the eastern and midland counties. The air was big with rumour. All England rang with preparations. Great deeds were pending, and direful portents were at hand to herald them. In Suffolk, a mighty monster from the sea, with crested head and jagged teeth, and a prodigious tail, had found its way far up the river Stour. It slew a shepherd and devoured his sheep or, at least, was

[1] For a loveday on a smaller scale, with a goose, a pottle of wine, and bread and cheese, see MUN. ACAD., 713. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 262. [3] ROT. VIAG., 18.

believed to have done so amongst the weavers of Sudbury, who did not need incitements to exaggeration and parable after the fall of Archbishop Scrope. The tenants of Sir Richard Waldegrave,[1] at Bures, shot at the monster, from both banks of the river, but their arrows rebounded from its armoured sides with a clattering like plates of brass. The whole country-side turned out to watch for its reappearance, but it slunk away in the reedy marsh and was seen again no more.

[1] ANN., 402. See his will, dated April 22nd, 1410, from REG. ARUNDEL, f. 49 a., in TEST. VET., I., 158. I am informed by the Librarian at Lambeth, that the year is 1410, as GENEAL., VI., 225, not 1400, as WEEVER, 757, or 1401, as COLLINS, IV., 234; MANNING, 12. The inscription given in WEEVER is no longer to be found at Bures. The Vicar informs me that when the church was restored in 1865, "some old stones nearly illegible were removed from the aisle and placed *under the organ*!" The LONDON SUBSIDY ROLL of January, 1412, has Ricardus Waldegrave and Ricardus Walgrave, Kt.—ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 60, 74.

CHAPTER L.

Archbishop Scrope.

No plot against King Henry had ever made headway among the people without the secret or open connivance of the clergy, and one of the leaders of the present northern conspiracy in the interest of the Percies, was Richard Scrope,[1] Archbishop of York. His kindred claimed to have come "of noble and generous blood of gentlemen, and of old ancestry."[2] They had certainly risen to wealth and prominence in Yorkshire, owing to the success attained by a pushing pair of brothers of this name, as apprentices of the law, both of whom had filled the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in the reigns of Edward II. and III. They had bought some lands in Yorkshire, and secured others by fortunate marriages. The son of the elder[3] of these was Richard Scrope, First Lord of Bolton. He made his name as a valiant soldier[4] under Edward III., and became Warden of the Scottish Marches, Treasurer, and twice Chancellor of England, under Richard II., being once dismissed[5] from office for his outspoken opposition to the mad

[1] Called Le Scrop or Scrop, in Wals., II., 49; Scrob, *ibid.*, I., 417; Scrubz (temp. John), Scrope and Grosvenor, II., 66, meaning originally a crab (Test. Vet., II., 187), which was their ancient badge. For "Schroff and Schroup," see Rich. Redeles, II., 154, with Note, p. 511. In the poem on the execution, written in a Book of Hours lately acquired by the Bodleian Library, the name is played upon:—

Scrobem purificat a sorde criminum,
Et Scopam ordinat sanguinem proprium.—
Athenæum, 27/8/87, p. 280, and 4/8/88, p. 161.

[2] Scrope and Grosv., I., 164. [3] *i.e.*, Sir Henry Scrope, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, of King's Bench, and Chief Baron of Exchequer, died September 7th, 1336.—Foster, s.v.; Foss, III., 501. [4] Scrope and Grosv., II., 17. [5] Wals., II., 68.

extravagance of the young King (1382). Following the custom[1] then in full force amongst the rich landowners of the North, he obtained the King's permission to crenellate or fortify his manor house, at Bolton, in Wensleydale, and spent a sum of money which sounds almost fabulous, in building the great grim towers which yet frown from the Yoredale hill-side. The specifications[2] and quantities are still extant in an agreement with the builder, John Lewyn. It was eighteen years[3] in building, but the owner lived to see it finished, and stocked with a garrison of priests, chaplains, and armed retainers, though spending most of the later years of his life either in his London[4] house, opposite to St. Andrew's, in Holborn, or at the manor of Pishobury, "in the South Country,"[5] near Sawbridgeworth, in Hertfordshire, which he purchased[6] in 1394. Here he made his will, on August 2nd, 1400,[7] at the close of a long and active life. He died three years afterwards, May 30th, 1403, at the age of seventy-five, and his body was buried in the Abbey of St. Agatha, at Easby, near Richmond, in Swaledale. During the later years of his life he had challenged Sir Robert Grosvenor to show cause why he had usurped the famous *azure bend or*, claimed as the peculiar bearings in the coat armour of the

[1] CLARK, I., 170. For views of Bolton, see GROSE, Vol. IV.; BRITTON, ARCHITECT. ANTIQ., IV., 154. [2] SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 23, dated Sep. 14th, 1378, from Archives of Bolton Hall. For building of Fotheringhay Church in 1434, see MONAST., VI., 1414. [3] LEL., ITIN., 8, 51. [4] Known as Scrope's Inn.—STOW, LOND., 425; LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 252; afterwards Sergeants' Place.—FOSS., IV., 402. [5] See the will of his grandson Richard, third Lord of Bolton (who wished to dispose of it), dated Rouen, January 24th, 1420.—TEST. EBOR., IV., 1. [6] CUSSANS, I., 79; MONAST. ANG., VI., 1396. [7] TEST. EBOR., I., 272, for full text; summary in TEST. VET., I., 156, where the date is 1401. See also GENEAL., VI., 127. In this, after legacies to the lame, blind, and bed-rid, he leaves 2s. to every prisoner in the gaols of York, Newcastle, Durham, Carlisle, Richmond, and Appleby. For similar custom, see Vol. I., 483; STAFF. REG., 381, 394, 408; GIBBONS, 74, 100, 117; WILLS OF KINGS, 154; TEST. VET., 249; SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 174; P. PLO., C. X., 34; XVII., 322. For his arms in the cloisters at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 109.

Scropes. Five years were spent (from 1385 to 1390) in tousling this knotty tangle, during which the country was ransacked for written or oral evidence on both sides, and princes, poets, clerks, and oldest inhabitants, of every class, brought contributions to bear upon the heraldic puzzle.

Owing perhaps to the unusual wealth of material, genealogists have been specially busy upon the pedigree of this Yorkshire family, and the very abundance of the information seems to have been the cause of unusual complication and confusion. From recent examinations of the wills registered at York fresh light is thrown upon the difficulties, and the following may be taken as ascertained results:—

The eldest son of Lord Scrope of Bolton was William Scrope,[1] Earl of Wiltshire, who lost his life[2] in the revolution of 1399; but by begging[3] and weeping before the Parliament, his father managed to save the property for himself and his other children. At his own death in 1403, he left his title and the castle at Bolton to his eldest surviving son, Roger, who died six months after him, December 3rd, 1403.[4] Another of his sons was the Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, known as Sir Stephen Scrope,[5] of Bentley,[6] from a manor which he held near Doncaster.

Among the many relatives named in the will of Lord Scrope of Bolton is Richard, Archbishop of York, whom he calls "my most dear father and son." The first and most obvious in-

[1] LEL., ITIN., VIII., 49. In MIR. FOR MAG., 305, he is called the Bishop's (*i.e.*, Archbishop's) brother. RAINE, YORK, 81, calls him the Archbishop's nephew. [2] POL. SONGS, I., 367, 388, 436, 444. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 453. [4] TEST. EBOR., I., 328. Will dated September 3rd, 1403, proved April 30th, 1404.—FOSTER, III., S.V. [5] Proved to be a brother of the Earl of Wiltshire by ADD. CH., 8482, printed in OLIVER, MONUMENTA, II., 247. See also ROT. PARL., III., 380; SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, II., 49. [6] It was a part of the honor of Tickhill.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 126[III]; TEST. VET., I., 157.

ference[1] from this would be that Archbishop Scrope was a son of the Lord of Bolton. But a closer examination proves beyond doubt that the phrase is not to be taken as a literal[2] expression of kinship. In the will, the name of the Archbishop comes after that of Stephen, and is followed by those of John and Henry, every one of whom is styled "my cousin"; one of these, Sir John Scrope, in his will[3] expressly calls the Archbishop and Stephen Scrope his brothers. This Stephen Scrope is the second Lord Scrope of Masham. He made his will January 7th, 1406,[4] and in it he makes no mention of the Archbishop; but his eldest son, Henry, the third Lord of Masham, who was beheaded for conspiracy against Henry V. in 1415, refers in his will[5] to the Archbishop as his "uncle." Another son of the second Lord of Masham was Stephen Scrope, Archdeacon[6] of Richmond and twice Chancellor[7] of the University of Cambridge. He became secretary to the Archbishop, and owed his ecclesiastical promotion to him. In his will[8] he expressly desired to be buried by his side in St. Stephen's Chapel, known afterwards as the Scrope Chapel,[9] the burial place of their family in York Minster, where mass was to be said for the souls of his father, his mother, his sisters, his brother, and the Archbishop, all of whom were buried there side by side. One of the Archbishop's sisters was Isabel, who married Sir Robert Plumpton. On her epitaph[10] in Spofforth

[1] As DUGDALE, I., 655; WHITAKER, RICHMONDSHIRE, I.,381; BALE, 533. [2] Cf. the will of John of Gaunt, where he names his grandson, John, "mon tresame filtz," and in the same sentence he is "filtz de mon filtz."—WILLS OF KINGS, 158. Cf. ætate fili, dignitate parens.—MONTREUIL, 1388. [3] TEST. EBOR., I., 339, dated December 18th, 1405. [4] *Ibid.*, III., 31. [5] RYM., IX., 279; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 147. [6] TEST. EBOR., III., 33; PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 18, June 18th, 1409; *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., 34, Oct., 1410. [7] LE NEVE, III., 599 (1400); RYM., IX., 158 (1414); CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 12, 18. [8] TEST. EBOR., I., 385, dated August 24th, 1418; MEM. OF RIPON, II., 188. [9] TEST. EBOR., II., 185. [10] Copied in 1613. I have ascertained that it has now disappeared. SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 129, quoting VINCENT, YORKSHIRE, No. 111, f. 30.

church she was called the daughter of Sir Henry Scrope (*i.e.* the first Lord of Masham). In 1457,[1] Thomas, fifth Lord Scrope of Masham, who founded a chantry at York, reckons the Archbishop as one of his "uncles," *i.e.*, his father's uncle. Remembering that the Scropes of Bolton lie buried at Easby, while the body of the Archbishop lies in the spot which became the burial place of the Scropes of Masham, there can be no doubt that he belongs to the Masham branch, and if the will of the first Lord of Masham should ever be found, it is likely that it will contain direct evidence that the Archbishop was his son.

Nothing shows more strikingly the power and influence of the family of Scrope than that in one and the same generation two cousins, members of the same stock, and living in the same valley within twenty miles of each other, should have risen to the Baronage and become separate founders of notable houses. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Scropes were both a legal and a fighting family. The two lawyers laid the foundations of the family wealth. Their sons took service in the French, Scottish, and Spanish Wars. Richard, the son of the elder, became the first Baron of Bolton; Henry, the son of the younger, became the first Baron of Masham. Both lived to a great age, and left grown families of sons and daughters.

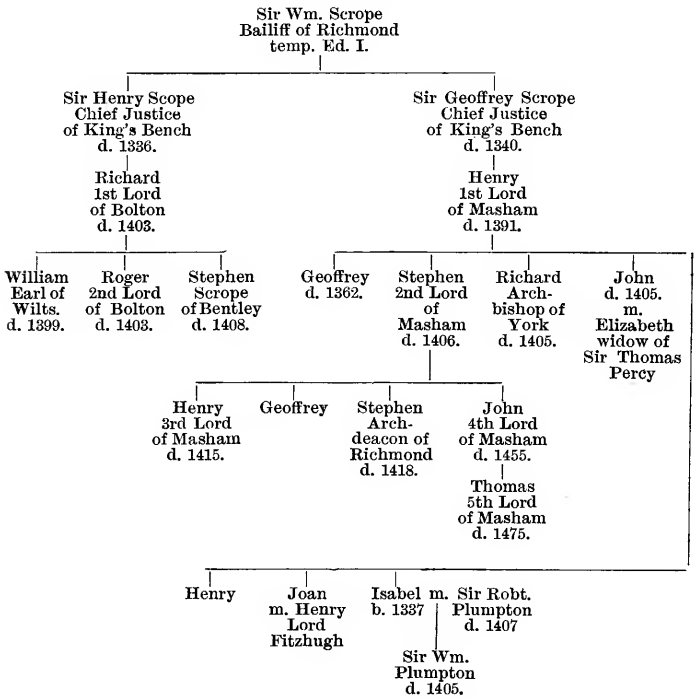
I have thought it necessary to state proofs of the parentage of the Archbishop somewhat at length, as uncertainty has long hung over the subject, and it is only recently that definite evidence has been available. His descent was correctly given by the editor of the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll in 1832.[2] The editor of the first volume of York Wills,[3] published in 1836, thought that the Archbishop belonged to the Bolton family, but subsequently changed his view[4] on further investigation.

[1] SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 152; TEST. EBOR., III., 32. [2] SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 122. [3] TEST. EBOR., I., 272, 276, 338. [4] *Ibid.* (1865), III., 32.

More recent enquirers[1] have returned to the old error[2] in spite of the new evidence.

We may take it then as proved that the Archbishop belonged to the line of Scropes[3] who had their home at Masham.

[1] *e.g.*, FOSS, IV., 86; PAULI, V., 36; SCROPE, HIST. OF CASTLECOMBE; FOSTER, S.V. PLUMPTON and SCROPE; KNIGHT, II., 13; LINGARD, III., 437; LAMPLOUGH, 95; BEAMONT, in JOURN. OF HIST. SOC. OF CHESTER, Pt. xii., 348; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 39; RAMSAY, I., 5, 87. [2] Cf. HALLE, 25; GRAFTON, 429; POL. VERG., 435; BALE, 533; BIONDI, 79; DUGDALE, I., 655; DRAKE, 106, 438; CARTE, II., 663; GOUGH, III., 16; HUME, II., 290. For a specimen of the confusion of Scrope pedigrees, see FLOWERS, VISITATION OF YORKSHIRE, HARL. SOC., XVI., 278, where the "Erl of Wylshyre" is the ancestor of the "Archeboshop of York," but separated by five generations; probably meant for Richard Scrope, Bishop of Carlisle (1464-1488). [3] The line will stand thus:—



His grandfather, Geoffrey Scrope,[1] the younger of the wonderful pair of brothers, did not limit his renown to the lay robe, the courts, and Parliament. He was noted also as a soldier, a diplomat, and a fighting champion. He was knighted[2] for his prowess in a tournament at Northampton, where he "had great praise and bore a great name for his feat." He purchased the manor of Masham with the adjoining castle of Clifton-upon-Yore,[3] and dying full of honours in 1340, was buried in the neighbouring Abbey of Coverham. His eldest son, Henry Scrope (the Archbishop's father), was born about 1315. From his very boyhood he served an apprenticeship in arms, and he spent his whole life in camps. In land fights and sea fights, raids, sieges, and tournaments in Scotland, France, Ireland, Flanders, Brittany, and Spain, through the long wars of Edward III., he served, like his brothers, with a charmed life. After the peace of Bretigny he became successively Governor of Calais and Warden of the Scottish Marches, and as age grew upon him, after spending the best part of his life abroad, he lent the mature experience of an active life-time to civil duties in council and Parliament at home.[4] He died in 1391, leaving to his sons much landed property[5] in Hertfordshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire.

Archbishop Richard Scrope was the third son of this fighting father, and he and his brothers inherited the fighting qualities of their stock. The eldest of them, Geoffrey, followed the

[1] SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 95-104; FOSS, III., 493; COUCHER BOOK OF WHALLEY, IV., 951. For rights over lands at Masham and Upsal, near Thirsk, see FISHER, 518. [2] SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, I., 142, 145. [3] WHALLEY COUCHER, IV., 100; RYM., V., 798; where his son is called Henricus le Scrop, Dominus de Clifton, in 1354. [4] For a letter written by his kinsman, the Chancellor Scrope, as to a temporary house for him in London till one that he had bought should be ready, see FACSIMILES OF NATIONAL MSS., I., xxi. [5] See inquisition printed in SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 138.

popular craze[1] for visiting Prussia when peace was concluded with France, and was killed at twenty years of age while serving with the Teutonic Knights in one of their Christianizing raids amid the swamps and forests of "Lettowe,"[2] on the eastern shores of the Baltic. His body was carried to Königsberg and buried in the newly-founded cathedral on the island in the Pregel, where his memory was marked by a window with the *bend or* placed there by the care of a faithful squire, who also had his arms inscribed on a tablet before the altar. The second brother, Stephen, succeeded to the title as Lord of Masham on his father's death in 1391. As a youth he had served in the army of Edward III. before Paris, and when the peace came he joined the crusading excursion of the ill-fated Peter I.,[3] King of Cyprus, and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes, who seized and pillaged Alexandria, and "wrought woe[4] to full many a heathen" for four frightful days in October, 1365. Returning to England, he led a less eventful life than most of his family, and dying on January 25th, 1406,[5] was buried by the side of his brother Richard in York Minster. The Archbishop's younger brothers, John and Henry, had likewise learnt the trade of soldiering in France in the reign of Edward III.

In such an age, a large fighting family "uniformly and perseveringly addicted to their own advancement,"[6] had scarcely occupation for all its sons, and one of them was usually told

[1] GILBERT, 553. [2] SCROPE AND GROSV., I., 146, 188; II., 120, where HISTORIA LITUANIÆ, I., 329, is quoted for siege of "Pistena." They were advancing to attack "Welloñ," *i.e.*, either Vilna, or Wielun on the Niemen above Tilsit.—MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 244, where Le Wylle seems to be Willeia below Kovno. Scrope fell during an attack on a "castle called Piskre," which may perhaps be on the river Pissa or Bissa, a tributary of the Pregel; or possibly Pister near Welun, in Courland.—OESTERLEY, 526. [3] SCROPE AND GROSV., I., 124. [4] CHAUCER, MONK'S TALE, 14703. [5] SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 139, for inquisition before the Sheriffs of Kent, Lincoln, and Herts. [6] WHITAKER, RICHMONDSHIRE, II., 99.

off[1] to enter the church, and "build up Sion in their blood."[2] Accordingly, when the eldest son, Geoffrey, was removed by death, and the heirdom to the barony was open to the second, the third son, Richard, was crowned a clerk[3] to see what a golden prelate[4] could glean in that rich field. He was born about 1346, and is said to have been a scholar in Arts at Oxford[5] and in Law at Cambridge.[6] On November 16th, 1375,[7] he was a licentiate in Civil Law and was appointed an official to Bishop Arundel of Ely. He was ordained deacon in 1376, and made Warden of the Free Chapel in Tickhill Castle,[8] though even previous to this he appears to have been rector of the church at Ainderby Steeple,[9] near Northallerton, through the good offices of the patron, his relative Lord Scrope of Bolton. In March, 1377, he was ordained priest and held a canonry at York, and in the following year he was Chancellor[10] of the University of Cambridge. In 1382, he went to Rome, where he was sworn an Auditor of the Sacred Palace,[11] in which capacity he would hold a court to hear causes referred to the Pope for decision. In 1383,

[1] Cf. Beaufort, Arundel, Courtenay, Stafford, &c. [2] BURY, Ch. IX., p. 248. [3] For shold no clerk be crowned bote yf ycome were
Of frankleyns and freemen and of folks ywedded.—P. PLO., VI., 63.
[4] Goldun prelatis are they that are maad only for nobilay of kyn.—APOL., 90; WYCLIFFE, DIALOGUS, 34. For Bysshopes, Abbotes, and Priours that have the name of Prelates, see AMUNDESHAM, I., 454; ANGL. SACR., II., 366; WYCL., 60. Post Episcopum equitabunt Prælati si qui erunt.—CÆREM. EPISC., p. 7. See also TEST. EBOR., I., 358; MONAST., III., 9. In YORK PLAY, 255, 267, Caiaphas says: "ne Bishoppe ne Prelate." Cf. "I am a Prelate, a lord in degre."—TOWNELEY, 194; "now Prelate and now chaplaine."—CHAUCER, ROM. OF ROSE, fol. 145; "Et hiis qui prælati erant Episcopis et Abbatibus."—ST. DENYS, IV., 210. [5] ANGL. SACR., II., 369. [6] *Ibid.*, I., 450 (written by William Whitlocke, Canon of Lichfield, circ. 1560); also BALE, 553; HOLINS., II., 542; C. H. COOPER, ANN., I., 116. [7] W. STEVENSON, 23; GODWIN, I., 321. He was a Doctor of Laws before 1382.—LEL., COL., I., 253. [8] COOPER, ANN., I., 116; HUNTER, I., 236. [9] WHITAKER, I., 260, from TORRE'S ARCHDEACONRY OF RICHMOND, 1719; TEST. EBOR., II., 188. [10] LE NEVE, III., 599; HEYWOOD, 192; FULLER, 82. [11] NIEM, LIB. CANC., 208. For the oath of an Auditor, see *ibid.*, 7.

he was made Dean of Chichester,[1] and when the astronomer-Bishop,[2] William Rede, died in 1385, the canons of Chichester chose him as his successor.[3] But the nomination was set aside by the King, and Scrope had to wait another year for his promotion. In 1386,[4] he held the prebend of Church Milton, in connection with the cathedral at Lincoln. In the same year he was still at Rome, and was appointed a Palace Notary[5] on April 28th, 1386. He was at Genoa when that "sunbeam[6] of the church," Pope Urban VI., escaped thither after hoisting,[7] stripping, torturing, and strangling his unfortunate cardinals, an Englishman, Adam Easton,[8] of Norwich,

[1] LE NEVE, I., 256. [2] His will was proved November 4th, 1385.—DALLAWAY, I., 55. He built the library at Merton College, Oxford, and left 100 books to the College.—BRODRICK, 15, 211 (where his death is wrongly placed in 1376); LELAND, in BALE, II., 53; GODWIN, II., 87; HARRISON, I., xlviii.; BOASE, EXON., 4; WOOD, II., 86. [3] MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 66. [4] LE NEVE, II., 187; WILLIS, CATHEDRALS, II., 220. [5] NIEM, LIB. CANC., 212. For notaries, see ERLER, 15, 33. They were bound to wear short coats and suitable clothing, and not to frequent taverns. Other English lawyers employed in Rome about the same time were John Trefnant (afterwards Bishop of Hereford, 1389-1409.—GODWIN, II., 70. For his monument in Hereford Cathedral, see GOUGH, III., 16. For his will proved at Lambeth in 1404, see GENEAL., VI., 224), who became an Auditor January 17th, 1386, Michael Cages, Andrew Baret, Thomas Walkington, William Lardner, John of Lynn, and Simon of England.—NIEM, 210, 212. [6] EUL., III., 341. [7] LENFANT, I., 42, quoting NIEM, Ch. 45 (an eye-witness); MILMAN, V., 417; HEFELE, VI., 805; CREIGHTON, I., 81. He afterwards had five of them tied in sacks and thrown into the sea at Genoa (PLATINA, 272); or if GOBELIN'S information was correct (page 310) their throats were cut in prison, and their bodies buried at night in a stable. For a defence of Urban, see ERLER, 76. [8] NIEM, 63. He is called Adam, Bishop of London, in GIANNONE, II., 226, quoting PANVINIO. In GOBELIN, 301, 310, he is called Adam, Cardinalis de Anglia; CHRISTOPHE, III., 85, 90. He had been an Auditor of the Apostolic Palace.—NIEM, LIB. CANC., 214. DU PIN, XII., 37, and CHRISTOFERI, 68, 312, 313, call him Cardinal of St. Cecily. He was Dean of York, 1381-1385.—LE NEVE, III., 123; RAINE, LETTERS, 424. He died at Rome, August 15th, 1398, and in his epitaph (see NOTES AND QUERIES, 6th Ser., 7, 416) he is styled Cardinal Priest of St. Cecilia, perpetual administrator episcopatus Leondinensis (not Londinensis, as CIACONIUS, II., 649), see BALE, 516; HARPSFELD, 525; WALS., II., 197; F. WILLIAMS, I., 422 (whose account of him is of very little value); MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 50, 221. In PARKER, 251, he is called Episcopus Herefordensis. GODWIN, II., 374 (followed by FULLER, I., 449), wrongly makes

being the only one amongst them that escaped. He was now promoted by Papal Bull (August 18th, 1386,)[1] to be Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and was consecrated at Genoa on the following day. As Bishop of Lichfield we know nothing of his work except a few scrappy references to the condition of his cathedral revenues. At his installation[2] he took an oath that he would recover the scattered and wasted possessions claimed as the property of the see, and would not alienate anything belonging to the Bishop's table; upon which King Richard II., who was present, remarked dryly: "Sure you have taken a big oath, my lord." Whether he kept it or not we do not know, but when he left Lichfield he gave the customary sums for keeping his name in memory by means of masses to be celebrated in the cathedral after his death. In 1392,[3] he was sent as ambassador to Scotland, in company with Sir Ralph Percy, to oppose an attempt made against the truce, and in 1396,[4] he went again to Rome in reference to the proposed canonization of King Edward II. On both these

him a native of Hereford, perverted to Hertford in MURRAY'S HANDBOOK TO ROME. For his efforts to reform the Benedictines (circ. 1385), see HIST. MSS., 12TH REPT., IX., 394. For his writings, see DICT. NAT. BIOG., XVI., 334. He left several books to the Cathedral Library at Norwich, which were forwarded in six barrels from Rome, October 3rd, 1407.—RYM., VIII., 501.

[1] LE NEVE, I., 552. BALE, 533, says that he visited both Avignon and Rome, and became a "Papal Advocate." WILLIS, I., 39 (see also DRAKE, 438), thinks that he was Chancellor of England, but this is a confusion with Lord Scrope of Bolton. He is called Bishop of Chester (1389), see also DUGDALE, I., 381; TEST. VET., I., 126; GIBBONS, 29; FASCIC. ZIZAN., 357 (1392). For other instances where Chester is used as equivalent to Lichfield and Coventry, see LIB. ALB., 614; LIB. CUST., 686; ANN., 227; SMITH, 232; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 98; in spite of CASSAN, BISHOPS OF BATH AND WELLS, 180. In NIEM, LIB. CANC., 32, the bishopric is Lichfeldensem *alias* Coventrensem [seu Cestrensem], the bracketed words having been afterwards struck out. Bishop Scrope is said to have baptised Richard Beauchamp, son of the Earl of Warwick.—ROWS, 359. If this is so, the infant must have been four years old, or there must have been an error in the date of his birth, Jan. 28th, 1382. [2] ANGL. SACR., I., 450; HÖFLER, ANNA, 103. [3] DEVON, 247. [4] *Ibid.*, 264.

occasions he was amply supplied with public funds. In June, 1398, he was made Archbishop of York, Primate of England,[1] and Legate of the Court of Rome,[2] and thus, at fifty years of age, he touched the top rung in the ladder of honour.

Walsingham claims for him an "incomparable knowledge[3] of literature," but his manifesto was drawn up in a peculiarly barbarous and illiterate style,[4] and the industry of Bale could find no evidence of his literary skill except an "Invective[5] against King Henry," which he certainly did not write. He was personally popular[6] with all who came in contact with him, and was treated by King Henry with special honour and respect.[7] Moreover, it is something to know that he lived a clean life[8] and never broke his continence, which seems to have been a rare thing with high ecclesiastics[9] in those days, for it is mentioned as a special mark of distinction on the authority of his latest confessor at the block, that he died a virgin.[10] From his youth up he had been advanced in church

[1] NOTT. REC., II., 10, where the Archbishop of Canterbury is Primate *totius* Angliæ. [2] TEST. EBOR., III., 316, 317, from REG. SCROPE, 206. [3] WALS., II., 269. The continuator of STUBBS (in RAINE, HISTORIANS, II., 429) attributes to him several sequences and prayers, but the writer lived more than 100 years after Scrope's death, and his account is full of inaccuracies. LINGARD (III., 437), touches on "the fame of his learning." [4] ANN., 405. [5] BALE, 533. [6] WALS., II., 269, 271. CARTE (II., 663), who draws a fancy picture of him, credits him *inter alia* with "an obliging temper." [7] DRAKE, XCVIII. [8] ANN., 403; POLITICAL SONGS, II., 116. [9] Cf. the cases of Henry Beaufort and John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells.—GASC., 231. In Ireland both bishops and priests had concubines openly (NIEM, 501), and at Naples in 1385, every cardinal was said to have personam secundam penes se (NIEM, 48, who heard the ladies saying videam maritum tuum cardinalem).—ERLER, 70. See also STUBBS, III., 372; WYCLIFFE, 6, 73. [10] GASC., 229. For virgo sponsus et pastor populi, see ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, p. 161. "Malcome callit the madyne who deyt ane virgin."—WYNT., III., 333. Cf. MIRROR OF OUR LADY, XLVIII, LII.; CATHOL. ANGL., s.v. Madyn; COV. MYST., 95, 196, 323, 389, 394; P. PLO., B. IX., 173; C. XI., 281; GIBBONS, 97; ANGLIA, VIII., 194. "And thus his maidenhead he bought."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 293. "He was a virgin."—*Ibid.*, 294. "How that Adam and Eve also virgines comen bothe two."—*Ibid*, 407. For stumbling *v.* virgin bishops, see ANCIENT LAWS, IV., CCXVIII.

preferment at a time when "they put boys[1] in churches, prebends, and dignities," and "rich men's sons[2] got benefices in their tender age by covetise and gift of fathers and mothers or of kinsmen." At forty he had stepped into a bishopric, when there were "three things[3] that made a man a bishop in England, viz.: the will of the King,[4] the will of the Pope, and money paid in abundance to the court of Rome," and when it was openly urged that a bishop was "not bound to preach[5] or do anything for the care of men's souls, but only to superintend," from which point of view he might be a statesman,[6] a lawyer, a courtier, a soldier,[8] or an ambassador,[7] spending his time in London[9] or

[1] GASC. (Hearne), II., 513. Imberbes adhuc adolescentuli vix ferulam egressi ad pastorale convolant magisterium.—CLAMENGES, 18. See the case of Robert Nevil, the fourteenth child of the Earl of Westmoreland, who was a clerk at 10 years of age, and held a prebend at York.—JONES, 98; STAFF. REG., 143, 231, 262. Henry Beaufort was Bishop of Lincoln when he was 22 years of age.—EXCERPT. HIST., 155; admodum puero.—ANN., 226. Arundel was Bishop of Ely at 21 years of age.—LE NEVE, I., 330; WILLS OF KINGS, 134; BOASE, EXON., xxxviii. Peter of Luxemburg, brother to Count Waleran of St. Pol, afterwards canonized as a saint, was made Bishop of Metz in 1384, when he was only 15 years old.—BUTLER, II., 19; Cf. VAUGHAN, I., 11. [2] PURVEY, REMONSTR., 144. Cf. "Yonge childre unable both of lif and kunning presen faste to be prestis."—WYCLIFFE, 166. [3] GASC., II., 527. [4] WYCLIFFE, DE APOSTASIA, 61. [5] GASC., II., 514. "A doumb prelat is an ydol."—PURVEY, PROL., 31. Cf. WYCLIFFE, SERMONS, II., 205. For scandals in Germany, Spain, &c., see HÖFLER, RUPR., 382; ALZOG, II., 928. [6] Neither prelatis, neither preestis, neither dekenis, shulden han secular officis, that is chauncerie, tresorie, prive seal, and othere siche seculer officis in the chekir.—PURVEY, REMONSTR., 2. Cf. Thoffice of the chauncellerie,
Or of the Kingés tresorie,
Ne for ne write, ne for ne taile,
To warrant may nought than availe.—
GOWER, CONF. AM., 239.

[7] Cf. the career of Bishops Spenser, Colton, Walden, and Bowet. Roger Waldby, a Yorkshireman, was Archbishop of Dublin from 1390 to 1396, where he was constantly fighting against the Irish (GRAVES, 41). He was then promoted to be Bishop of Chichester and Archbishop of York. Bishop Brantingham's pavise and brass gun were kept at Exeter.—STAFF. REG., 414. [8] HIST. DUNELM. SCRIPTORES TRES, clxii, clxxxiii. [10] RAINE, LETTERS, XIV.; GASC., II., 514. John Kemp, Archbishop of York from 1426 to 1452, never lived in his diocese, except for two or three weeks together every ten or twelve years.—*Ibid.*, 522. John Caterick, Bishop of

abroad, "recking not how rusty ben his sheep,"[1] and leaving his work to be done by some poor Irish, Scotch, or "alien"[2] bishop with a *partibus* title[3] and an imaginary flock. And so it came about that in the next generation a zealous churchman declared that he had never known a man promoted to be a bishop in the English church who "might,[4] could, or would be of any use to men's souls."

As Archbishop of York we are unable to discover any acts on the part of Scrope calling for special gratitude from the people of the North. It is true that he did not neglect to favour and advance his own kindred, and those who bore his family name had reason to bless his memory when he was gone. One of his nephews, Archdeacon Stephen Scrope, had to thank him for a "burst[5] of preferment" in the diocese of York and other means whereby he "reached him out a helping hand,"[6] and one of the very earliest of his recorded acts as Archbishop was to procure a dispensation for another of his nephews, Sir Henry Scrope, who had got himself into a difficulty by marrying a wife[7] within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. The

Lichfield, 1415-1419, was absent in remotis (*i.e.*, at the Council of Constance) all the time.—RELIQUARY, January, 1887, p. 54. Henry Chichele did not visit his diocese at St. David's till four years after his consecration. Bishop Spenser of Norwich had a suffragan, the Bishop of Smyrna.—BLOMEFIELD, II., 372.

[1] HOCCL., DE REG., 52; MORLEY, VI., 129; CLAMENGES, 17; SCHWAB, 88. [2] STAFF. REG., 308; WALCOTT, WYKEHAM, 121; KIRBY, VI. [3] For titular bishops in partibus, see WYCLIFFE, 225; ALZOG, II., 350. *e.g.*, Christopolis, Gallipoli, Hebron, Selymbria, Sultania, Nazareth, Nineveh, Nephtalym, &c., all of whom were about at this time.—STAFF. REG., 305, 308, 332; STUBBS, 145; JONES, 96; P. PLO., XVIII., 189-261. For Bishops of Ardagh, Whitherne, &c., see TEST. EBOR., III., 314; STAFF. REG., 6, 165. ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (October 25th, 1412), and PAT., 14 H. IV., 10 (January 8th, 1413), show payment of £40 per annum since March 18th, 1400, to William, Bishop of Tournai, "because he has not wherewith to maintain himself." [4] GASC., II., 537. [5] TEST. EBOR., III., 33. [6] *Ibid.*, I., 385. [7] Called Philippa, widow of Sir John de Wros (not Roos, as TEST. EBOR., III., 316), corrected to Devereux in BURTON, 274; called Deveros in ROT. PARL., III., 221, and RYM., VII., 566. She died Nov. 19th, 1406.—SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 140. She was a daughter of Sir Guy

Archbishop used his influence, and the matter was got over at a small family meeting in the manor chapel at Turnham Hall,[1] on the Ouse, below Selby (July 11th, 1398), at which the marriage was legalised and all stain removed from the children that should afterwards bear the family name.

When Richard Scrope became Archbishop of York, the Minster was still a splendid, incongruous, unsightly fragment. The vast nave, the transepts, and the chapter-house were finished as we see them now, and it had been the dream of one of his predecessors, John Thoresby, to complete the work by widening and lengthening the choir till it should equal the dimensions of the nave, and thus rival the giant church of St. Paul[2] in London. As the new walls rose, the munificence[3] of Archbishop Thoresby seemed to expand, but he only lived to see the extreme eastern portion completed, and at his death in 1372, the great Lady Chapel or Presbytery was separated from the transepts and the nave by the roofless remains of an earlier church, while in the centre stood the old Norman bell-tower, dwarfed out of knowledge by four great excrescences looking to the four cardinal points of the compass. Under his successors the work hung fire, Archbishops Nevil and Arundel being too much occupied with political intrigues. But now after thirty-six years delay, the Scropes, Percies,[4]

de Brian; her sister Elizabeth was the wife of Robert Lovell.—TEST. EBOR., III., 35; BANKS, I., 138. In DUGDALE, BARONAGE, I., 551, the wife of John, sixth Baron de Roos, is called Mary, and this agrees with his will dated February 25th, 1393, in GIBBONS, 71, and with INQ. P. MORT., III., 171, 196, proving that the two are not the same.

[1] Which then belonged to the family of Roos.—GIBBONS, 70; TEST. EBOR., II., 120; INQ. P. MORT., II., 151, 176, 319; III., 61. [2] The extreme length of Old St. Paul's was believed to be 690 feet, and the breadth 130 feet.—SIMPSON, DOC., 45; CHRON. LOND., 174. LONGMAN, 29, supposes this to have been 100 feet too long. See also SIMPSON, DOC., 192; CHAPTERS, 77; GARDINER, 591. [3] See his gifts in money amounting to over £2,600 in thirteen years, in FABR. ROLLS, XIV.; not £2,400, as WILLIS, in ARCHÆOL. INST., 1846. [4] MONAST. ANGL., VI., 1190.

Vavasours,[1] and other great northern families, were bestirring themselves to complete the work on Thoresby's plan. Already vast stores of iron, lead, glass, copper, and sand were collecting; the precinct echoed[2] with the sound of the chip-axe[3] and blocker; the staith on the Ouse known as Saint Leonard's[4] landings, was alive with schuts,[5] cog-boats,[6] crayers,[7] and lighters[8] bringing timber, lime, and stone from the forests and quarries of Stapleton,[9] Spofforth, Topcliffe, and Tadcaster. A rate was levied on the owners of property in York, fines were appropriated, gifts[10] and offerings were gathered both within and without the churches. Some paid for a carpenter,[11] others for the freightage of a shipful of stone.[12] Sometimes a workman left his bronze pulleys[13] for the new work, and there is scarcely a will of any man or woman enrolled at that time in the Registry at York which does not contain some legacy[14] for the fabric of the glorious church of St. Peter.[15] So great indeed had the obligation become, that one of Scrope's successors gave orders[16] that no priest should give absolution unless the penitent paid something towards the building fund of the church.

[1] TEST. EBOR., I., 361. [2] For builders at work on a fifteenth century church, see BARROIS, 100; BASTARD, VI., from a miniature by Jean Foucquet, temp. Louis XI., in BIBL. NAT. MS., Fr. 6891. [3] FABR. ROLLS, 207; TEST. EBOR., I., 347. For specimen, see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plate xxi., 80; SHARPE, II., 144. [4] DRAKE, App. XVI. [5] Or shouts, SHARPE, I., 440, 480, 611; II., 133, 167. [6] PROMPT. PARV., 86. [7] SHARPE, II., 233. [8] *Ibid.*, 343. [9] *i.e.*, near Knottingley. See DUC. LANC., XI., 15, 25 b., for document dated York, July 17th, 1400, exempting the Dean and Chapter of York from toll on the Aire for stone carried from quarry at at Stapleton to York for new works. [10] CONC., III., 226. [11] *i.e.*, a worker in timber, a mason, or housebuilder.—YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., p. 33. [12] FABR. ROLLS, 207; TEST. EBOR., I., 327. [13] Polys de ere.—TEST. EBOR., I., 347. [14] *Ibid.*, I., 327, 337, 342, 345, 349, 351, 353, 361, &c. [15] RAINE, YORK, 152, 155, calls St. William the patron saint of the cathedral. [16] GASC., pp. 1, 123. For similar cases of pressure, see *ibid.*, 1, 2, 11. For indulgences issued to help in the building of St. Paul's, see LONGMAN, 11. For Salisbury, see SARUM STAT. (1319), p. 49. For Lincoln,

It has not been shown that Archbishop Scrope personally gave large sums to further the work, but during the seven years of his tenure we have one record of a gift of £7 16s. od.[1] from him to pay for one cementer[2] or mason for a year. Nevertheless by every means the work went on, and by the year 1405, the roof,[3] the walls, and the outer fabric of the church were practically finished. Whether Scrope had much actually to do with the work may be doubted. A political bishop would have other things to do, and all the time that he was archbishop he had a "suffragany,"[4] William Northbridge,[5] Bishop of Pharos,[6] to ordain and confirm for him, to hallow[7] chapels, churchyards, altars, vessels, and vestments, to prove[8] wills and sign quittances, and so set him free for the pursuit of higher game as occasion offered. As Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield he had been frequently abroad, but as Archbishop of York he appears to have spent all his time in England, and a little incident throwing light on the relations between him and the citizens is found in a volume[9] of memoranda belonging to the Corporation of York. About 1403, he laid claim to the person

see GIRALD., VII., 217. For Ripon, see RIPON MEM., I., 98, 114; II., 82, 153, 164, 166. For London Guildhall, see Vol. II., p. 111, note 7. For other instances, see OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, II., 452-455; FABR. ROLLS, 237; AUNGIER, 422; MUN. ACAD., 573; WILLIS AND CLARK, II., 123, 185. By false Pardon making Men to give their needy Liflode to their Cathedral Churches that have no need.—LEWIS, 37.

[1] FABR. ROLLS, 24, which seems to be all we have to justify the praise bestowed on him for "munificence." [2] SHARPE, I., 85. [3] WILLIS, in ARCHÆOL. INST. (1846), p. 43, thinks that the choir would be roofed in 1400. [4] TEST. EBOR., III., 316, 319. A glance at FABR. ROLLS, 237-242, and TEST. EBOR., III., 325, will show that the suffragan Bishops in York often held also the little Irish see of Dromore in County Down. For commission to a suffragan Bishop for Lichfield in 1398, see OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 314. [5] STUBBS, REG., 144. [6] FABR. ROLLS, 237; BURTON, 397. [7] AUNGIER, 283; WYCLIFFE, 97; DIALOGUS, 50. In CONC., III., 343, the Bishop's fee for consecrating a church is five marks; in KNIGHTON, 2661, it is 40s. [8] WYCLIFFE, 277; SERMONS, I., 269. [9] HIST. MSS., 1ST REPT., 109.

of one William of Wistowe, as his bond-churl,[1] or naif,[2] born within his liberty, near Cawood.[3] The Archbishop may have been straining some antiquated claim[4] by which, if proved, Wistowe would have been bound to the soil and debarred from admission to the freedom of the City of York, where he had wealthy[5] and influential relations. The Mayor and others proceeded to the Archbishop's room in the Palace,[6] within the Cathedral close, to "protest personally and openly" that Wistowe was not a "bond-bore man."[7] They seem to have gained their point, for he afterwards became a monk[8] at Fountains.

When Henry landed in Yorkshire, supported by the Percies and Nevils, Archbishop Scrope raised no voice against the usurpation. On the contrary, he was a leading member of the Commission for dethroning Richard, he obtained the renunciation[9] from the fallen King personally in the Tower, read it

[1] ROT. PARL., IV., 58 b. For bondman, see P. PLO., VII., 201; IX., 42; XX., 37; XXI., 109; HIST. MSS., 11TH REPT., App. III., V. [2] For nativi (naifs, niefs, or neyfs), see GLANVIL, 37; DENTON, 15, 39; GENEAL., N. S., V., 48; STUBBS, I., 426; ROGERS, I., 69; EARWAKER, I., 44; DURHAM HALMOTE, 123, 131, 137, 185; MONTGOMERY COLL., I., 303; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., HIL., 48 a; TEST. EBOR., I., 350; CHANDLER, VIII.; PROCEEDINGS IN CHANCERY, TEMP. ELIZABETH, I., xxiii. That "neif" is not exclusively feminine (as supposed in SHARPE, II., 33) is proved by YEAR BOOK, 30 Ed. I., 201. In CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 29, February 6th, 1408, Thomas More (clerk), manumits ab omni vinculo servitutis Hugh Strok and son and daughter nativos meos manerii mei de Berlhaughe in Stradbrok, allowing them to live where they like.

> For may no cheril a chartre make ne hus catel selle
> Withoute leve of the lord no law wolde it graunte.—
>
> PIERS PLO., XIII., 61.

[3] DRAKE, 218. [4] STAT., I., 2 (1 R. II., c. 6.) [5] See the will of his aunt, Isabel, wife of Alan Hamerton, who died in 1406, and founded two chantries at York.—TEST. EBOR., II., 22. [6] For its position, see RAINE, YORK, 156. PAT., 14 H. IV., 7, January 26th, 1413, refers to an escape from the Archbishop's prison, within his palace at York. [7] ROT. PARL., IV., 57 b, 58 a. [8] In 1378, Bishop Arundel of Ely, grants a license to Laurence Lessy, his *nativus*, to take holy orders.—GIBBONS, ELY REC., 393. See also *ibid.*, 398, and DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 153. [9] ROT. PARL., III., 424. It is curious that MILMAN (V., 525) should have been so far misled by a theory as to suppose that "the two Primates (Canterbury and York) were on adverse sides in the revolution which dispossessed Richard II. of his throne."

to the Parliament at Westminster, conducted Henry to the vacant throne, and helped[1] to place the crown upon his head. When the new King was at York, in the summer of 1400,[2] the Archbishop did all he could to assist him in raising money for his expedition against the Scots, but his interest went less with Bolingbroke than with the Percies and, so far as he dared, he lent his influence to all their plots and intrigues. His elder sister, Isabel, was married to Sir Robert Plumpton, a wealthy tenant of the Percies, near Spofforth; in 1402, his brother John married Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Thomas Percy,[3] second son of the Earl of Northumberland, and from this time he must be regarded as a pronounced partisan. When the Friars were sowing disaffection and preparing the ground for rebellion, he ostentatiously displayed his sympathy with the seditious teachings of "the Prophecy" by giving emphasis to the miracles wrought at the grave of its reputed author at Bridlington.[4] When the Earl of Northumberland and his son were gathering their forces for rebellion in 1403, they relied upon the "good advice and counsel of Master Richard Scrope"; in their defiance at Shrewsbury they claimed[5] the Archbishop as having certified the justice of their cause, and had the tide of battle been reversed, there is little doubt that he would have blessed the rebel forces on their overthrow of the usurper whom he had just helped to enthrone. As it was, he left the fallen Earl to

[1] ANN., 281. See the picture (temp. Hy. VI.) in STRUTT, REGAL ANTIQ., 63, 75, from copy of FROISSART, in ROY. LIB., 18, E, 2. HOLT (p. vii.) supposes one of the figures in HARL. MS., 1319, f. 57, to be a portrait of him. [2] Vol. I., 135; RAINE, YORK, 80. [3] He died about 1388. —HODGSON, II., ii., 43; COLLINS, PEERAGE, II., 226; or 1386.—TEST. EBOR., I., 338. VINCENT, 610, shows that he was dead in 1388 (11 R. II.), from PLACITA CORAM REGE, 15 R. II., 22; ESCHEAT., 15 R. II., 2, 179, PASCH.; FINES, 15 R. II., 2. [4] ANN., 388. Two of the lines in the Prophecy were afterwards supposed to be applicable to the Archbishop's death, though one of them (POL. SONGS, I., 156) referred to the death of a certain magister hospitalariorum at Crécy. The other (if it corresponds with *ibid.*, 149) referred to the Duke of Brittany. [5] HARDYNG, 353.

his fate, and when the King came to York to accept his surrender, the Archbishop celebrated High Mass[1] with great state in the Minster, and accepted as his perquisite the customary gold noble (6s. 8d.) offered at the altar by the man whom he would gladly have seen destroyed. In the Parliament at Coventry[2] in October, 1404, he joined the Archbishop of Canterbury in protesting against the proposed confiscation of the wealth of the Church. On the 19th of March, 1405,[3] he issued his summons for the Northern Convocation to meet in the Minster at York, though succeeding events prevented the meeting from taking place till the following year. As late as Easter[4] (April 19th), 1405, he had attended a council in London, and supported the efforts of Lord Bardolph in refusing any more money grants on the old bad footing, and then on the departure of the King for Wales, he started for the North with the Earl Marshal and Lord Bardolph to "turn insurrection to religion,"[5] and try his hand at open revolt.

[1] See the curious account in FABRIC ROLLS, 191, dated Aug. 19th, 1403 (probably an error for August 10th, as given in BROWNE, 202), of the King's visit to York (August 8th to 13th; see Vol. I., 367; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B), and how the Archbishop handed the money publicly to the Dean, but afterwards privately took it for himself. For similar claim of the Bishop and Canons at Salisbury (1392), see SARUM STAT., 90. The King's daily offering in church is entered at one great penny (7d.) per day, but on fourteen special days he offered gold (*i.e.*, 6s. 8d.).—See Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. On these occasions the preacher, who was some Bachelor, Master, or Doctor in Theology, received 40s. as his fee. In 1403, the total royal oblations under all these heads, including 2d. per day to 24 poor men, and £200 given to the poor at the Maundy=£489 16s. 9d., out of a total expenditure of £22,472 19s. 3½d.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. On Palm Sunday, 1428, the King of Scotland gave 15s. to the offertory at Linlithgow.—EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 450. [2] ANN., 392. [3] CONC., III., 303. [4] HARD., 362. [5] HY. IV., Part II., I., 1, 201.

CHAPTER LI.

SHIPTON MOOR.

THE disaffected among the clergy were fully astir. The Bishop of St. Asaph, the anti-Bishop of Bangor, the Dean of Bangor, the Abbot of Welbeck, were already with the Earl of Northumberland, and the Archbishop now enrolled himself on the side of those who would parcel out the kingdom in order to advance their family interests[1] and gratify the ranklings of private revenge. Adherents of the Earl of Northumberland were sounded either by direct intercourse[2] or through the agents of the chief conspirators, and the weight of the Archbishop's name and character was used with such effect that many, who were at first approached with caution, were converted into eager partisans for the success of the conspiracy. A strong force was collected, articles were drawn up and secretly copied, and all being ready, the citizens of York were startled to find a singular document fastened to the minster doors[3] and city gates,[4] and posted about in their streets and public thoroughfares.

In this manifesto, certain persons whose names are left blank, stated that they desired reforms under various heads, and urged that all estates should be at liberty to choose representatives and send them to a Parliament which should meet in London, to consider such measures of reform as might avert impending calamities. These suggested measures were grouped in three short clauses :—

[1] EUL., III., 405. [2] ANN., 403. [3] Super monasteriorum januas.—ANN., 403. Cf. POL. SONGS, I., 292, where St. Paul's is called monasterium Pauli. RAINE, YORK, 81, translates it "every monastery and parish church." [4] EUL., III., 406.

1. A general reform of government in the direction of truth and justice, in view of the intolerable burdens thrown upon the clergy, and the wrongs done to all classes.

2. To protect from ruin the unnamed champions who were exposing themselves to risk and their property to confiscation.

3. To consider the over-legislation which was pressing down gentles, merchants, and commons alike, to punish the wilful waste of money taken from the general body of the country for the benefit of a few, and that the money thus mis-appropriated should be restored.

The framers of the manifesto then declared that they were working for the peace, prosperity, unity, and tranquillity of the kingdom, they pledged themselves to resist foreign enemies and to protect trade, and they added that, if these reforms were carried out, they had promises from the rebels in Wales that they would consent, with glad hearts,[1] to cease from rebellion and submit to English rule. They then called upon all who should read or hear to show their good will by helping forward these plans, and so save themselves, the conspirators, and the country.

The document was drawn up in English, but we have two independent translations of it into Latin, in one of which the chronicler[2] expressly says that he had seen the original. He claims to have translated it almost word for word, and to have given the naked sense without any colouring, but we could have spared his apologies if he had just given us the rudeness[3]

[1] ANN., 405, translating from the document, has cordenti et hillari. WALS., II., 423, has læto corde. [2] ANN., 405; WALS., II., 422; EUL., III., 405; CHRON. GILES, 44. [3] Cf. "rewde endytyng."—CHAUCER, ASTROLABE, 2; MERRYWEATHER, 191; LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, lxiv. "O lewde boke, with thy foule rudenesse."—CUCKOW AND NIGHTINGALE, 291, in ANGLIA, III., 258.

to the very letter. Looked at by itself, the pronouncement is an unmistakeably clever paper in spite of its barbarous style. It is a revival of the intrigues of the late reign, an attempt at a new Commission of Regency, with a fresh list of appellants or self-constituted champions of the public cause. Undoubtedly the country was overburdened, trade was insecure, and the court was extravagant, and here was a bid for popularity in reversing and revolutionizing all in favour of peace, retrenchment, and reform. But when the new champions cry out that a Parliament ought to sit to deal with grievances, we cannot forget that four months had not elapsed since the close of the Illiterate[1] Parliament at Coventry, where the knife of retrenchment had been set in deep and firm, and the simple readers of this manifesto on the church doors at York could not have known that those who claimed to speak in the name of the unity of the country and promised the speedy submission of the Welsh, would within a year put their names to a treaty for slicing England into three, and leave the Welshmen to scramble for part of the plunder.

We have extant, however, a manifesto[2] of a totally different character, which is commonly considered[3] to have been drawn up by the Archbishop, and to represent the grounds which led to his ill-fated efforts and tragic death. But the document contains no mention of the Archbishop by name except in the heading, where the whole affair is assigned to the year 1399. It cannot have been the original affixed to the church doors,

[1] HOOK, IV., 486 (following COKE, 4 INST., 48), calls it the "Lack-learning Parliament," and thinks that the lawyers were excluded "to please the lower orders." FOSS (IV., 128) thinks that "the lawyers were not favourites with the King." [2] ANGL. SACR., II., 362. FOX (I., 676) has summarized the articles from SCALA MUNDI, but he translates exaruit (exarsit?) caristia by "charity is waxed cold." The words seem to refer to the scarcity in 1401. See also KNIGHT, II., 17. [3] RAMSAY, I., 87, appears to accept it without question.

for no church door[1] would have held it, unless it had been written in so small a hand as to have been invisible without prolonged attention. It professes to be a declaration for writing and intimating grievances[2] to the whole country on the part of certain persons styling themselves Proctors and Defenders of the Commonwealth, acting with St. George's banner[3] displayed by virtue of their oaths taken at Rome and Oxford in presence of many prelates and nobles. A perusal of the contents of this lengthy tract leads to the conclusion that we have here in some form an expansion of the famous "quarrel"[4] sent to the King by the Percies on the battlefield of Shrewsbury. The two are based upon the same original and, in places, contain exactly the same language. Each is an arraignment of Henry for perjury in returning to England, imprisoning Richard, seizing the throne, imposing taxes, beheading laymen, and hanging clerks, but the present document omits[5] all interest in the fate of Mortimer, and brings down the story a little further than the battlefield of Shrewsbury, referring not only to the death of Huntingdon, Salisbury, Clarendon, and others, but recording the "quite recent *(novissime)* exhumation and insult offered to the corpse of Hotspur, and pointing to the known intentions of the King to "confound and extinguish more nobles within a little," unless his malice were checked. It is saturated with the grievances of ecclesiastics, without any mention of their crimes. The King

[1] For a facsimile of a fifteenth century poster, see COLDINGHAM CORRDCE., p. viii. The letters are a good inch long, with wide spaces between each word and line. Yet see MARTENE, COLL., VII., 826-840, for a paper fastened to the church doors in Pisa in July, 1408, extending over fourteen columns of close modern-printed folio; also the bull of Urban V., posted on the cathedral door at Avignon in 1362, which covers seven pages in ST. DENYS, IV., 534-548. The church doors were the usual resort of the anonymous lampooner. — BAYE, II., 288. [2] ANGL. SACR., II., 367. [3] GOWER, CONF. AM., 120, 223. [4] Vol. I., 358; HARD., 352. [5] Though RAPIN (III., 394) seems to include this old article in his summary, and GUTHRIE (II., 420) does the same.

had not spared the shaven crown, the holy garments, or the consecrated hands. He had approved the confirmation of the Statutes against Provisors passed in the Parliament at Winchester,[1] in 1393, whereby the Pope was debarred from that "full and free disposition of all English benefices" which he ought to have[2] from the plenitude of his power. It laments the injustice done to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,[3] because knights, esquires, and merchants choose any occupation for their sons rather than let them study for the church, and it inveighs against bishops, abbots, and priors for selling benefices to boys and uneducated persons, often their own natural sons or partners in their excesses, in return for a half or a third of the yearly income. Next follows a wail of desperation over the condition of the "unhappy and enthralled" clergy, and the "more unhappy and most wretched" people forced to be always paying under threats and penalties. Yet for all this, Wales, Ireland, and Aquitaine are lost, and the country is divided against itself. Then after all this heavy indictment, and a protest that they were not going to hurt anybody, the champions of "the Church of Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, King Richard and his heirs, the clergy, the people, and all England," compressed their intentions under three heads :—

1. They meant to raise "the just and true" heir to be King, and have him crowned ;

2. To bring Irish, Welsh, and all enemies of the country to perpetual peace ;

[1] RAPIN (III., 394) supposes this to refer to some parliament held at Winchester in Henry's reign. Yet see letter of R. II. to Pope Boniface IX. (1397), telling him that he may do as he likes with foreign benefices, but must not "dip his hand into our pot."—CONC., III., 232. In YEAR BOOK, 4 H. IV., MICH., 8, the Pope is "le Romaine Euesq'." [3] Echoing the complaint of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1399 (CONC., III., 242), against the working of the Statutes of Provisors, 25 Ed. III. and 13 R. II. (Vol. I., p. 37). See also the complaint made by the Doctors of Oxford and Cambridge, "that they could not now accept benefices by Papal Provision as they used."—STAFF. REG., 311.

3. To free the country from all exactions, extortions, and unjust payments;

and all who would help these pious schemes were promised the blessing of God, the pardon of sin, and eternal life, with curses and excommunication for those who went the other way.

Whatever conclusions may be arrived at as to the date or authorship of this manifesto, it is clear that in the three essential particulars with which it concludes, it does not correspond with the clauses of the paper which we know to have been fastened to the minster doors at York. From the mention of the "just and true heir," it is possible that it may have been put together in preparation for the Duke of York's plot to seize the King and proclaim the Earl of March in the winter of 1404, but looking to the charge of condemning bishops to death before a secular tribunal, upon which much stress is laid, and the frequent mention of the King's excommunication, which does not occur in the Shrewsbury document, it seems clear that we have here a paper composed subsequently to Scrope's death, and probably circulated in the year 1407, in preparation for the events which culminated in the disaster on Bramham Moor. The second and third clauses are the merest dream of an Arcadian simplicity, and taken in connection with the fustian and verbiage[1] with which the articles are stuffed, they lead to the belief that the tract is not the composition of a practical politician at all, but an elaborate outburst of academical indignation compiled by some disappointed student pining for preferment in the seclusion of a university.

We have yet another account of the Archbishop's reasons for demanding a reform set forward in the year after his death by the Earl of Northumberland,[2] Sir Edmund Mortimer, and

[1] It sounds a little queer to read of "the afore-mentioned Jesus Christ," &c.—ANGL. SACR., II., 363. [2] *Ibid.*, II., 369; GASCOIGNE, 229-231. COLLIER, I., 622.

Lord Bardolph, for the information of their sympathizers, in the hope of stirring them again into revolt. They tell us that the Archbishop advised the King to repent and make satisfaction for his perjury in forcing Richard to resign his crown, but the advice (if really given) must have sounded strange in the mouth of one of the leading Commissioners who had received the crown from the captive King, and sealed the renunciation deed with the sanction of the Parliament. They tell us that the Archbishop now wished the crown to be restored to the right line, that lords should be tried by their peers, that taxes should be lightened, and that "certain wise men" should be appointed to take the place of greedy foreigners and hungry adventurers who would say anything to please the King, that sheriffs should be elected without the pressure of official interference, and that all estates should be free to speak their mind in Parliament. But in all this there is nothing new. Every adherent of the Percies at Shrewsbury was pledged to the same vague cry. It only proves that the Archbishop's sympathies were now set against the King, that he threw himself into the conflict this time without disguise, and, as he said, "rode with the crowd."[1]

When the articles appeared on the church doors, he donned his jack[2] and went amongst the citizens of York crozier in hand, cheering, exhorting, and threatening. All who should fall in the sacred cause were assured of pardon for their sins and full remission. The minster pulpit echoed to the battle call. The Archbishop preached for the articles. Let the people insist that Parliaments should be free, that the members should be the elected representatives of the boroughs and counties, not the nominees of the King. Let those who knew the law[3] be summoned "in their wisdom," and let the Parliament be held

[1] GASC., 226. [2] ANN., 405. [3] Referring to the exclusion of lawyers at Coventry.—EUL., III., 406.

in London, where abuses could be probed, not in some petty upland town, where the court could carry all its own way. Copies of the articles were sent also to the curates[1] of the neighbouring villages, with orders to have them preached there likewise. Seeing the gathering without and the enthusiasm within the walls, the waverers were silenced and all York declared for the articles. The Archbishop, the Earl Marshal, and Sir William Plumpton[2] (a nephew of the Archbishop's), who had long been busy fomenting disturbance,[3] put themselves at the head of a motley following of priests, monks, peasants, and townsmen, and set out to try their fortunes in the field.

The "priestly rout"[4] was furnished with such arms as they could get. Before them went a banner[5] with the five sacred wounds displayed, and as they moved along their numbers swelled to 8,000 fighting-men[6] "or thereabouts." No time was to be lost. It was known that the Earl of Westmoreland had escaped the snare, and that he and Prince John were moving a strong force down from the Scottish border. A band of 7,000 or 8,000 rebels[7] was collecting from Cleveland, Northallerton, and Topcliffe, to join the Archbishop's force from York. Their leaders were all North Yorkshire knights, viz.:—Sir Ralph Hastings,[8] of Slingsby and Allerston, near Pickering; Sir John Fauconberg, a member of a house that

[1] CHRON. GILES, 44. For "curatour," a general name for parson or parish priest, see P. PLO., XXII., 412; XXIII., 280, 326; WYCLIFFE, 143, 509. [2] BALE, 533, and HALLE, wrongly name him Robert Plymton. [3] POL. VERG., XXI., p. 554, in PLUMPTON CORRDCE., p. xxiv. [4] Turbæ pontificali.—WALS., II., 269; ANN., 405; EUL., III., 406. Cf. HIST. DUNELM. SCRIPT. TRES, CLXXXV., for the muster on Gilesgate Moor, near Durham, March 24th, 1400, where 64 parsons turned out, each with a little handful of hobblers, lances, and archers. [5] DRAKE, 107, 439; WILLS OF KINGS, 146. [6] DRAKE, App. xcviii. [7] ROT. PARL., III., 604. [8] HARD., 363. He had also, through his mother, estates in Beverley and Holderness.—INQ. P. MORT., III., 310; COLLINS, VI., 648; PAT., 7 H. IV., I., 36; *ibidem*, 2, 32.

had great estates in Cleveland and Holderness,[1] and heir to the castle of Skelton, as descended from the historic Yorkshire family of Bruce;[2] Sir John Fitzrandolph,[3] from Spennithorne, near Middleham, in Wensleydale; and Sir John Colvil,[4] of Daletown, in Ryedale, and Arncliffe, near Stokesley, where a fragment of the new Charthouse[5] of Mount Grace of Ingleby still shows the Archbishop's arms worked in stone over the entrance to one of the cells in a corner of the cloisters. Robert Takell,[6] Prior of Warter, near Pocklington, joined the muster with his canons and his tenants, as did Geoffrey Wymeswold,[7] Prior of the Gilbertines at Old Malton. Takell is called in the register of his priory a "good and religious man,"[8] but no mention is

[1] "Ffaucumbergge."—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 15; or Fauconbridge.—ROT. VIAG., 17, shows that DUGDALE (II., 4) is more correct than was supposed by the writer in NOTES AND QUERIES (Ser. I., VIII., 156). For Sir Thomas Fauconberg, an idiot, see CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 16, December 24th, 1406. For will of Sir Walter Fauconberg, dated Snaith, August 23rd, 1415, see GIBBONS, 120. [2] RYM., VIII., 573. [3] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 15, records that he rose against the King on May 1st, 1405.—INQ. AD QUOD DAMN., 355; ROT. PARL., III., 604; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 15. ROT. VIAG., 17, has "Ffithrandolf." The name appears in HARD., 363 (followed by RAMSAY, I., 92), as Ruthyn or Griffith. See also HALLE, 25, and PENNANT, I., 371 (followed by THOMAS, 134), who assumes that he was a Welshman. [4] PAT., 7 H. IV.. 1, 33 d.; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 14; KIRKBY, 98; USK, 62; ORD, 457; FOSTER, 164, 200. "Colevile of the Dale."—Hy. IV., Part II., 4, 3, 3. For his mother's will, see TEST. EBOR., I., 135. She was a daughter of Sir John Fauconberg. [5] ORD, 462. The Priory was founded iu 1397, by Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, whose headless body was brought there from Cirencester for burial (WILLS OF KINGS, 196) through the good offices of Lucy, his brother's widow, July 11th, 1412.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 12; PRIV. SEAL, 655/7269 (where Cirencester is called Surcetre). After his death, the progress of the building hung fire, the Prior fearing the "malignity and indisposition of the time," many claimants being ready to snap up any forfeited estates. The work was resumed in 1440, and forms the most modern of the purely monastic foundations in the country.—MONAST., VI., 24; LEFROY, 48. For the "Chartress" in London, see SHARPE, II., 170, 178, 228. [6] See his pardon, dated August 10th, 1405, in PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 2; also for John Elton, Canon of Warter. [7] Spelt Wymmideswold in PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 10. In CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 28, October 23rd, 1408, William Wymeswold is attorney for Margaret, wife of the late Stephen le Scrop, Lord of Masham, the Archbishop's brother. In NICOLAS, AGINCOURT, 13, William Wymundeswold appears in the retinue of the Earl of Huntingdon. [8] MONAST., VI., 299.

made of his fighting instincts. He was one of those who ran away and managed to survive the disaster, together with quite a flock of chaplains,[1] clerks, curates, and friars, including Simon Wenslaw,[2] parson of Colne, in the hills of Lancashire.

The Cleveland force marched southward towards York, supporting themselves as best they might by robbing,[3] wrecking, and slaughtering wherever their requisitions were refused. But haste again made waste. They had been forced prematurely into the field and had to halt at Topcliffe, on the Swale, to await the expected arrival of the Earl of Northumberland.[4] Here they were attacked and dispersed, and the four knights fell prisoners into the hands of the royal troops.

The Earl of Westmoreland had marched southward with the utmost speed to check the head of the rising, and by a rapid move had wedged himself between the two rebel forces, ready to strike at both before they could combine. He had with him Prince John, who was placed under his charge, and he was supported by an old and experienced negociator, Sir Ralph Ewere,[5] of Witton, and the Archbishop's fiery nephew,[6] Sir Henry Fitzhugh, Lord of Ravenswath, near Richmond, a "very noble and very valiant knight,"[7] whose great after-career

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 23. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 6, dated August 11th, 1405, records his fine (100s.) and pardon. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 604. [4] HARD., 362. [5] For an account of him, see SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, II., 315. He had property at Old Malton through his marriage with Catharine Ayton.—TEST. EBOR., III, 222. In PAT., 12 H. IV., 3, 12 (1411), he is Lieutenant of the Constable of England. [6] His mother was Joan, the Archbishop's sister. In the will of Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, he is called "consanguineo meo" (TEST. EBOR., I., 277), and he was supervisor of the will of his son, Roger Scrope, Lord of Bolton.—*Ibid.*, I., 330. He was born in 1364.—WHITAKER, RICHMONDSHIRE, I., 124; PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 14 d. He is called Lord Fitzhugh in his wife's will, dated September 27th, 1427.—ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 353; WILLS AND INV., I., 74; WHITAKER, I., 126. He died January 11th, 1425, and was buried at Jervaulx. For his will dated December 27th, 1424, see DUGDALE, I., 404. His third son, Robert, was a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, in 1400, and became Bishop of London in 1431.—BOASE, EXON., 14; GODWIN, I., 188. [7] GALE, App. 59; WHITAKER, I., 125, from a family history (temp. H. VI).

showed him "so much endowed with sense, nurture, and courtesy, that he deserved the right to be claimed father of nobility and gentleness." With them was also Sir Robert Umfraville,[1] famed for his "sapience and very gentleness, his liberal heart and knightly governance,"[2] though these great qualities did not save them from committing an act of the basest treachery when the chance fell in their way.

The Earl of Westmoreland had planted his force on the sloping ground[3] called Shipton Moor,[4] about six miles to the north-west of York, on the fringe of the wooded and boggy plain known as the Royal Forest[5] of Galtres.[6] The Earl had long been officially responsible[7] for the charge of the forest, which stretched northwards between the Ouse and the Foss, from the gates of York to Aldborough and Sheriff Hutton,[8] where he had lately strengthened the fortifications of Bertram de Bulmer's castle. The greater part of the wood had been felled,[9] the colliers were busy stubbing[10] up the stovens[11] and

[1] OTT., 255. [2] HARD., Pref., xi. [3] In declivo quasi montis loco.—ANN., 405. *i.e.*, possibly the Cross Lanes just beyond the sixth milestone on the highroad from York to Easingwold. [4] "Apud Schaptonmore," or "Shupton-sur-le-more." — ROT. PARL., III., 605; RYM., VIII., 545; GENEAL., III., 109. "Yorkesmore."—HARD., 362. "Yorkeswolde."—HALLE, 25. [5] OLD YORKSHIRE, 2nd Ser., 164. For "forest," *i.e.*, a preserve for game, but not necessarily wooded, see DENTON, 169. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 20, where Sir John Elton is appointed Steward of the Forest of Galtrise for life, *vice* Sir Thomas Coleville, defunctus. Cf. Galterys.—TEST. EBOR., III., 63; Gauters.—OTT., 256; Galtrys.—FABR. ROLLS, 5; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 15 d. "That wode that hatte Caltres an Englische."—TREVISA, in HIGDEN, II., 67. See also DENTON, 137. For "Gaultree forest," see Hy. IV., Part II., 4, 1, 2. [7] Vol. I., p. 27; REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 5, 1408; also *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., MICH., November 26th, 1408. [8] CAMDEN, 589. [9] HIGDEN, II., 69. "Whereof four miles or more was low medowes and morisch ground ful of carres, the Residew by better ground but not very high."—LEL. ITIN., I., 57. [10] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 63[t] (April 1st, 1404), has order forbidding Roger Leche to have any "stubbes" of wood for fuel. Cf. un tiele cheisne appellé stubbe.—*Ibid.*, XI., 14, 65; CATHOL., 369. [11] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 12 (January 28th, 1408), grants to William Meryng all dead roots called "stovenes," in our forest of Galtresse, jam succisos et succidend.; he may dig and make them *in carbones*, and carry them away, see HALLIWELL, S.V.; BOSWORTH, S.V. stofn.

carting them away for "coals,"[1] the wolves[2] and wild boars had become extinct, and the swampy wilderness that had long been the terror of travellers,[3] was already transformed into rich grass land, or assarted[4] to tilth[5] and earing.[6]

The Earl had already sent a detachment to deal with the gathering at Topcliffe when he saw the Archbishop's force advancing from the walls of York. He had the best of the ground but the worst of the numbers, and both sides seemed to shrink from beginning the fray. For three days[7] the two bands confronted each other with banners spread. At length, on May 29th,[8] the Earl sent to ask the reason for such show of war. The Archbishop replied that he was working, not for war, but for general peace, but that he could not approach the King in safety unless he came munited[9] with men. He handed to the messenger a scroll of the articles[10] and bade him show them to those who sent him.

It seemed as though for the moment the fortunes of the dynasty were in the hands of the Earl of Westmoreland.[11] A borderer, a Nevil, a kinsman of the Percies, lord[12] in his own

[1] For "colyers that bryngeth colys (*i.e.*, charcoal) to town," see RICART, 84; LIB. ALB., I., XXXV.; PROMPT. PARV., 87. For Robert Doyly, of Coventry, "colyere," see PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 10. [2] MARTENE, ANEC., II., 1248. For the disappearance of wolves from North Yorkshire, see MONAST., VI., 614: DRAKE, 332; DENTON, 162; P. PLO., X., 226. On Jan. 23rd, 1410, five large wolves were killed in the Pope's gardens at Rome.—PETRI, 1023. [3] NORTH, 101; RAINE, YORK, 183, 200. [4] For assartum, see WRIGHT, COURTHAND, 7; DENTON, I., 138; DUCANGE, S.V. [5] GOWER, CONF. AM., 239, 268. [6] *Ibidem*, 231. [7] ANN., 407. [8] ROT. PARL., III., 605. [9] WALS., II., 269; STOW, CHRON., 332. [10] TRUSSEL, 85. [11] He was created Earl, September 29th, 1397.—NICOLAS, II., 685; DOYLE, III., 630. [12] For account of his manors, see SWALLOW, 45. His brother, Thomas Nevil, was Lord of Annandale and the castle of Lochmaben, while his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Gray, of Heton, was Lord of Wark Castle, near Carham, on the Tweed (p. 59).—SWALLOW, Table II.; RAINE, N. DURHAM, 327. Wark was "the only chief succour, relief, and defence of all the quarter of the border of England between the Tweed and the Till."—SURVEY OF 1543, in HODGSON, III., 2, 179. For account of Wark, see BATES, ARCHÆOL. ÆLIAN., XIV., 331.

right of the great castles of Brancepeth, Raby,[1] Penrith, Sheriff Hutton, and Middleham,[2] and charged for the time being with the custody of Richmond, Roxburgh,[3] and Carlisle,[4] he might have lowered his standard and taken his troops over, carrying the young Prince a captive into the rebel camp. But family hatreds[5] were the King's salvation, and Ralph Nevil again stood firm to the side which the Percies abandoned. To the messenger he professed to be much struck with the Archbishop's "pious and sacred" proposal, and urged a conference that he might learn more of the suggested plans of reform. The leaders should meet on open ground in front of their forces with a few attendants only at their side. The Earl Marshal, who had a special grudge[6] against the Earl of Westmoreland, was suspicious, but the Archbishop would not mistrust his old friend and neighbour. Base treachery could not be hinted against such worthy and righteous knights; and so the Earl Marshal's young scruples were overcome, the Archbishop put on his iron corslet, and the two advanced to the selected ground attended

[1] For Raby, see LEL. ITIN., I., 72; GROSE. Vol. I.; STATELY HOMES, I., 242. It was built by the Earl's father, John Nevil (died October 17th, 1389, SURTEES, IV., 159), who married (circ. 1334) Maud, daughter of Henry Percy, second Lord of Alnwick.—COLLINS, II., 245. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 1, contains grants to him in Coverdale, dated February 25th, 1405. [3] ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 5th, 1408. Granted to him for ten years from March 16th, 1402 (ROT. SCOT., II., 161). On November 12th, 1408, the custody of Roxburgh for the remainder of the term was granted to his eldest son, Sir John Nevil, with a further extension of four years (*ibid.*, II., 189, 190; DEVON, 310). [4] His name is on the town bell at Carlisle. There is still preserved at Carlisle a letter dated by him from Sheriff Hutton, September 18th, to the Mayor, asking for immediate prepayment of "our ferme" of £80, by bearer, Sir Richard Drax; also sundry acquittances, dated 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13 H. IV.—CUMB. AND WEST. ANTIQ. SOC., VII., 242. In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 5th, 1408, he has the farm of the towns of Appleby and Carlisle, and marriage of the heir of Miles Stapleton. [5] For feud between Earls of Northumberland and Westmorcland, see ANN., 400. Odium et ingratitudinem in se et suos sæpius expertus fuerat. Something may be due, perhaps, to the influence of his wife, Joan Beaufort, who was half-sister to the King. [6] ANGL. SACR., II., 370.

by Sir William Plumpton, Sir William Lamplugh,[1] a Cumberland knight,[2] and Sir Robert Pershay or Percy,[3] of Ryton, near Pickering. The Earl of Westmoreland was awaiting them with Prince John and Sir Ralph Ewere. On each side there was as equal number of armed attendants, while the armies stood off at a distance and "waited the end."

The little company met and bowed and ordered the articles to be read. They were piously and justly framed, said the Earl of Westmoreland, and no sane man could help but support them. For himself, he would do his utmost to secure their carrying out, and induce the King to accept them if he could. Then followed hand-shaking, congratulations, and chat. "But look," said the Earl, "now that our task is done and you have talked us over, let us drink together in the open that all may see that we are friendly and agreed." The cups were set and

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 604; HARD., 363; ANN., 406. EUL., III., 406, has unus miles de eorum consilio principalis. Not *John*, as RAINE, YORK, 82. [2] See DUGDALE'S Visitation, 1665, in NICHOLSON AND BURN, CUMBERLAND, II., 37; HUTCHINSON, II., 95; also HARL. SOC., VII., 26, from Visitation of 1615. Though the name occurs in FLOWER'S VISITATION OF YORKSHIRE (1564), HARL. SOC., XVI., 181. [3] INQ. P. MORT., III., 179; IV., 464; TEST. EBOR., I., 54, 334; HARL. SOC., XVI., 238. FOR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., refers to Potto near Stokesley, and Kirby Misperton near Pickering, as lately belonging to Sir Robert, son and heir of Sir William Percy. He also possessed Levisham and Wrelton, near Pickering.—CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 36. See FOSTER, YORKS. VISITATION, 186. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 68[1], has order (dated June 28th, 1405) allowing Robert Percy, bachelor, to cut 50 acres of his own wood in the forest of Pickering. Sir Robert Pershay was imprisoned in Windsor Castle from September 30th, 1405, to May 21st, 1406.—ROGERS, III., 675. His pardon is dated February 17th, 1406, in PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 8; 10 H. IV., 1., 27; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 36. In 1406, he was one of the Collectors for the North Riding (PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV.), and had recovered his old office of Forester of Pickering Lythe.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 30; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 34. He died February, 1426.—TEST. EBOR., I., 412; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 109 (5 H. VI.). DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 70[III], 78[III], has appointment of William, Lord de Roos, to be Constable of Pickering Castle and Master Forester of Pickering Forest.

the little drinking-party began. Sir Henry Fitzhugh[1] was sent over to the rebel army announcing that the leaders were in agreement, and that all cause for hostile feeling was removed. It was the Archbishop's wish that they should not await his return, as he would sup with the Earl of Westmoreland that night. Knowing that the leaders had fraternized together, though they could not actually see them owing to a slight rise[2] in the intervening ground, and feeling already the inconvenience of a three nights' absence from their homes, many of the York men slipped away in groups to resume their ordinary occupations. Many also of those who had been brought up from the Midlands and the Eastern counties by the Earl Marshal had joined the expedition with much reluctance;[3] few only were left to watch over the safety of their leaders; "as the Bishop's men voided the other party increased";[4] and so, when the rank and file began to mix, these few were speedily disarmed, and the Archbishop, the Earl Marshal, and the three knights submitted helplessly to be detained, under a promise of future indemnity after conference with the King.

The many improbabilities in the accounts given in contemporary writers were first insisted upon by Guthrie.[5] He preferred the view[6] which lays stress upon the fact, that the Archbishop and his party surrendered of their own accord,

[1] There is a gap for the name in ANN., 407, but Fitzhugh seems to fit the case: Dominus —— consanguineus Præsulis. WALS., II., 270, has miles emittitur de parte præsulis. EUL., III., 406, has quidam miles suus, *i.e.*, of the party of the Earl of Westmoreland. In CHRON. GILES, 45, he is miles quidam. [2] Terræ tumor mirabilis (EUL., III., 406) = "a litille hill," —CHRON. R. II.,—Hy. VI., 32. Possibly the slight rise on which the present village of Shipton stands, but I am convinced from an examination of the ground, that none of these writers could have seen the locality. [3] Pluseurs malgre leur. —ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 264. [4] CAPGR., 290. [5] GUTHRIE, II., 421. [6] Which he quotes from HOLINSHEAD as "Ayton, another old author." This appears to be really a reference to OTTERBOURNE, known in Holinshead's day as the Eton Chronicle. Quem olim in Bibliothecâ Etonensi asservatum fuisse testis est R. Hollingshead.—HEARNE, Pref. to OTTERBOURNE, xxxii.

being convinced that further resistance was hopeless. This is quite consistent with the other portion of the account given above, if we remember that the Archbishop was probably now, for the first time, made aware of the capture of his friends at Topcliffe, and was offered his life if he would submit. Nevertheless, the story of the treachery is too well authenticated to be dismissed altogether. In the official statement in which Pope Gregory XII.[1] attempted three years afterwards to excuse King Henry for his share in the matter, it was represented that a battle took place in which the Archbishop was captured, though Henry, not being there, did not know what was going on.

The dogs being thus withdrawn, the silly sheep who remained were pursued and worried; some of the rustics were caught and heavily beaten, the rest "scaled and fled."[2] The Grey Friars had not learnt wisdom from their taste of the fruits of sedition three years before. Many of them were again with the rebels. Eighteen were caught by the irreverent royalists, who stripped off their gowns, took down their "infirmities,"[3] and so let them[4] run away home. The Archbishop, the Earl Marshal, and the knights, were then hurried off under guard to Pontefract castle, to await the daily-expected arrival of the King; while the Earl of Westmoreland and Prince John returned to Durham[5] with their forces, in readiness for the attack of the Earl of Northumberland.

[1] See the bull dated Lucca, April 12th, 1408, in DRAKE, App. xcviii. In the copy in RAYNALDI, V., 291, the passage reads præparato (not perpetrato) prælio. [2] HOLINSHEAD, 530. [3] Femoralia detrahebant.—EUL., III., 407. See PROMPT. PARV., s.v., "Breche," and DU CANGE, s.v., "Infirmitates." For descriptions and pictures, see CHAUCER, 12882, 13788; STRUTT, DRESS AND HABITS, I., 38, 65; also FOSBROOKE, 377. See extract from rule in MONASTICON, VI., 1504, from which it appears that they were to be clad in "mean habits," but they may "blessedly mend them with sacks and other pieces." [4] Cf. ST. DENYS, IV., 378: victis cum camisiis solum redire concessum;—of the fighting round Paris in 1410.

> But only with her body bare,
> They fledde as doth the wilde hare.–GOWER, CONF. AM., 387.

[5] VESP. F., VII., 95, in PINKERTON, I., 82.

CHAPTER LII.

CLEMENTHORPE.

WE have seen that the King had already decided that no glory was to be gained by hanging about the bleak borders of Wales. He had scented the battle in the North, his old spirit was awake, and he moved straight from Worcester by forced marches from day to day *(de jour en autre)*. By May 28th, 1405,[1] he had reached Derby, whence he posted orders to the members of the council in London to come instantly north to Pontefract, each with his best array according to his station, for advice and help. From May 30th[2] to June 1st he halted[3] at Nottingham. It was found that in consequence of the failure of the rebellion at York, a general scramble was going forward to secure a share of confiscated property in Yorkshire, Lincoln, and Nottinghamshire. Measures were therefore taken to prevent looting, and orders were sent (May 31st[4]) to the Sheriff at York to seize all the property[5] of the Archbishop and the other rebels into his hands, in the King's name. Sir Ralph Rocheford,[6] Sheriff of Lincolnshire, and Sir Richard Stanhope,[7] Sheriff of Nottingham and Derby, had accompanied the King from Hereford and Worcester, and did good service now in their respective counties.

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 264. [2] ROT. VIAG., 19. [3] PAT. 6 H. IV., I., 20; *ibid.*, 2, 19. [4] ROT. VIAG., 19. [5] RICHARDSON (in GODWIN, II., 270) quotes FIN., 6 H. IV., 9, for statement that the Archbishop's *castles* were seized. It should be *chattels*, catalla.—RYM., 8, 442. [6] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 20th, 1405, Feb. 9th, 1406. In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., January 20th, 1408, he is late Sheriff of Lincoln. In 1403, is a reference to John (*sic*) Rochfort, late vic. Linc.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A. In *ibid.*, XI., 15, 28, John Rocheford, "our very dear bachelor," is appointed Steward of the lordship of Bolingbroke, November 22nd, 1399. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 28, 39. *Ibid.*, m. 23, records the services of Simon Horne, of Daventry.

On June 2nd, 1405,[1] the King was at Doncaster, and the next day, June 3rd,[2] he arrived at Pontefract. The Archbishop was standing alone[3] on one of the castle towers, watching for his approach. As the head of the company drew near, he took his crozier and went down to the court-yard by the entrance gate. Having no friend with him he beckoned to a priest in the court and called on him to be his crozer,[4] and the two advanced to the gateway ready for the arrival of the King. Sir Thomas Beaufort, who was standing by, told him that a traitor was unworthy to carry the "crouch,"[5] and bade him in the King's name to give it up, snatching it at the same time from the hands of the priest. The Archbishop turned on him and wrenched it violently back, crying out with warmth that the King had no right to take away what the Pope alone could bestow. Then followed a stiff tussle in which the Archbishop got some ugly handling,[6] and the crozier was roughly wrested from his grasp.

When the King drew near, the Archbishop threw himself upon the ground and begged for pardon, but Henry ordered him back and refused[7] all interviews till he should be able to consult with his council. His rage was at a white heat. He stormed against the citizens of York, and vowed that he would wipe them off the face of the earth, if they resisted further. He sent forward Sir John Stanley and Sir Roger Leche[8] of

[1] RYM., VIII., 397; ROT. SCOT., II., 174. [2] RYM., VIII., 398; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, dated Pomfret, June 4th, 1405. [3] WALS., II., 423. For view of Pontefract Castle, see KNIGHT, II., 8. [4] PIERS PLO., VI., 113; PROMPT. PARV., and CATHOL., s.v.; TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 68. [5] COV. MYST., 355; PIERS PLO., p. 214n.; HIGDEN, VII., 473; ARCHÆOL., LI., 365; LII., 214; RELIQUARY, IV., 158. "Ony crosse or crouche."—HOCCL., DE REG., 25. "The Bisshopes croce or 'croice' with the hoked ende."—P. PLO., XI., 58, 92. [6] Præsulis indignas dehonestationes et malas tractationes.—ANN., 408. [7] Et interdicitur mox audientia.—POL. SONGS, II., 115. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 162; II., 88; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 10 d; RETURN PARL., I., 262, 268; TAYLOR, 93; LYSONS, V., CXXXIV.,

Chatsworth with commissions to seize[1] upon York and occupy it under martial law. On the 4th of June,[2] a strong commission was appointed, of whom Sir Thomas Beaufort, Richard Lord Grey of Codnor, Chief Justice Gascoigne, Sir John Stanley, Sir William Fulthorpe, Richard Norton, John Conyers, and Gilbert Elvet were the chief, to try all persons concerned in the rebellion. On the same day, orders[3] were issued to Prince John and the Earl of Westmoreland to seize all property belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, Sir William Stanley,[4] the elder brother of Sir John Stanley, being sent with a small force to the Isle of Man to take possession of it in the King's name. Prince John was likewise authorized to pardon[5] where he should see fit, reserving all forfeitures to be dealt with subsequently by the

147; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., PASCH., 65 a; LAPPENBERG, II., 40 (1403). In 1403, he was an esquire of the King's Household (Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}^{8}$, App. B), and had custody and marriage of Richard, son of Sir Richard Vernon, of Shipbrook, near Northwich, who had been executed after the battle of Shrewsbury.—Vol. I., p. 364; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A. In July, 1404, he was Controller of the King's Household, a member of the council, and a commissioner to negociate with the Scots at Pontefract.—RYM., VIII., 363, 364; ROT. SCOT., II., 167, 172 a. On May 24th, 1405, he was appointed Steward of Tutbury.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 14[III]; XXV., A. 20. On August 14th, 1405, he had a grant of six oaks from the woods of Whitewood, to build a chapel at Hayfield near Glossop, in the Peak.—*Ibid.*, XI., 16, 46. In 1407, he is Constable of Flint Castle, and Sheriff and Raglor of the county (TAYLOR, 64, 93), and in 1408, he is Forester of Macclesfield.—DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 284. In 1413, he appears as one of the two Chief Stewards of the Duchy of Lancaster.—*Ibid.*, XXVIII., 4, 8. He died before July 21st, 1417.—WILLS OF KINGS, 237.

[1] RYM., VIII., 398. FOR. ACCTS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., has account of Stanley, Leech, and William Frost for twelve months from June 3rd, 1405. PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV., YORK, refers to them as nuper custodes civitatis Ebor. ROT. VIAG., 15, has Frost's appointment as deputy, dated July 22nd, 1405. PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 10, appoints him custos, August 24th, 1405. For a letter from him as G. (*i.e.* gouvernour) de la citée de Euerwyk addressed to the King and dated December 13th (1405), see ROY. LET., BOX 15, in Public Record Office. [2] ROT. VIAG., 19. [3] RYM., VIII., 399. [4] *Ibid.*, 398 (June 11th, 1405). For indenture dated May 23rd, 1402 (? 1401), whereby he and Sir J. Pull were to serve Henry Percy at sea for fourteen days, see DEP. KEEP., 36TH REPT., 379. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 21.

King. Having forwarded these arrangements Henry left Pontefract with all his forces, and on the 6th of June, 1405,[1] he planted his foot in the Archbishop's manor at Bishopthorpe, on the Ouse, three miles to the south of York. Here, as the Constable and Marshal had their hands full in the extreme North, and might possibly be cut off from communication with head-quarters, he appointed the Earl of Arundel and Sir Thomas Beaufort as their deputies,[2] to fulfil all requisite duties for the temporary emergency, and having thus made his preparations he stood ready to deal his blows at the heart and life of the conspiracy.

Already a panic had seized upon the citizens of York. They dressed themselves in rags and streamed out from the gates ungirt and barefoot,[3] some holding out their swords, others with ropes in their hands, or halters round their necks, louting and flinging themselves upon the ground with sobs and cries, to beg the King's pardon and grace. He railed upon them and told them to get back to their homes, and that no man was to say anything was his own, till he had made up his mind what he meant to do; and he sent to Pontefract for the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal that the dupes whom they had pushed into rebellion might see them meet their doom. On the day on which he arrived at Bishopthorpe, a fresh[4] commission was issued containing the same leading names as those of June 4th, with the exception of Richard Norton, whose place was taken by Henry Retford. It may be that differences had already begun

[1] RYM., VIII., 400. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 19, shows that he was at Bishopthorpe on June 7th, 1405. [2] A similar arrangement had been made in the previous winter by the Parliament at Coventry, when the Earl of Somerset and Sir Thomas Erpingham had been appointed to "do all the duties" of constable and marshal respectively.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 30. Cf. also Sir William Lisle, deputy marshal in 1409.—RYM., VIII., 603. [3] CHRON. R. II.,—H. VI., p. 32, translating discalceati discincti (EUL., III., 407). CAPGR., 290. [4] ROT. VIAG., 19.

to develop themselves among the first Commissioners, and the names of the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the Lords Willoughby, Grey of Ruthin, Roos, and Darcy were now added to the list.

Very early in the morning of Monday, June 8th, 1405,[1] before the King had left his bed, he was surprised by the arrival of an unexpected visitor. Archbishop Arundel had hastened[2] to the North on hearing the news of the great capture. On the 7th of June, when well on his way, tidings reached him that Archbishop Scrope and the Earl Marshal were to die the next day. He was still two days journey from York, and it was Whitsunday. Nevertheless he crowded his devotions into one private mass, took with him a notary, and posted right on. Snatching short moments to throw themselves on the straw in the wayside stables, as they halted to bait their jaded horses, and riding on through the night, they reached Bishopthorpe at sunrise on Monday morning, and the Archbishop, all travel-stained[3] and besmuttered[4] from the dusty road, made his way into the King's sleeping room. He warned him earnestly of the danger he would run, the sin he would commit, and the punishment he would incur, if he laid a hand on an Archbishop's life. Fearing the effect that his passionate pleading might have upon the King, some of those present in the room remonstrated that they would not answer for the consequences if the rebel Archbishop were allowed to live, and they hinted significantly that there were other enemies of the King still in

[1] In crastino Pentecostes.—WALS., II., 270. The day of the execution is fixed also in the epitaph of Sir William Plumpton:—Penticostes me lux crastina sumpsit ab orbe.—SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 130. In CAREW MSS., 441, it is wrongly placed on June 4th. [2] On May 6th, 1405, he had been at St. Paul's at the benediction of Thomas Hunden, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.—SCRIPTORES DECEM, 2290; ELMHAM, HIST. MON. AUG., 71, 289. [3] "Stained with travel."—Hy. IV., Part II., 5, 5, 24. For "travel-tainted," see *ibid.*, 4, 3, 36. [4] CHAUCER, PROL., 76; JAMIESON, S.V. See "is motted" in HIGDEN, I., 359; IX., GLOSSARY, 13.

the field,[1] and not so far off, who would give him trouble yet, if he set so little value on the support of his loyal counsellors and friends. Archbishop Arundel then made his last appeal to the King. As his spiritual father and the second person in the realm, he claimed the right to be consulted. "If he has done such wrong, leave him to the judgment of the Pope, or at least of the Parliament, but at your peril smirch not your hands with his blood."

The King was in a dilemma. He could not gainsay the Archbishop, and he dared not flinch from his resolve in the presence of his courtiers. He was now more self-possessed. He soothed the Archbishop, told him that his efforts quite had his sympathy, but that he could not openly grant his request because[2] of its possible effect upon his supporters. He urged him to lie down for awhile and rest, and then, after hearing mass, they would talk it over together at breakfast, and he promised that nothing should be done without a distinct order from himself. Arundel was satisfied, he turned to his notary to write down the King's engagement, and betook himself to rest.

Pressed by the party of action the King sent straightway for Chief Justice Gascoigne, and called upon him to pass the death sentence on the Archbishop and his associates as traitors. As to Sir William Plumpton there would be no hesitation. He was known to have excited the men of Durham[3] and Yorkshire to insurrection. He had been a personal friend of King Richard. His doom was sealed and he would be sentenced to die. But beyond this the Chief Justice refused to go, alleging that neither the King nor any of his subjects could legally pass sentence upon a Bishop of the Church.

[1] DRAKE, App. xcviii.; RAYNALDI, v., 291. [2] EUL., III., 407. STUBBS (III., 51), the latest apologist for Archbishop Scrope, attributes Henry's conduct to "personal enmity or jealousy," but we know from the admission of the Pope, that there was no personal enmity in the case, but that the King had always treated the Archbishop "with special honour and reverence."—RAYNALDI, v., 291. [3] POL. VERG., 435.

The story of this famous refusal comes to us on the authority[1] of an eye-witness, Sir Thomas Cumberworth,[2] of Somerby,[3] near Brigg, in the Lincolnshire Wolds, whose nephew, Sir Robert Constable,[4] of Flamborough, afterwards married Judge Gascoigne's daughter Agnes. It proves not only the courage[5] and independence of the Judge, but also his prudence and his intimate knowledge of the King's character. He knew that he was ruled by impulse, which must in due course burn itself out, when remorse would seize upon him and find vent upon his instruments in this wanton and impolitic outrage. The Judge's legal scruples were undoubtedly well grounded. Seventeen years before, in 1388, an Archbishop of York, Alexander Nevil, uncle to the Earl of Westmoreland, had got himself into similar trouble by meddling in a political intrigue, and had been duly declared to be guilty of treason. But though his companions were condemned to be drawn and hanged, yet the Parliament hesitated to take his life, alleging that "such a case had never been seen in the realm touching the person of an Archbishop or Bishop."[6] They contented themselves with securing his deprivation[7] by the Pope, seizing his property and

[1] Though STUBBS (III., 76), thinks that "the evidence is not very clear." [2] INQ. P. MORT., IV., 248, 300. GASC., 227, who praises him (p. 149) for munificence towards the parish priests. He was one of the knights of the shire for Lincoln in the Parliaments of 1414, 1420, 1421, 1424.—RETURN PARL., 281. See also DEVON, 383, 414, where he has custody of the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. Cf. ROT. PARL., IV., 438; RYM., X., 289, 468, 570, 602. He died in 1451. See his curious will in TEST. EBOR., II., 81; TOPOGRAPHER AND GENEALOGIST, I., 258; GIBBONS, 174; WYCLIFFE (Matthew), p. 516, where Robert Constable must be his grand-nephew. One of the name of Cumberworth is known as a gentleman of Oxfordshire, who was a follower of Wycliffe, but he abjured after imprisonment at Banbury.—LEL. COLL., III., 381. [3] The bells that he gave to the parish church at Somerby are still there, inscribed "Dns. Tomas Comberworth me fecit fieri 1431."—NORTH, 13. Two others cast by the same founders in 1423, are still at South Somercotes, near Grimsby. For English bells, see DENTON, 53. [4] TEST. EBOR., I., 337. For his will dated 1451, see *ibid.*, II., 23, 81. [5] There is an independent account in CHRON. GILES, 45, where the judge is called Johannes Gaskone. [6] ROT. PARL., III., 237; REEVES, II., 513. [7] Like Archbishop Arundel in similar circumstances he was by a fiction translated to be Bishop of St. Andrews.—RYM., VII., 573.

sentencing him to perpetual banishment. Nine years later (in 1397), Archbishop Arundel was found guilty of high treason, but, though his brother who was implicated with him was beheaded forthwith, yet even the victorious party in Parliament did not call for the death-penalty on "so high a person as the Father of his realm." They only asked that he should be put "in safe keeping in honourable manner,"[1] and he was accordingly sentenced to forfeiture and banishment during the King's pleasure, which meant no more than a visit to Rome, where the Pope conferred upon him even larger[2] revenues from English benefices than he had held when he was in the King's favour, by means of which he could plot handsomely to return and recover more than all his former influence in the retinue of a rebel and usurper. If then King Henry now commanded sterner treatment for his rebel Archbishop, it is no wonder that the legal mind of the Chief Justice recoiled. Besides, Judge Gascoigne was bound in terms of personal[3] intimacy with many of the leaders and sympathizers in the rebellion. Rather therefore than act with the extreme advisers of the court, he rose and left the hall.

His place was taken by Sir William Fulthorpe, of Tunstall,[4] in Durham, a son of that judge who had been knocked[5] down and kicked by King Richard, at Nottingham, in 1387, for daring to ask the contents of a document before putting his seal to it. Fulthorpe is usually represented[6] as a mere soldier, put

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 351. [2] CONC., III., 232. [3] His daughter Elizabeth afterwards married the son of John Aske, and he himself was one of the feoffees under the will of Sir Robert (father of Sir William) Plumpton, dated February 26th, 1407.—PLUMPTON CORRESPONDENCE, XXVI. See also TURNER, ILKLEY, 104. [4] SURTEES, III., 126; DEP. KEEP., 33RD REPORT, p. 135. In RYM., VIII., 640, July 5th, 1410, he appears among the principal men of the North Riding. Cf. HOLINS., II., 533. PAULI, V., 38, and RAMSAY, I., 90, call him a Yorkshire knight. [5] ROT. PARL., V., 393. [6] FOSS, 284, 290, who must be wrong in saying that Fulthorpe was in no way connected with the law. ROBERTSON, J. C., VIII., 459; COLLIER, I., 623. RAINE, YORK, 82, who gives the name as Sir *Thomas* Fulthorpe, calls him "a pliant tool."

up to carry out the King's brutal behests when Gascoigne's finer conscience refused to violate the law. But Fulthorpe's father had been a judge, his own son afterwards[1] became a judge, and that he himself had some repute for legal knowledge is shown by his appointment as legal[2] representative of the Constable of England. In 1408,[3] he presided in a court of chivalry and heard the complicated pleadings in the dispute between Sir Edward Hastings and Lord Grey of Ruthin, delivering the judgment in 1410, when he was described as "one of the sages of the council of the court"; and in 1411,[4] we find him arguing intricate points of law with the judges in matters referring to the jurisdiction of the Constable's Court. Being now called to preside where Gascoigne had refused, he showed no scruple on the score of illegality or sacrilege. He was supported by the Earl of Arundel[5] and Sir Thomas Beaufort (the temporary Vice-Constable and Vice-Marshal) and Sir Ralph Ewere,[6] who represented the forward party on the Commission.

While the King and Archbishop Arundel were breakfasting together, Archbishop Scrope, the Earl Marshal, and Sir William Plumpton were brought before the Commissioners in the great hall at Bishopthorpe, and stood bareheaded to listen to their doom. There was no trial[7] or inquiry. Fulthorpe at once, in the name of his colleagues, pronounced them to be traitors, taken red-handed, and by the King's order[8] sentenced them to the block. The Archbishop showed no sign of penitence. He

[1] FOSS, 284. [2] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 13; 2, 15, January 20th, 1407. CAMPBELL, CH. JUST., I., 125, calls him "a worthless Puisne Judge," and ascribes his action to the "hope of seeing Gascoigne disgraced, and of succeeding to the office of Chief Justice himself." [3] YOUNG, TRACTS. [4] YEAR BOOK, 13 H. IV., 5. [5] ANN., 409. [6] CHRON. GILES, 45. [7] Nulla negotii examinatio.—POL. SONGS, II., 115.

Injusti judicis sena depromitur,
Sine responso sic nece plectitur.—ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, 161.

[8] Ex præcepto regis.—GASC., 226.

protested that he had meant no harm against the realm or the person of the King, and turning to the by-standers he called on them repeatedly to pray that God would not take vengeance for his death on King Henry and his house. The three were then ordered off to York for instant execution.

The Archbishop prepared with fitting dignity to take a last farewell of the world. He asked to be allowed to ride to his death dressed in his linen rochet[1] and carrying his crozier in his hand; but this was refused, and he was brought out in a scarlet chymer[2] with a violet hood drooped over his shoulders. A collier's[3] sorry mare,[4] not worth a mail,[5] was fetched; the Archbishop thanked them for the mount and rode bare-

[1] Quâ utuntur Episcopi vice Ephot.—GASC., 227. It was the official dress.—WHEATLEY, 109. [2] For the chymer (PROMPT. PARV.) [=chymere (CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 21); chimera.—MUNIM. ACAD., 382; chimere.—WALCOTT, WYKEHAM, 315] or riding cloak (TEST. EBOR., I., 322), see WHEATLEY, 110. For the hood (caputium), see STRUTT, DRESS AND HABITS, II., 155. For minute directions as to a bishop's ordinary walking or riding dress, see CÆRIMON. EPISC., I-18. [3] CHRON. GILES, 46. [4] "An ill-favoured jade."—STOW, 333. WRIGHT, in POL. SONGS, II., XXVI., lays stress upon jumentum as a special indignity. See SAINTE PALAYE, I., I., 20, with notes, p. 48; DU CANGE, s.v.; HOLT, 172. This need not be pressed, the word is the common equivalent for horse. See ANN., 409; SCOTICHRON., II., 431. GASC., 227, has super equum, equus iste, &c. [5] *i.e.*, ten groats or half a noble, 3s. 4d.–ROT. PARL., II., 452. A fair price for a good horse would vary from 30s. to 80s.—Vol. I., p. 410. In one case Richard II. is known to have paid £200.—DEVON, 206; RÔGERS, I., 330; and Edward III., £120.—DEVON, 141. In REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., June 19th, 1409, a horse is sold for 5s. Cf. BLOMFIELD, 164. In 1400, the best English palfreys are valued at 100 francs (*i.e.* about £10) each.—DUCKETT, I., 148, 182. The Abbot of Cluni rode one and pronounced it melior equus quam unquam habuerimus et utinam possemus habere similem.—*Ibid.*, 188. In the stables at Totnes Priory in 1338, was a palfrey and saddle priced at 40s, and "unus alius equus" at 6s. 8d.—OLIVER, 242. In REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 13th, 1411, Thomas atte Brigge, of Chesterfield, pays 6s. 8d., the price of a horse which caused the death of William, son of Robert Bedfre, on Wingerworth Moor. *Ibid.*, October 29th, 1411, has 13s. 4d. as the price of two horses. In *ibid.*, February 26th, 1412. 30s. is the price of a bayard (equi badii) or a sorrel (equi corelli). In 1387, £13 6s. 8d. is paid for a grey courser for Henry as Earl of Derby, £5 for an ambler, £4 for a bayard, 73s. 6d. for a malar, and £1 each for two horses for the trumpeters.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 1, App. A. For various prices, see HOLT, 171, IN REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., October 9th, 1408, a cart and two mares are sold for 2s. (!).

back,[1] with a halter[2] for bridle, amidst a dense throng, out on the road to York.

As the three passed along, the young Earl Marshal[3] showed signs of giving way, but the Archbishop maintained his composure and cheered his fainter fellows with the thought that the death-pain would be but for a moment, and that they would die in the cause of justice. Catching sight of an old acquaintance[4] on the road, John Malvern,[5] the King's physician[6] and mire,[7] he rallied him gaily, saying: "I shall need no physic from you now, Master John." "Perhaps not for the body," said the leech,[8] who was a "professor of truth"[9] as well as a master of physic,[10] "but you will need it for your soul." "Come

[1] GOUGH (III., 16) says "with his face to the tail." See also RAINE, HISTORIANS, II., 432. Cf. Timur's insults to Bajazet.—VERTOT., I., 300. [2] For horse-halters, see GOWER, CONF. AM., 191. [3] ANN., 409. Solatur comitem adolescentulum.—POL. SONGS, II., 115. [4] CHRON., GILES, 46. [5] Not, as I think, the Monk (afterwards Prior) of Worcester who continued the Polychronicon to the year 1394, see HIGDEN, IX., pp. viii, 1-283; MONAST., I., 581; ANGL. SACR., I., 549; once reputed the author of Piers Plowman, see SKEAT, E.E.T.S., 1884, p. xxiii.; A. CLARK, 97; STOW, CHRON., 238 (followed by WOOD, HIST., II., 106); PITS, 578, &c. Prior John Malvern was present at the examination of John Badby, at Worcester, January 2nd, 1409.—CONC., III., 326. [6] In April, 1402, his physician was Master Richard Grisby.—RYM., VIII., 250. In 1403, it was Master Lewis.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, App. B. [7] COTGRAVE, S.V. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 11, has terms for retaining Peter Braye to execute the office of mire and surgeon to John of Gaunt. Cf. Bon mire pour plaies curer.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 72. [8] PROMPT. PARV., 291; CATHOL., 211; HOCCL., DE REG., 7; LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, 38, 60.; P. PLO., IX., 296; GOWER, CONF. AM., 140, 148, 323, 421, 429. [9] He was a Doctor in Theology (=S.T.P. in LE NEVE; D.D. in DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 241). In 1401, 1410, and 1421, he appears as parson of St. Dunstan in the East, Tower Street.—NEWCOURT, I., 134, 160, 333; SHARPE, II., 405, 433; ENGLISH GARNER, VI., 51. In 1405, he held two prebends in St. Paul's.—LE NEVE, II., 375, 395. In 1408, he was made a Canon of Windsor.—LE NEVE, III., 384. He died in the year 1422. [10] ROT. PARL., III., 593. For magistri in physicâ, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 440. For "doctor of physike," see CHAUCER, 11930, with picture from Ellesmere MS., in coif and gown; JUSSERAND, 177. For "fisik," see WYCLIFFE, 10, 224; "physique."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 346; "ffusisian."—PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 29; "fisicien."—ITINÉRAIRES, 576; DESCHAMPS, IV., 33, 70; V., 3, 131; VII., 247, 328; P. PLO., X., 141; XXIII., 176, 315; GIBBONS, 70. Cf. A worthy clerke and surgien,
And eke a great physicien.—
GOWER, CONF. AM., 420, 446.

sir," said the Archbishop, "and watch me die, and if you see aught against the truth, I bow to your correction."

They halted at the south-western corner of the walls, where the high road enters the city, close to the river bank by the Skeldergate postern,[1] and passed into a field belonging to the nuns of Clementhorpe,[2] where the young barley was waving in the freshness of early summer. The day was the anniversary[3] of the death of St. William, when the little fertour[4] with his relics was carried in procession through the city. Crowds from all parts, both mounted and afoot, thronged into the field and the crop was soon pounded and trampled beneath their feet. As the procession drew near, the owner of the crop stepped out and begged that his rigs might be spared and the block be placed elsewhere. There was no scaffold to erect and the man's request might have been granted. The Archbishop did his best, and asked that he might be taken out for execution on the highroad close by. But the officers had strict orders that

[1] Sic extra portam fit datus funeri.—ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, page 161. [2] CHRON. GILES, 46; ANN., 410; EUL., III., 408; CHRON. LOND., 89. The site was afterwards marked by a chapel, called "Bisshopp Scrope Chaple," which has long since disappeared. It was named in the schedule drawn up in 1542, when the possessions of the nunnery were sold (MONAST., IV., 327, where the word is wrongly printed). The place is still called Chapel Field.—DAVIES, 114. The Prioress received 25 marks out of the Archbishop's confiscated property, November 28th, 1405.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 28. [3] POL. SONGS, II., 114. Willelmi præsulis felix festivitas. Cf. Willelmi præsulis fulgente jubare.—ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, p. 161. CHRON. GILES, 45, says it was the Feast of the *Translation* of St. William, which was observed in January, on the First Sunday after Epiphany (YORK BREVIARY, I., 179). FABR. ROLLS, 129, has charges for repairing eight "coddes" or pillows for the feretory (ROT. PARL., V., 632) to rest on. For the Ouse bridge breaking down under the crowd, see YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOL. AND TOP., III., 307; BUTLER, I., 760. [4] TEST. EBOR., II., 233. Cf. "Fercules," the things whereon Images or Pageants are carried.—COTGRAVE, s.v. This may possibly throw light upon the phrase ferculum felle mixtum, in Vol. I., p. 107, though it will probably be better translated by the "bitter dish," or the "meat mixed with gall," referring perhaps to a line in the Prophecy:—Fercula fert fellis bombinans fæmina bellis, in POL. SONGS, I., 183, explained as amaritudinem et malitiam, p. 184.

would brook no sort of delay. They hurried him forward saying that a traitor could not choose his place of death. The block was on the ground, and a convict, Thomas Alman,[1] of Poppleton, who had served fifteen years imprisonment in York gaol, had been brought out to do the work of blood.

The Earl Marshal and Sir William Plumpton[2] died first, while the Archbishop stood by and prayed. Speaking to those near enough to hear, he said: "I die for the laws and the good government of England."[3] He then removed his hood and coif,[4] and laid them on the ground. Turning to the headsman he bade[5] him deal five blows at his neck in memory of the five sacred wounds, kissed[6] him three times and kneeled for a moment in prayer. Then folding his arms across his breast he stretched out his neck and "took his death with full good will."[7] A faint smile[8] still played on the features when his head fell at the fifth stroke, and the body rolled over on its right side. He died, "as some think, a worthy and a lovely martyrdom."

A little book, which he carried in his bosom when he laid his head on the block, was reverently preserved by a clerk,[9] Thomas Dautre, of York, who afterwards left it by will to his son John,[10] who on his death left orders that it should remain

[1] GASC., 227. [2] CHRON. GILES, 47. [3] EUL., III., 408. Pro sponse juribus vincens occubuit.—ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, p. 161. [4] Reading "tenam" (as GASC., 227) for tunicam. See PROMPT. PARV., s.v. "coyfe"; also CHRON. R. II.,—H. VI., 33; though not in EUL., from which it is a translation. [5] Qui petens quinque vulnera mortem pertulisti.—ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, p. 161. [6] POL. SONGS, II., 116. [7] The pretty little English lament in HYMNS TO THE VIRGIN, 128, EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOC., 1867, refers to the "fyve strokys," but contains nothing beyond Gascoigne's account, except the reference to the "hill" of execution, which shows that the writer did not correctly realise the locality, although he had his information from "full trewe men." [8] Speciem modeste ridentis.—ANN., 410. [9] He calls himself clericus and magister (TEST. EBOR., II., 59, 60), but he was certainly a married man with a family. Cf. also the brotherhood of the Parish Clerks in Bishopsgate, London, with almshouses for their wives and widows. —STOW, LONDON, 178. From the contents of Dautre's library he appears to have been a lawyer. [10] See their wills dated 1437 and 1458 in TEST. EBOR., II., 61, 230.

fastened by a chain close to the martyr's grave.[1] His plate[2] and jewels were all seized after the execution, yet thirty years afterwards a gold ring, set with a large sapphire and twelve pearls, remained as a memorial of him in the family of Roos,[3] at Ingmanthorpe; but the owner's conscience[4] pricked and the ring was given up to the Minster, at York, as too precious for private hands. A wooden drinking-cup, known as a hanap[5] or maser,[6] which the Archbishop had blessed, was cherished as a memento of him in the house of Henry Wyman, a wealthy goldsmith, in Coney Street, York, whose only child Joan[7] became the wife of William, the eldest son of Chief Justice

[1] In the inventory of the Scrope chantry in St. Stephen's Chapel, taken in 1520, occurs missale scriptum 2° folio ma.—FABR. ROLLS, 301. In 1463, Eufemia Langton left to her son, Henry Langton, unum missale vocatum Bisshop-Scrope-book.—TEST. EBOR., II., 259. [2] POL. SONGS, II., 117. The total value amounted to £713.—RAMSAY, I., 146. [3] TEST. EBOR., II., 166. [4] MONASTICON, VI., 1203. [5] Une hanap appele maser.—ROY. LET., BOX 15, PUB. REC. OFFICE; PISAN, II., 133; DESCHAMPS, VII., 181; HOLT, 119, 126-128. [6] Described by TORRE in 1691 as "of coker-nut, inlayd and tipt with silver."—RIPON CHAPTER ACTS, 234; ARCHÆOL. INST., 1846, p. 27. See also C. C. GILD, 291; YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOL. JOURN., VIII., 312; BRITTON, I., 65; BROWNE, 290; CRIPPS, 208; POOLE AND HUGALL, 196; SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, II., 126; ROCK, II., 339, from LANSDOWNE MS., 403. Cf. "ten beads of maser."—PLUMPTON CORRDCE, XXXIV.; "cippus de masero."—ARCHÆOL., L., 514; "Baculus pastoralis de mazero sive cipresso."—*Ibid;* "macer."–GIBBONS, 73; RELIQUARY, N. S., I., 30; REYNOLDS, CXIX.; SHARPE, II., XLVII. They were sometimes made of vine-root.—FIFTY WILLS, 56. For a cup called "Note," *i.e.*, "nut," see SHARPE, I., 196, 471, 479, 669; II., 26, 90. In 1406, John Lydeford, Archdeacon of Totnes, left a cup "de maserio," from which he had drunk much good wine.—STAFF. REG., 390. Cf. DU CANGE, S.V. mazer; also PROMPT. PARV., and CATHOL., S.V.; SHARPE, I., 151. The maser was a common article in every household.—See LYNN SUBSIDY ROLL in NORFOLK ARCHÆOL., I., 337; DART, CANTERBURY, App. XXI.; MORANT, I., 47; ROT. PARL., I., 228, 246; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 204. Cf. un hanap d'argent ou de mazre dount il beivent.—PARL. WRITS, I., 55; ROT. PARL., I., 239. For murra or madre, see TEST. EBOR., I., 340; LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 316. PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 26, refers to a chest broken open at Guestling, near Hastings, in 1408. It contained six silver spoons, one maser, two silver cups, and "other goods," the whole valued at £5. For lid of a maser weighing 10lbs. 7oz. (in 1400), see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, App. B. For masers with inscriptions, see TEST. EBOR., I., 209, 318; STAFF. REG., 405, 408, 413, 422. For a "lytel maser," see *ibid.*, 415. [7] C. C. GILD, 239.

Gascoigne. After the death of Wyman, the maser passed to the custody of his wife Agnes, who gave it to the Gild of Corpus Christi which was founded at York during her husband's second mayoralty,[1] in 1408. The Gild appear to have added the cup-band[2] and the inscription,[3] and, in 1465, it was valued as one of their most precious effects. Two centuries later, it found its way into the possession of the Cordwainers[4] of York, who used it at their feasts filled[5] with spiced ale, and though every other vestige of a relic of Archbishop Scrope has long ago passed to the melting-pot or the moth, Wyman's pardon-cup,[6] with the silver feet, is to be seen in the Minster vestry to this day.

The head of the Earl Marshal was stuck on a pole and fixed high on Bootham Bar,[7] where the handsome[8] features were exposed for two months to the sun and rain before it was taken down[9] and buried with the body in the Grey Friars' Church,[10] at York. Sir William Plumpton's head was set up on the Bar at Micklegate,[11] until the 17th of August, 1405. It was

[1] REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., October 3rd, 1407; PASCH., May 12th, 1408. Wyman was also mayor and escheator in 1407 (RECEIPT ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., April 30th, 1407), and mayor and escheator in 1409.—REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., October 27th, 1408; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH., October 22nd, 1409. In REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., April 2nd, 1410, John Bolton is mayor and escheator. [2] LIB. ALB., I., 609; CATHOL., S.V. 75. [3] For Bishop "Musin," whose name is also on the bowl, see CAL. ROT. CANC. HIB., I., 190, where the entry is merely Ricō epō Dromor'; WARE, PRELATES, 68; REEVES, 308; COTTON, III., 277; TEST. EBOR., III., 336; NOTES AND QUERIES, 2nd S., 2, 1. ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 147, has "Mosin." ROCK, II., 341, has "Musm." For Richard Mysyn, suffragenus 1461, see CORP. CHRIST. GILD, 62; STUBBS, REG. SACR., 148. In 1435, he translated the INCENDIUM AMORIS of Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, at which date he was Prior of Lincoln.—NOTES AND QUERIES, 8th S., I., 147; E. E. T. S., 1886, p. XII. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 58[r], September 12th, 1411, William Messyn is nominated by King Henry to a corrody in Mottisfont Priory (Hants). [4] RAINE, YORK, 154, supposes that it was "given by Archbishop Scrope to the Company of Cordwainers!" [5] DRAKE, 439. [6] SHARPE, II., 305. [7] "Bouthombarre."—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 3, though ANSTIS, quoted in DRAKE, read "super pontem" from same Roll. [8] ANN., 411. [9] See writ for removal, dated August 6th, 1405, in DRAKE, App. XVI. [10] TEST. EBOR., I., 347; not in the Minster, as WALS., II., 271; HYPODIG., 415; followed by PAULI, V., 39. [11] "Mykkyllyth."—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 1. Cf. DRAKE, 108.

then given up to his wife Alice and buried in the church at Spofforth, where his epitaph[1] might still be read 200 years afterwards. His name was piously linked with that of the Archbishop, his uncle, by succeeding generations of Scropes[2] when providing for their memories in later days.

No such indignity was offered to the body of the dead Archbishop. His head and mangled trunk were lifted tenderly by four of the vicars-choral and carried to the Minster. There they were lapped in lead without a winding-sheet,[3] placed in an outer shell of "strong oak[4] well put together with nails," and lowered to their last rest behind the farthest column in the "new work"[5] beside St. Stephen's altar.[6] Few or none followed the dead man to his grave. Such as there were stood by in fear[7] and silence as the ground closed over him, in the gaunt

[1] Together with those of his mother, Dame Isabel, and his wife, Alice (died 1423). All of them were seen and examined in 1613 by the then rector, though they have since disappeared under the hand of the modern restorer.—PLUMPTON CORRDCE, XXXII. [2] TEST. EBOR., II., 388. [3] Non datur corporis funeri lintheus.—POL. SONGS, II., 117. [4] The remains were inspected on March 28th, 1844, but "nothing was discovered bearing evidence of identity"; the skull with a little hair on it was found "in its proper place."—BROWNE, 288; DAVIES, WALKS, 115. In 1477, a lady who was buried in the nunnery at Clementhorpe, left a gold ring, set with a diamond, "to the head of Richard Scrope," in the Scrope Chapel there.—TEST. EBOR., III., 232. This must have been a reliquary, like the Caput Thomæ at Canterbury. See DEVON, 322; ARCHÆOL. CANT., XIII., 520; or the head of St. Louis in Paris.—LEROUX DE LINCY, 47. [5] TEST. EBOR., III., 32. Called the Presbytery, or "our Lady Queare."—WILLIS, ARCHÆOL. INST., 1846, p. 34. [6] POL. SONGS, II., 116. For account of the probable appearance of the burial place, see TRANSACTIONS OF UNITED ARCHITECT. SOC. (1861), Vol. VI., 46-51. It was one of the first interments in this part of the Church, which afterwards became the burial place of many of the Scrope family. In 1451, a chantry was founded here by the Archbishop's grand-nephew, Thomas le Scrope, fifth Baron of Masham, for two chaplains to pray for the souls of the Archbishop and many of his relatives.—SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 152. [7] ANN., 410, says that he was buried "cum honore," but the poem in POL. SONGS, II., 117, is probably nearer the truth in saying that not the smallest coin was given either for the funeral or for the poor. BROWNE (289), quoting BARLOW MS., 27 BODL. (said to be Thomas Stubbs, not in SCRIPTORES DECEM, but continued to Wolsey in a sixteenth century hand) says "with but moderate ceremony, as the circumstances of the time permitted."

unfinished choir beneath the great east window,[1] stretched with flapping canvas to keep out the rain and the birds.

But the King's rage lacked finish. "Infirm of purpose!" was written large upon his work. He should have removed his victim far away for death and burial, not left him just where the dead man could speak his loudest. Better to have sent King Richard's corpse for burial in St. Paul's, or Hotspur's body to be cherished among his faithful tenants in Alnwick Abbey, than lay the hacked remains of a revered Archbishop in his own cathedral church, a monument to stir the rage and pity of the feeble flock whom he had led about so heroically for three days in the Galtres wilderness. Surely, if no King ever before committed the fatal fault of bringing an Archbishop to the block, none ever made the still more fatal error of leaving his bones just where they could best keep alive the memory of his treacherous seizure and sacrilegious death, in the heart of a priest-ridden and fanatical city.

[1] John Thornton of Coventry had not yet begun his contract (dated Dec. 10th, 1405) for the griffins and hellish monsters, which he painted with his own hand and finished after three years, at the rate of 4s. per week.—YORKSH. ARCHÆOLOG. JOURN., III., 346; IV., 368; WALPOLE, I., 32; BRITTON, I., App. 81, Pl. XXV.; DRAKE, 526; WILLIS, 44; ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, quoted in WALCOTT, ENGLISH MINSTERS, I., 108; also WESTLAKE, and ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL, XII., 153. For the Cherleton window (circ. 1350) in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, see OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, II., 316. Before 1360, a large window with scenes from the life of Christ was put up in the Cathedral of St. Canice, at Kilkenny, by Bishop Ledrede. See HIST. MSS., 10TH REPORT, p. 220. For Bristol Cathedral, see NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, II., 52. For window in Carlisle Cathedral with head of John of Gaunt, see CUMB. AND WEST. ANTIQ. SOC., I., 33; II., 311. For superiority of foreign to English glass, see ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XIV., 250; DENTON, 53. For glass at Winchester, see PROCEEDINGS OF ARCHÆOL. INST., 1845; WALCOTT, WYKEHAM, 221. For painted glass windows, see MERRIFIELD, I., lxxvii. For protest against drawing people to church by "curiosity of gay windows, and colours, and paintings, and baboonery," see WYCLIFFE, 8, 181.

CHAPTER LIII.

LEPROSY.

INSTANTLY the King was made to feel the weight of the mistake into which he had been betrayed. In the very next chamber to him was one with whom he must now reckon. Archbishop Arundel had taken his rest. He heard mass as arranged, and came to take his breakfast with the King. But while they were at their meal the victims were already sentenced, and by mid-day[1] the execution was done. When the frightful news reached Bishopthorpe, Archbishop Arundel cried out[2] that he was weary of his life. Worn out with fatigue and exhaustion, he fell into a fever. The King bore his reproaches quietly, and would not add to his grief by any show of irritation. He promised that Scrope's remains should receive an honourable burial, and he gave orders that Arundel should be tended in his sickness with special care, until he should be able to rise and return to his duties in the South.[3]

Having arranged for a fine of 500 marks[4] to be levied on the citizens of York, the King moved northwards with an army which was now 37,000 strong.[5] Having anticipated some difficulty before the walls of York, he had got together a strong siege

[1] Post lucis medium.—POL. SONGS, II., 114. Post meridiem.—GASC., 227. The curious phrase: Post donum spiritus in luce zinzie, in the BODLEIAN MS. LAT. LITURG., f. 3, is supposed to mean "lark-light," *i.e.*, early dawn.—ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, p. 161; but this is in opposition to the evidence. It seems more likely to refer to the Pentecostal gift of tongues. [2] MILMAN (v., 524), in order to draw an effective character of Arundel, asserts that on this occasion he "keeps silence." [3] He was still at York when the King consulted him about the Danish marriage.—ANN., 413, though according to CAPGRAVE, 291, "in al hast he was caried hom." [4] Only 200 marks of it had been paid by December 13th, 1405. See Frost's letter to the King, in ROY. LET., BOX 15, PUB. REC. OFF. [5] ANN., 411.

train, with great store of caltraps,[1] tribuls, splints, crows, martels, war-hatchets, pickoys, and maundrils. Guns and gunpowder had been brought from the Tower of London,[2] Pontefract,[3] Nottingham,[4] Kenilworth,[5] and elsewhere, one of the guns being so large, that it was believed that no walls could stand against it. In the afternoon of the day of the execution (June 8th, 1405),[6] the King entered York and transacted some routine business. A keeper of spirituals[7] was to exercise supervision over the diocese of York until a new Archbishop should be appointed, the temporalities[8] were placed in the charge of a Commission consisting of Chief Justice Gascoigne, Sir Henry Fitzhugh, Sir Thomas Rempston, and others, and arrangements were made for collecting arrears.[9] The Archbishop's furniture, horses,[10] cups, and jewels were all seized, and nothing was left even to pay his private debts.[11] Pardons were granted to five clerks,[12] Richard Conyngston, Robert Wolvedon, Thomas Parker, Richard Dygyll, and Nicholas Tydde, and the King and his retinue passed through Micklegate Bar and took the road for Boroughbridge. The weather was wild, and as he rode along in the blinding rain over Hessay Moor,[13] towards the Nidd, between Poppleton and Skip Bridge, it seemed as if some one struck him[14] a violent blow, and as the storm did not abate, he halted at Green Hammerton for the night. Here his rest was

[1] FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 21 d., May 21st, 1405. [3] *Ibid.*, 1, 28 d., October 21st, 1404. Pulverem vocatum "gunpoudre." See ARCHÆOLOGIA, 32. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 20 d., June 1st, 1405. [5] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 41[III], dated November 18th, 1405, shows 5Is. 3d. paid to John Ashford, Constable of Kenilworth, for forwarding cannons and gunpowder to the North in late rebellion. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 19. [7] *Ibid.*, 2, 19. [8] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 7, 23. [9] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15 d. [10] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 29, records the disposal of a young "grisel" and a "black grey." [11] Nil creditoribus.—POL. SONGS, II., 117. [12] PAT., 6 H., IV., 2, 21. [13] GASCOIGNE, 228, has Exsamure, Popiltun, Lidyate, and Sckeet bryge. Cf. Skete brygg, TEST. EBOR., II., 20. In RAINE, HISTORIANS OF YORK, II., 433, he is on his way to Cawood. [14] Reading "eum," as GASCOIGNE, not "episcopum," as MAYDESTON.

disturbed by a hideous dream, which in the excited minds of his people became afterwards historic. It was taken by the northern folk and their clerical teachers to signify the voice of God, warning him that he should be stricken down with leprosy as a punishment for the death of the martyred Scrope. The disease was believed to have taken him inside the nose, and no doctor could ever cure it. The monk who tells the story could not make up his mind whether it came as a punishment, a warning, or an accident, so he cautiously leaves the question for God to decide.[1] At any rate, the King called out in his sleep: "Traitors! ye have thrown fire over me."[2] Accommodation at a wayside Yorkshire manor would be on a homely scale, and it is likely that the sleeping-rooms were divided only by a tapet,[3] or a parclose[4] of boards. Rushing up in alarm, the attendants found the light out in the King's mortar. Thinking that he had been poisoned, they gave him a draught of vernage[5] as a treacle,[6] and when he rode into Ripon the next

[1] Privato Dei judicio remitto.—CHRON. GILES, 48; BLORE, H. IV., 6.
[2] GASC., 228; ANGL. SACR., II., 371. [3] DENTON, 44.
[4] And betwixt him nas ther but a parclos
Of borde, not but of homely makyng
Thurgheout, the whiche at many a chynnyng
In each chamber they myghten beholde
And see what other did yf that they wolde.
HOCCL., DE REG., 152; SKEAT, 17, 371.
Cf. CHAUCER, REVES TALE, 4137; PISAN, I., 66, 99, 291; II., 36. [5] A sweet Tuscan wine.—LIB. ALB., 711, where it is priced at 2s. per gallon; the best Rhenish wine being sold at 6d. or 8d.—NOTT. REC., II., 378 (1463). See THORNTON ROMANCES, 235; TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 22; HIST. MSS., 1ST REPT., 80; P. MEYER, 392; HOLT, 115. In PROMPT. PARV., s.v., Vernage is simply "wyne." Forty years later the word is not included in the CATHOLICON (1483). Cf. DIGBY MYST., 72; HARRISON, I., 149. For claré, see MART., COLL., VI., 620; HOLT, 101. For the best vintages of Burgundy, *e.g.*, Beaune and St. Gengou, see MONTREUIL, 1398; DESCHAMPS, VII., 219, 327. For the white wine of Lepe, see CHAUCER, PARDONERS TALE, 12497. In LYNN SUBSIDY ROLL, temp. Ed. I., the average price of wine is 40s. per cask.—NORF. ARCHÆOL., I., 337.
That never piment ne vernage,
Was half so sweté for to drinke.—
GOWER, CONF. AM., 315.
[6] Triacle is turned into venyn.—APOL., 57. And eke my treacle ageyns the

day,[1] he was very ill *(valde infirmus)* and had to rest there for seven days, at the end of which time two eye-witnesses saw him (as they afterwards said), with pushes[2] sitting[3] like teats[4] on his face and hands.

One of these was Stephen Palmer, *alias* Cotingham, a citizen of York,[5] the other was George Plumpton,[6] a younger son of Sir William Plumpton, who had just been executed. He was then only a lad about twelve years of age, and had probably been retained as a hostage for the good behaviour of his family. He afterwards grew up to be a clerk of some repute, and in the two succeeding reigns, held livings[7] and faculties suitable to the younger son of a great landed family. In course of time he told his story to Doctor Thomas Gascoigne, a nephew of the Chief Justice, who wrote an account of the events in which his uncle had played so honourable a part.

Of the two chroniclers whose works are known to be strictly contemporary, the earlier[8] says nothing at all about any illness,

venym foule.—CAPGR., KATH., 173. For tiriacle, see WYCLIFFE, DE DOM. DIV., 18, 178; CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 4899; PROMPT. PARV., 223, 500; CATHOL., 392; P. PLO., II., 147; NOTES, p. 37; LYDGATE, 98; RICH. REDELES, II., 151; YORKSH. ARCH. AND TOP. JOURN., III., 266; HOLT, 117.

[1] For documents dated Ripon, June 9th and 12th, 1405, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, and PRIV. SEAL, 7193. [2] PARÉ, 771. [3] Ne of the knobbes sitting on his chekes.—CHAUCER, PROL., 635.

[4] Et le tetin tout ainsi qu'une poire,
Poignant, rondet, &c.—PISAN, II., 206.

Cf. GOWER, CONF. AM., 138. For "paps," see HOCCL., MIN. PO., 47; GOWER, CONF. AM., 165, 166. [5] TEST. EBOR., II., 84. In 1406, Thomas Palmer, of Worldham, Hants, was entered a scholar at Winchester.—KIRBY, 33. [6] His elder brother, Robert, was also with the King's army at Ripon. He received his pardon at Durham, on June 19th, 1405.—ROT. VIAG., 16 (though the editor of PLUMPTON CORRDCE., XXVI., refers this to his grandfather), and was soon in possession of the family estates on his grandfather's death in 1407. CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 29 (January 30th, 1408), records his homage. For a document witnessed by William Gascoigne at Plumpton, September 8th, 1407, see J. H. TURNER, 104. [7] He was Rector of Grasmere in 1431. For a full account of him, see PLUMPTON CORRDCE., XXXIV. He died in the learned retirement of Bolton Abbey, circ. 1460. He was a member of the Corp. Christ. Gild at York, between 1451 and 1453.—C. C. GILD, p. 51. [8] ANN.

the other says in half-a-line that "immediately the King began to appear like a leper."[1] A third account,[2] written at least fifteen years after, says that the King was struck with leprosy beyond the possibility of cure, on the very day and at the very hour of the Archbishop's execution. Elmham, writing a few years after the King's death, refers to his gracious face[3] as horrid to all who saw it, and Waurin,[4] about forty years later, thinks that the leprosy came immediately after his accession to the throne, as a judgment for the murder of Richard. A century later, the leading historian[5] of England treats the whole story of the mysterious seizure as a "manifest lie," and has some very hard words for the "foolish and fantastical persons," the "erroneous Hypocrites and seditious Asses" who could propagate or believe it. It may be well, therefore, to look for a moment at the nature of the reputed disease itself.

It was known in mediæval England as a "leprey,"[6] or a "meselrie."[7] For more than two centuries it had been a fearful scourge all over Europe, and was called the "great malady,"[8] or the "mickel ail," but in England it was already beginning to abate.[9] We have medical treatises[10] bearing on it written by two doctors in the fourteenth century, one of them an Englishman, John of Gaddesden, a fellow[11] of the Scholars-House of Merton at Oxford, and physician to Edward II., the other a Frenchman, Guy de Chauliac, who compiled a medical

[1] EUL., III., 408, 421. [2] CHRON. GILES, 47, certainly written after 1418, quum *tunc* lis et schisma fuerat in ecclesiâ Romanâ, p. 48. [3] Pluribus alma fuit quæ nunc patet horrida cunctis.—POL. SONGS, 121. [4] WAURIN, III., 159; CHOISY, 293. [5] HALLE, 25, 32. [6] GOWER, CONF. AM., 138, 140. [7] PROMPT. PARV. s.v., "masyl." Cf. "meseaux."—DESCHAMPS, IV., 339; also "messille" and "mescell."—CHESTER PLAYS, II., 2. [8] "La grosse maladie"—FROIS., II., 112; GOWER, CONF. AM., 142; J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 18; SHERBURN; SURTEES, I., 129. [9] For decrease of lepers at St. Albans, see J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 44; at Ripon, see RIPON MEM., I., 223-241. [10] For others, see J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 61. [11] BRODRICK, 176; WOOD, II., 87; J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 74.

inventory[1] in 1363. As two of a trade, they of course disagree, and the Frenchman, being a little the later in date, naturally holds up his English predecessor to scorn.[2] They differ in their treatment and their dieting, the Englishman recommending clear, clean, scented wine,[3] neither too old nor too strong, and beer made with water that flows to the east. He has a special nostrum of his own which he calls bee-syrup. Pigs-feet are not to be eaten "unless they are in motion," and cabbage is to be avoided as a melancholy vegetable[4] which thickens the blood. The Frenchman would avoid all heating food, and recommends the patient to drink new milk and call in the help of God, remembering that suffering is the salvation of the soul. The symptoms recorded by them are:—ponderous and grievous dreams,[5] with sharpness, burning, and pricking in the flesh, which becomes hard, sharp, tuberous, and knotty, the skin grows "crisp as of a gander," the brows are "depiled" and hairless, and the nose "torte and writhen." Both are agreed that when once the disease is confirmed it is "remediless"[6] and impossible to unroot, and that nothing can be done but complete isolation to prevent the taint from spreading. The leperman must get[7] out of the town, or, if found within the walls, he would be branded[8] on the cheek, his clothes[9] would be taken off him, and he would be turned out naked. He might beg with his cup without the gates, but he must sound his

[1] CHET. LIB. MS., 27902 is a translation into English in a fifteenth century hand; see J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 60-70. For a copy at Gloucester, see HIST. MSS., 12TH REPT., IX., 396. [2] FREIND, II., 279. Cf. una fatua rosa Anglica.—J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 75. [3] GADDESDEN, 1091. He is followed by MIRFIELD, in BREVIARIUM BARTHOLOMÆI, circ. 1380.—NORMAN MOORE, 8. [4] WYCLIFFE, DE ECCLESIA, XIX. [5] CHAULIAC, 89. [6] PEERIS, in ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., 382. J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 21. [7] For proclamation of 1347, see STRYPE, II., 74; J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 10; LIB. ALB., 273, 590; ORDONNANCES, IX., 9, June 3rd, 1404. *Ibid.*, IX., 299, refers to capots, or casots, accustomed to wear a certain badge so as to be known. [8] J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 145. [9] T. SMITH, 341.

clapper[1] to warn passers-by to shun him. He was forbidden[2] to enter church, market, mill, bakehouse, or tavern, to wash his hands in the common stream or draw water with the common bucket. He might not touch anything that he wished to buy, but only point to it with a stick. He might not approach a child nor offer it a present, nor speak with any one on the public road, unless he stood where the wind would bear his breath the other way. If he consented to give up his liberty, the burial service[3] was solemnly read over him in a church, and a spadeful of soil was flung at him, as though he were literally dead. Thenceforward he became an inmate of the collection of small wooden huts[4] known as measlecotes,[5] which Christian charity[6] provided in the fields outside[7] the town walls. In this lazarhouse his meat was the rancid pork[8] and stale fish that had been seized at the fleshboards[9] as unfit for human food.

Various kinds of leprosy were distinguished according to the different appearance of the skin, sometimes taking fanciful names from the elephant,[10] the lion, the serpent, or the fox;

[1] J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 78, 151; WALCOTT, 337. NARES, s.v., "clap-dish." [2] YORK MANUAL, 106*; NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Series, IX., 486. [3] J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 158, who gives instances (p. 107) of lepers being burned alive as incurable. Cf. HIRSCH, I., 212. If a leprous woman bore a leprous child, both mother and infant were to be buried alive.—SIMPSON, II., 124. [4] *Ibid.*, II., 14, 40. [5] SHARPE, II., 341. [6] *Ibid.*, passim. [7] Ad locum solitarium prout moris est.—RYM., XI., 635. Cf. MART., COLL., VII., 1363, 1397; CONC., I., 617; STRYPE, II., 74. [8] "Rotten sheep and mesel swine."—HIST. MSS., 12TH REPT., IX., 433. "Corrupt swine."—J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 140. At Sherburn, near Durham, the comfortable maintenance provided for lepers by Bishop Pudsey had been long ago squandered away.—SURTEES, I., 129. At Oxford, all bad meat, wine, and fish, seized by the University, was given to the infirm brethren in the Hospital of St. John.—MUN. ACAD., 52, 177; MONAST., VI., 678; BOASE, 90; DENTON, 207. [9] For "shamelles vocat. Fleshbordes" at Leicester, see DUC. LANC. RECORDS, XI., 15, 19. [10] CHAULIAC, 88, has: Elephancie, Leonine, Tirie (a tiro serpente, GADDESDEN, 1070), Allopecie.—NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., X., 78, from CLAUS., 8 Ed. IV. J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 3, 50, identifies the mediæval leprosy with tubercular elephantiasis. Cf. Elefantuosi, MONAST., VI., 669.; MART., COLL., VII., 1159.

sometimes from the colour as black,[1] yellow, or white. The white or serpent-leprey,[2] where the scales peel off from the skin, was the special form with which King Henry was said to have been struck, but tested by any of the hints contained in the medical books we are forced to reject the story that he was really attacked by leprosy at all, the size of the "pushes" being probably a pious exaggeration, when the belief in a leprous seizure had become well established after the King's long illness and premature death.

Nevertheless, there is ground for believing that some sickness did overtake him at this time, and a rumour of it soon spread to London. For more than a year past his health[3] had failed, and though he struggled hopefully against despair, the very efforts that he was forced to make had overtaxed his strength. Messengers[4] were forthwith sent to the sheriffs of counties calling upon them to arrest any "vagabond seeking news from town to town," and requiring all bishops to pray for the good health of the King and the good government of the realm. King Henry certainly remained at Ripon till June 16th,[5] but immediately afterwards he developed an amount of locomotive energy unsurpassed at any previous period of his reign, and a fortnight after leaving Ripon, he wrote a letter in high spirits from Warkworth,[6] in which he thanked his Maker that he was in excellent health.

[1] PARÉ, 771. [2] Tirie.—ROWS, 207, in whose time it was believed that Prince Henry had been attacked with it also. [3] Vol. I., p. 458. [4] For payment to them, dated July 18th, 1405, see ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH. [5] Entries are dated at Ripon June 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th and 16th, in PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 6, 7, 18; also *ibid.*, 2, 16, 17, and ROT. SCOT., II., 175, exactly corroborating GASC., 228. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 275, dated July 2nd, 1405.

CHAPTER LIV.

BERWICK.

WHILE the King was at Ripon, a pardon was granted to one of the Archbishop's nephews, Geoffrey,[1] son of Stephen, Lord Scrope of Masham, and an effort was made at conciliation. Among the earliest orders issued in connection with the rising was one dated at Hereford on May 22nd, 1405,[2] for the arrest of Sir Gerard Salvayn and John Aske. Both of these gentlemen had their homes in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Salvayn[3] at North Duffield and Harswell near Market Weighton, and Aske at Ousethorpe[4] near Howden. Salvayn had given proof of loyalty in 1403,[5] so far as oath-taking could secure it; he had been the King's Escheator in 1404,[6] and both he and Aske were men of position in the county. Their exact connection with the conspiracy is not known, but both of them sued for pardon[7] and saved their necks. On June 10th, 1405,[8] Salvayn's wife, Alice, and John Somerby, a servant of Aske's, started for the North, carrying letters and messages to the Earl of Northumberland, with full consent and protection from the King. These letters were couched in a friendly spirit,[9] in the hope that Mattathias might still be open to appeals from his old companion. But nothing came of it, except that Robert Waterton,

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 21, June 10th, 1405. [2] ROT. VIAG., 18, [3] He was born in 1358.—SURTEES, IV., 118. In 1383, he was one of the retinue of the Earl of Northumberland.—FONBLANQUE, I., 508. For his will dated 1422, see TEST. VET., 204. CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 7, July 10th, 1410, refers to Alice, daughter of William Salvayn, of Appulgarth, near Bainton, deceased. [4] HARL. SOC., XVI., 8. [5] RYM., VIII., 323. [6] SCROPE AND GROSV., I., 341. [7] Granted June 27th, 1405.—ROT. VIAG., 18. In 1409, Salvayn witnessed a document at Helmsley.—DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 357. [8] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 19. [9] CHRON. GILES, 42.

who had been moved about between Warkworth,[1] Alnwick, and Berwick, was allowed to obtain his release on finding a substitute in the person of his brother John. There was no hope of another submission of the Earl of Northumberland, such as had followed the former disaster to his fortunes at Shrewsbury. The speed of the King's movements had disconcerted his plans and forced his hand before the "day of assignment."[2] Instead of coming southward to tender his excuses and submit to imprisonment in a second Baginton, he was known to have drawn off to the North and concentrated a large force in and around the castle of Berwick, where he was now openly leaguing with the Scots. So whatever might be the truth about the King's ugly dream or his leprous nose, the great army swept on to finish its work.

On June 11th, 1405,[3] orders had been sent to the Sheriff of Yorkshire to assemble his levies on the instant and await the King's arrival at Newcastle. The property[4] of the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph[5] was declared to be confiscated. One thousand Kentish archers[6] were ordered to Newcastle to proceed thence to Berwick, while provisions for the troops were to be forwarded to Newcastle from Norfolk and other parts by sea. Great numbers of those who had been out with the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal, now becoming alarmed for their safety, were in hiding in various parts of the North, fearing to return to their homes lest they, too, should suffer the same fate as their leaders. Many of them let it be known that they had never had their heart in the

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 605. [2] HARD., 362. [3] RYM., VIII., 400. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 14, 19, June 11th and 12th, 1405. [5] His manors of Plumpton and Barcomb (Berkomp), near Lewes, were granted to the Earl of Arundel June 11th, 1405.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 18. In PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 18, 20, May 31st, 1408, they returned to his brother, Sir William Bardolph, who was serving King Henry loyally at Calais. FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 12, May 22nd, 1408; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 13, November 27th, 1408. [6] *Ibid.*, dorso.

business at all, that they had followed the Archbishop's banner on compulsion,[1] and were willing to submit to the King, if they had reasonable hope that their lives would be spared. The King now issued an order to the Sheriffs of Yorkshire, Lincoln, Nottingham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, taking the persons and property of all fugitives under his protection, ordering that they should not be molested, provided that they came in before the next Michaelmas to take their punishment in the shape of fines or in whatever way should afterwards be determined, and specifying the men of Topcliffe,[2] Sessay, Hutton, Assenby, and other places in the neighbourhood where the spirit of rebellion had taken deepest root.

The royal army meanwhile was well on its way North. No difficulty was met with in passing the Tees. The bridge at Yarm[3] was under repair, and the river was probably crossed at Croft, to the south of Darlington. On June 19th,[4] the King was at Durham, where he remained two days, and on the 21st,[5] he reached Newcastle. The town was under obligation to him, for he had just[6] raised it to the level of London, York, and Bristol, by erecting it into an independent county, with power to elect its own sheriff, who should be responsible to the King alone. The burgesses had been kept loyal largely through the influence of the mayor, Roger Thornton,[7] the Dick Whittington of Tyneside,[8] though he had

[1] Per vim et contra voluntatem suam ut dicitur.—RYM., VIII., 401. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 9, 18, June 12th, 1405. [3] *Ibid.*, 1, 24, 27, October 26th, 1404. [4] ROT. VIAG., 16, 17. PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 20, has an entry dated "Wentbrig," June 17th, *i.e.*, near Darrington, a little to the south of Pontefract. [5] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15. [6] WELFORD, 225, dated May 23rd, 1400. [7] He was also Mayor in 1400, 1401, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1426, and 1427. He is called Mayor in the grant. He was Mayor on December 29th, 1404 (PAULI, from Canterbury MSS. in HR., V., 331; HIST. MSS., 5TH REPT., 443), and he was still Mayor on May 2nd, 1406 (WELFORD, 240), though Robert Chirdon appears as Mayor in the usual

himself sustained personal losses to the extent of 1,000 marks. Obstructions were now rapidly clearing away. The mayors of Hartlepool,[1] Whitby, and Scarborough, were ordered to send ships and provisions to Berwick, and the field was open for a smart advance to run down the Earl in his last strongholds in Northumberland.

Up the South Tyne Valley, near Haydon Bridge, was the small castle of Langley.[2] It was a "stone castle of an indifferent bigness," and had been built by Sir Thomas Lucy,

lists (WELFORD, 241, 429). Thornton was afterwards rewarded with grants of land in Cleveland, forfeited by Prior William Lasingby and other rebels, and a parcel of lead, valued at £20, belonging to the Earl of Northumberland in Newcastle.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 15, Feb. 8th, 1406; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 2, 21, May 27th, 1408. See also PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15, July 28th, 1405, in ARCHÆOL., ÆL., O. S., II., 28; HODGSON, II., 382; WELFORD, 239. Thornton worked some lead mines in Weardale, under a lease from the Bishop of Durham.—BOURNE, 205. PRIV. SEAL, 650/6729, Nov. 29th, 1410, gives him permission to take goods of Livonian merchants then in his possession in payment of £100 lent by him to the Prince of Wales and not yet repaid. He gave the lead for plumbing the roof of the nave of Newminster Abbey, near Morpeth, and built the tower of Witton-by-the-Water, near Hartburn, and the God's House of St. Catherine (known as Thornton's Hospital, or the Mesondieu of Sint Kateryne), on the sandhills by the Tyne at Newcastle in 1403.—WELFORD, 235, 249, 272, 288; MONAST., VI., 716. He was one of the collectors of customs at Newcastle.—REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4th, 1408; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 13th, 1409; *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 21st, 1410; *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1412. He was Bailiff of Newcastle, 1397-8, and one of the representatives of Newcastle in the Parliaments of 1399, 1411, 1417, and 1419. He died at his house in the Broad Chare, at Newcastle, on Jan. 2nd, 1430 (in crastino Circumcisionis.—NEWMINSTER CHARTULARY, 302; MONAST., V., 401); and was buried beneath a magnificent Flemish brass in All Saints' Church, Newcastle. For a picture of the old church, see WELFORD, 414. For the brass (figured in HODGSON, II., 11; ARCH. ÆL., XV., 78; and still preserved), see BOURNE, 95; BRAND, 276; MACKLIN, 106; ANTIQUARY, April, 1890, page 175. For his will, dated 1429, see WILLS AND INVENTORIES, I., 78; WELFORD, 281; BOURNE, 210.

[8] Where they say:—At the Westgate came Thornton in,
With a happen (*i.e.*, halfpenny) hapt in a ram's skin.
See LEL., ITIN., VI., 46; HODGSON, II., I., 316.

[1] ROT. VIAG., 15, June 25th, 26th, 1405. [2] For description of Langley with its "monumental latrines," see ARCH. ÆL., 27, 38-56, 1884. For the privy or reredortour at Sion (otherwise called the house of easement, or the house of secret need), see EXCERPT. HIST., 413; AUNGIER, 253, 296. For Wickham's gongs at New College, see COCKERELL, in PROCEEDINGS OF ARCHÆOL. INST., 1845, p. 31.

about fifty years before,[1] "in a very convenient place for the defence of the Incourses of the Scots of Lyddesdale and of the thieves of Tyndale,[2] Gilsland, and Bowecastell, when they ride to steal and spoil within the bishoprick of Durham." Langley had come into the possession of the Earl of Northumberland about 1383, together with the rest of the "Lucylands,"[3] by his second marriage[4] with Maud,[5] only daughter of the founder. The castle yielded without a struggle, and on July 20th, 1405,[6] it was taken over, together with arms, artillery and victuals, by Sir Robert Umfraville, in the King's name.

Lower down the river, about eleven miles above Newcastle, the castle of Prudhoe[7] had been already surrendered by John

[1] Survey of 1542, in HODGSON, III., ii., 217. [2] For the desperate condition of the Franchises of Tynedale and Hexhamshire, see STAT., I., 178; STAT., 2 H. V., c. 5. [3] *i.e.*, Cockermouth, Egremont, with the great barony of Copeland, Wastdale, Wigton, and property in Carlisle.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 5; FONBLANQUE, I., 510, from PED. FIN., 8 R. II., No. 109. [4] His first wife, Margaret Nevil, widow of William, fourth Baron de Roos (d. 1352), having died May 12th, 1372.—COLLINS, II., 265. [5] She was the widow of Gilbert Umfraville, titular Earl of Angus.—CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 22. She died December, 1397 (not 1392, as FONBLANQUE, I., 139).—ARCH. ÆL., 1860, IV., 175. See the long list of her possessions in Lincolnshire, Northumberland, and Cumberland, in INQ. POST MORT., III., 243. In HARL. MS., 692 (26), fol. 235, ex registro monasterii de Whitby, she is called "the Countes of Angus, dawghter and heire of the Lord Lucy."—ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., 7. The Earl of Northumberland had been previously contracted to her daughter Elizabeth (not niece, as FONBLANQUE, I., 139), and thereby secured the castle of Prudhoe, see PEERIS or PEERES or PEARS, METRICAL CHRONICLE, circ. 1500, in MS. REG. BIB., 18 D., 11; COLLIER, I., 88; ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., 381; ARCH. ÆL., IV., 176. But the child died before the marriage could be brought about, and the Earl afterwards married her mother (or perhaps step-mother). In MIRROR FOR MAG., 303, the wife of the Earl is called Dame Eleanor Mortimer, which is altogether a mistake. [6] ROT. VIAG., 15, has order to the governor, Alexander Fetherstonhalgh, to hand it over. The castle, manor, and domain were granted to Umfraville Aug. 7th, 1405, in PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 5, so that the ruin described in the survey of 1608, "soe hath been time out of mynde," must have been wrought later. For administration of Sir Gilbert Umfraville, Lord of Redesdale, February 19th, 1421, see GENEAL., VII., 284. [7] FONBLANQUE, I., 538. For description of Prudhoe, see ARCH. ÆL., VI., 116; XIV., 199. For survey of ruins in 1596, see GROSE, IV., Addenda, p. 5; also Vol. III., S.V. SURTEES, DURHAM, IV., 152, says that the Earl of Northumberland was driven back to Prudhoe after the battle of Shrewsbury.

Skipton[1] to the King's officers, and plunderers had been busy driving off the Earl's cattle from the park. Cockermouth had likewise submitted and been taken over by John Skelton and Robert Lowther on behalf of the Earl of Westmoreland. A detachment of the royal army was lying[2] in readiness around Sir Robert Ogle's[3] castle at Bothal[4] on the Wansbeck, where the lands had all been burnt and wasted by the Scots. On the 27th of June, 1405,[5] the King's headquarters were at Widdrington, a few miles south of Warkworth, and the garrisons of Warkworth and Alnwick were summoned to surrender. At Alnwick,[6] where the garrison had seized horses and other property from their more peaceful neighbours[7] who refused to join the rebellion, the captain told the King to win Berwick first. The captain of Warkworth, trusting to the quantity of his supplies and the number of his men, refused outright, vowing that he would keep his charge in the name of the Earl of Northumberland. This answer was no sooner carried to the King than straightway the guns, hoards,[8] pales, scaling-ladders, and other ordnance of war were brought up for the attack. This "worm-eaten hold of ragged stone"[9] stands on sloping

[1] ROT. VIAG. (17), dated Ripon, June 15th, 1405, has orders to David Throllop to take it over; also for Cockermouth. [2] INQ. P. MORT., III., 299. [3] PAT. 7 H. IV., 1, 2, 5, shows that on February 15th and 17th, 1406, the castle was held by Robert Ogle, senior. For his arms in the cloisters at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 79. For his brass at Hexham, dated October 31st, 1410 (which should be 1409, ARCH. ÆL., XIV., 285, XV., 76), see HODGES, HEXHAM ABBEY, plate 34; INQ. P. MORT., III., 329. [4] For account of Bothal, see BATES, 283; ARCH. ÆL., October 16th, 1885; PROCEEDINGS, II., 104; XIV., 283; GROSE, S.V. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 4; ROT. VIAG., 17, 18. [6] HARD., 363. [7] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 49[III], has an entry dated March 23rd, 1406, showing rent remitted to tenants of the neighbouring hamlet of Stamford on account of damage done by rebels of Alnwick, who had seized twenty horses and other goods and chattels to the value of £200. [8] For "hurdys," see NICHOLAS, NAVY, II., 474. See account of assault on Bothal Castle in November, 1409, in ROT. PARL., III., 629, reading "palys" for "pavyses"; see LIB. ALB., 477, 585, 685. [9] HENRY IV., Part II., Induction, 35.

ground surrounded[1] on three sides by the river Coquet, and defended on the remaining side by a deep moat. Nevertheless, after seven shots *(sept gettes)* the captain and the whole garrison cried mercy, and submitted to the King's grace "in high and low."[2] The garrison were allowed to pass out "with horse and harness,"[3] and on July 1st, 1405, the castle was in the King's hands. The next day he wrote to the council in London his own account[4] of the "good and gracious exploit," whereby he had secured all the castles except Alnwick; and of this he had good hope that he should very soon have all his own way. It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that all the brave talk of resistance was only a blind to throw a decent cover over a faint-hearted defence and an abject surrender. The garrison must have been strongly demoralized, and the game already quite played out, or such an impregnable[5] place could not have fallen at the noise of seven cracks.[6] It fell, however, and with its fall there came into the King's hands a store[7] of treasonable correspondence, showing how deeply the great Lords of England had been implicated with the Percies in the earlier movement which ended in the disaster at Shrewsbury. Warkworth, like Langley, was committed to the charge of the Sheriff of Northumberland,[8] Sir Robert Umfraville, who made

[1] GROSE, III., S.V.; ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., 388. The great octagonal keep, with the watch-tower, had not yet been built, but a strong work must have stood on the same site on the mound at the far end of the court. [2] Cf. HOCCL., DE REG., 93, 94; ANTIQUARY, XI., 108. In alto et basso.—NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 15. [3] HARDYNG, 363, who says that it fell "after assautes fell and sore." [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 275. For a document dated apud parcum nostrum de Warkworth, July 2nd, 1405, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15. [5] OTT., 257. [6] NICHOLAS, NAVY, II., 184. [7] HARDYNG (361), who saw the letters, asserts that every lord in England was pledged by sealed bonds (chartis ragmannis, SCOTICHRON., XV., c. 17,) to the Percies in 1403, except the Earl of Stafford, who lost his life fighting for the King. [8] He had also the town and domain of Warkworth.—CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 32, October 30th, 1408. He was Governor of Harbottle, as representing his young nephew Gilbert, son and heir of his brother, Sir Thomas Umfraville.—HODGSON, II., i., 50. HARDING (355, 356,) seems

the chronicler, John Harding,[1] his constable, and by July 9th,[2] King Henry had arrived before the walls of Berwick.

While the King had been slowly bringing up his army and his guns, the Earl of Northumberland had gathered together his few remaining friends, and was in headlong flight to the border of Scotland. He posted northwards and appeared before the gates of Berwick with 300 mounted men. Amongst them were young Sir Henry Boynton, from Acklam[3] in Cleveland, who in spite of his oath[4] taken in 1403, had been led away into rebellion, and Ivo,[5] Lord of Welle[6] in Lincolnshire,[7] son of the manful, stout champion, of good pith,[8] who had tilted with Davy Lindsay on London Bridge. His sister Margery[9] was the wife of Stephen Scrope, Lord of Masham, the Archbishop's brother, and he himself had married Maud, the daughter of

to record two separate engagements between him and Rutherford, one in 1399, at Foulhopelaw in Coquetdale, and another on September 29th, 1400, at the Rede Swire, near the same spot, spelt Redd Swire in CALIG., C. v., (1575), quoted in HODGSON, II., I., 155, or "The red Squire" in SAXTON, or "Red Squibe," HARRISON, 1577. For the "Raid of Reidswire," see STODART, II. 211. For Richard Rutherford, one of the Wardens of the Marches in 1400, see GEFFREY, HISTORY OF ROXBURGH, Vol. 3, 4. He was a Commissioner for a truce with the Scots in 1398.—RYM., VIII., 54. For his five sons, James, Robert, William, John, and Nicol, three of whom were also Wardens of the Marches, see HARD., 355. For John Turnbull, of Minto, known as Out-with-Sword, and his relative William Stewart, see DOUGLAS, PEERAGE, 598; HARD., 357; NOTES AND QUERIES, 6th Series, XII., 295; ABERDEEN RECORDS, I., 384.

[1] HARD., 361. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 4 d.; 13 H. IV., 27 d., Feb. 28th, 1410, Sampson Hardyng is a Commissioner to enquire as to a Flemish vessel driven ashore at Warkworth and plundered by the Earl of Mar. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 6 d., September 4th, 1410, he is one of the Justices for gaol delivery at Newcastle-on-Tyne. [2] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, has an entry dated Berwick, July 9th, 1405. [3] HODGSON, III., 2, 383, from PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15. [4] RYM., VIII., 323. [5] Or Eudo.—DUGDALE, II., 11. In FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 20, Eudo de Welle, esquire, has permission to travel abroad, December 20th, 1407. [6] This is perhaps the meaning of "Tuwile" (*i.e.*, "'t Welle," or At Welle.—GENEAL., V., 213, VII., 205), in HARDYNG, 363. [7] HARLEIAN SOC., XVI., 151. [8] Page 63. WYNT., IX., XI., 30. [9] She died in 1422.—TEST. EBOR., I., 385; II., 184; CORPUS CHRISTI GILD, 18.

Ralph, Lord Greystoke, of Morpeth, whose son William[1] was now in command of the garrison in Berwick Castle. We know also the names of Richard Aske, Ranulf del See,[2] Lord of Barmston[3] near Bridlington, Robert Prendergest[4] of Berwick, John Blenkinsop[5] from the Tipalt in Tynedale, and John Haconshaw,[6] a Lancashire man from the forest of Amounderness[7] on the flats by the Irish Sea.

The castle at Berwick, together with the great Percy Tower,[8] which faced it on the town side, was still in the hands of the friends of the Earl of Northumberland, but the town[9] was nominally loyal to the King, who had just granted the townspeople twenty acres of pasture land on the Snuke.[10] The possession of the Percy Tower was necessary for the very existence of the garrison in the Castle, where there was neither mill, brewhouse, nor garner, and supplies could only be procured by keeping communication open with the town. A message was sent to the Mayor asking that the Earl and his horsemen might be allowed to enter the town and refresh themselves.

[1] OTT., 257; GROSE, I., 112; ANDREWS, II., 8. [2] This gives a clue to the curious corruption in the text of HARDYNG, 363, "And Prendirgest ran on the sea also," should be "Ranulph del See." In ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 216, the name is Rand. de See. PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 15, has pardon (1412) to Robert Waterton, Sheriff of Lincoln, for permitting escape of Richard de le See, of Yorkshire, from prison at Wakefield. For pedigree of family of Atte See, or De la Mare, see BOYLE, 52; NOTES AND QUERIES, 31/8/89, p. 100; ATHENÆUM, 18/1/90, p. 82. [3] FOSTER, s.v. BOYNTON; POULSON, I., 195; CAMDEN, III., 77. [4] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., March 2nd, 1405, has a payment to the Treasurer per manus Roberti Prendergest et Johannis Werk de Berewick. For Prendregast as a knightly name in Berwickshire, temp. Ed. I., see CAL. OF DOCTS. RELATING TO SCOTLAND, II., 201, 206, 210, 214, 215, 470. In CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 33, John Prendergest is to give up Cause Castle (Salop), on the Welsh border, to William Bromshelf. [5] HARD., 363; HODGSON, II., iii., 128. He still owned Blenkinsop Castle in 1416.—*Ibid.*, III., i., 27. [6] Called Hakansew.—PAT. 6 H. IV., 2, 3; or Hakenneshawe.—LANCASHIRE INQUISITIONS, CHET. SOC., 82. [7] For the Forest of Aundernesse, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 2[1]. [8] HODGSON, III., 2, 382, quoting PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 7; *i.e.*, RYM., VIII., 364. Called the Douglas Tower in 1355.—SCOTICHRON., II., 351. [9] See page 57. [10] HODGSON, ut sup. m. 38. Called "le Snuke," in Charter of James I.—RAINE, N. DURHAM, App. 152.

The Mayor answered that if he were a faithful subject to the King he might come in and welcome. To this the Earl replied that he was quite loyal to the King, but that there was a feud between himself and some of his neighbours, and that it would be to the advantage of the townsmen of Berwick if they would admit him and put themselves under his protection, threatening that, if they refused, he would force an entrance, whether they would or no. It would appear as though the Mayor had as yet heard nothing of the doings at Topcliffe and Shipton. He may have thought that this was some local quarrel between the northern Earls, and that, in the absence of Prince John and the royal troops, it would be better to take sides distinctly with the one who held the castle, rather than run the risk of seeing the houses burnt and the town pillaged for want of a powerful friend. The Earl was accordingly admitted to the town. But in an hour's time the Mayor found out his mistake. The keys[1] were forced from him, and the tone and language of the new arrivals soon showed that they were flying in disorder before the advance of their victorious King. He came before the Earl with tears in his eyes, upbraided him with having so deceived him, and offered to leave his wife and children and all that he had, if only he might be allowed to depart, vowing that he would not eat in the town till he had justified himself before the King. "Your goods are safe," said the Earl. "Go, and fear not." The Mayor lost no time, but made his way southward to the King, who was probably still at Pontefract. His excuses were accepted, and his conduct under the circumstances was condoned.

These events took place early in June,[2] before the King had

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 605. [2] *Ibid.* See letter from Prince John, dated Durham, June 9th, from VESP. F., VII., 107 (95), in PINKERTON, I., 82. From RYM., VIII., 400, it is evident that the Earl and a large number of Scots were in Berwick some days before June 10th, 1405.

entered York. The Earl of Northumberland had already opened communications with the Scots, and Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, soon presented himself at Berwick on their behalf. As a result of this conference, the Earl of Northumberland sent three of his friends, Sir Henry Boynton, William Lasingby, Prior of Guisborough,[1] and a clerk named John Burton, into Scotland, on June 11th, 1405,[2] offering to hand over Berwick to the King of Scots, if he could make satisfactory terms for himself. The messengers were also to communicate with three envoys[3] of the King of France, who were then negociating with the King of Scotland, and they carried a letter from the Earl of Northumberland, addressed to the Duke of Orleans, soliciting his influence with the French King, asserting that he was fighting to maintain the rights of King Richard, if he were yet alive, or to avenge him if dead, acknowledging the right of Isabel to the throne of England, and offering to support the side of the Duke of Orleans in his feud with "Henry of Lancaster, now ruling England." But his Scottish friends were too double for him, and within a year copies of his letters found their way, probably through the Duke of Albany, into King Henry's hands, who produced them with fatal effect at the next meeting of his Parliament.

A body of Scots was collected under the command of the Warden of the Marches,[4] the fiery James Douglas, brother to the Earl of Douglas, who was still a prisoner in London, the Earl of

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 8, where his estates are forfeited for sympathy with rebellion. PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 5, has pardon to William de Laysingby, of Yorkshire, dated Feb. 20th, 1409. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 605. [3] Whose names appear as Sir John Chaverbrelyhake [(Cambernart ?).—DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 37, 133, 166; RYM., VII., 631, 794; VIII., 98; or Chaverbernard.—ROY. LET., I. 205. In ANN., 400, Hanord Camberciarde, Captain of Thérouanne, is among the prisoners captured by the English, May 13th, 1405; called Hanard Cambernard.—DEVON, 248; or Hanard de Cambernaz, in EC. DES CH., L., 364, 375.], Master John Andrew, and Master John or Reyner Ardinguill or Haydeull. [4] PLUSCARD., I., 347.

Orkney,[1] and John Stewart[2] of Coul,[3] afterwards Earl of Buchan,[4] second son of the Duke of Albany, by his second wife, Muriella,[5] daughter of Sir William Keith. Wages for their immediate needs were extorted[6] with threats from the customers of Edinburgh, and the force marched down and seized the long-coveted prize, while the chance lay open. They held Berwick just long enough to plunder what they could, and when the English troops advanced, they destroyed all the stores and fired[7] the town, sparing only the churches and religious houses. They then beat a hasty retreat, and decamped for their lives.

The Earl of Northumberland also had no intention of risking capture at Berwick. He had held it merely as a door of escape, when danger should press. Having already secured a guarantee for his personal safety from Sir David Fleming, he left his castles and followers and promises to take care of themselves, and crossed the border into Scotland, whither he had before sent on his young grandchild, the son of Hotspur, a boy twelve years of age,[8] who was heir to his name and lands. So when the King's[9] army came up to Berwick, they found their work nearly done. The castle was summoned, and when the garrison refused to yield, the "huse" was set up for the

[1] PINKERTON, I., 82. [2] REG. MAG. SIG. SCOT., 217. [3] On Deeside in Mar.—HIST. MSS., 5TH REPORT, 626. [4] "Bouchane," MENTEITH, II., 281; "Bowgham," HALLE, 26; or "Bowhan," GRAFTON, 431. [5] MENTEITH, I., 236. [6] Per vim.—EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 21, 44, 81. See also *ibid.*, III., 567, for violence of James Douglas. Per minas et incarcerationes.—*Ibid.*, IV., 193, 216, 244, 270, 365. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 137. [8] Born February 3rd, 1393, DOYLE, II., 646; or 1394, FONBLANQUE, I., 241, who quotes a charter to show that the boy was in Scotland on Jan. 18th, 1404. Hotspur himself was born May 20th, 1364.–CHRON. ALNWICK, in ARCH. ÆL., III., 1, 42. [9] From ROT. VIAG., 16, the King would appear to have been back at Newcastle on July 6th, but this is not conclusive, for we have papers, dated at Pontefract, July 5th and 6th (*ibid.*, 17, 18), and he was certainly not there on these days. The date on the Roll is probably a mistake for August. See page 272, note 6.

mangonels,[1] petronels, springalds,[2] catapults, and bumbards,[3] the drivels[4] and firing-irons were got ready, and the "engines called cannons," already Englished into the little word "guns,"[5] were brought to bear on the walls.

A pictorial representation in a contemporary manuscript gives us but a ludicrous idea of the power for mischief of these dreaded novelties. Some sixty years before, they might have dealt destruction on the field of Crécy,[6] amidst the ranks of spearmen and archers, protected only by their pavises or wooden shields. They marked, no doubt, a distinct advance upon the method of wheeling up bastilles or timber towers which were liable to be destroyed by pots of naphtha,[7] blazing tow, and wild-fire,[8] as soon as they got within range, but against

[1] P. PLO., XXI., 295. [2] FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., referring to this siege, contains, *inter alia*, springaldshafts winged with tin. Cf. Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{2}\frac{1}{3}$, App. E. [3] HALLE, 25; GOWER, CONF. AM., 437. For description of them at Pisa in 1405, see PALMIERI, 177. [4] FABR. ROLLS, 18, has ii drjvelles ferri in a list of builders' tools.—NICHOLAS, NAVY, II., 481. [5] RYM., VIII., 498, 694; WALS., I., 405. PROMPT. PARV., I., 218, s.v., has petraria, mangonale, murusculum. In Flanders, they appear as "engiens appiellés connoilles."—LABORDE, I., XXXIV. [6] VIOLLET-LE-DUC, MOBILIER, VI., 318, s.v. TRAIT-À-POUDRE. It is said that ten pieces of cannon, called "trons," were first used in Spain by the Castilians at the battle of Aljubarota.—MAJOR, 16; but no mention of this occurs in the detailed account of the battle in FROISSART, III., 53, 94. If they were there at all, they had probably been used at the siege of Lisbon in the previous year. For earlier date, viz., 1257, see EC. DES CH., II., i., 33. For cannon at Florence in 1326, see *ibid.*, 50; also at Rouen, 1338, *ibid.*, 36. They were used by attackers and defenders at Ypres in 1383.—WALS., II., 99; KNIGHTON, 2672. PLATINA (269) notes that Venetian galleys were armed with bumbards in 1380, two or more in each vessel. They were called from their thunder, and were just invented by a German. They could kill two or three men at a shot.—DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 269. In 1403, Boucicaut's galleys were armed with bumbards and viretons (Cf. "As a vire that flieth out of a mighty bowe."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 98.) in the expedition against Cyprus.—BOUCICAUT, 277, 281, 288. In the street fighting at Rome in 1405, bumbards were fired from the castle of St. Angelo.—PETRI, in MURATORI, XXIV., 977, 978; RAYNALDI, XVII., 297. [7] See account of the siege of Smyrna by Timur in 1402, in CHERYF-ED-DYN (IV., 51), who visited Smyrna afterwards and got his details on the spot. [8] *i.e.*, Sulphur, pitch, and resin.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 243. For Greek fire, see BACON, 536.

the tremendous masonry that has stood all shocks of weather, time, and frost, for hundreds of years, they could have made no sort of play at all, and the garrison had only to practise a moderate amount of judicious bobbing behind battlements to laugh[1] their little efforts to scorn. About fifty years ago, some early specimens of English guns were dredged up on Walney Island[2] off the Lancashire coast. They may have found their way there in the time of Richard II., when John Bolton,[3] Abbot of Furness, made his attempt to knock down the Pele of Fouldrey,[4] rather than be at the expense of keeping it up against the enemies of the country. From these specimens and from descriptions in official reports, it is clear that the guns of those days were long tubes formed either of laton[5] or of plate-iron about one-third of an inch in thickness, welded together with the hammer, and strengthened with iron hoops, either shrunk on or driven over. Sometimes they were made in two pieces, viz.: a short breech or chamber of great thickness, made of wrought iron,[6] without hoops, to hold the charge, and a

[1] MACBETH, v., 5, 3. [2] ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVIII., 373. One of the specimens there figured has two touch-holes in the middle, and the muzzles pointing opposite ways. A small gun found in the same neighbourhood, in the foundations of Dalton Castle, is probably of later date. [3] From 1378-1404. In consequence of this, Walney was seized into the King's hands, though given up to the Abbot in 1404.—BECK, 281; FURNESS COUCHER, I., 215; DEP. KEEP. 33RD REPT., p. 4. In 1411, the Abbot of Furness complains of the difficulty of communicating with his Yorkshire tenants, being separated from them by two dangerous arms of the sea, where many persons are drowned every year.—ROT. PARL., III., 657. [4] MARRIOTT, 73; BATES, 57. [5] *i.e.*, bronze.—NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 480; GOWER, CONF. AM., 413, 425. It contained 64 parts of copper, 29½ of zinc, 3½ of lead, and 3 of tin.—NOTES AND QUERIES, 3rd Ser., XII., 301, 395. Sometimes called brass (*e.g.*, ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 339; "brasene gonnes," P. PLO., XXI., 293), or copper (NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 478, 480. FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., has 23 canon de cupro et de ferro). An inventory taken at the beginning of Henry the Fourth's reign, shows that there were then 39 copper and iron guns stored in the Tower of London.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{19}$, App. E. [6] PAT., 9 H. IV., I, 10, has a reference to re-making of certain guns in the Tower. Iron, coal, and all necessaries are to be provided. See also DEVON, 312; FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV.

moveable iron stock to give direction to the plummet[1] or stone.[2] They were mounted on wheeled trunks[3] or swung with poisers on chains suspended by rings over a flat wooden[4] stage. From a claim put in towards the end of this reign we know that a large gun sometimes contained as much as two tons of metal,[5] and we have a record of 10,000lbs.[6] (or about 4½ tons) of copper bought at Dinant[7] in 1402, to make a great gun for King Henry, at a cost[8] of £135. In 1406,[9] the Duke of Burgundy bought a gun at Bruges weighing 2,000lbs. (about 18cwt.), which could throw a stone of 120lbs. Such a gun took twenty-two[10] horses to draw it, while others were so small that two[11] or more could be carried on the back of a

[1] Cf. cinq canons de cuivres jetans plommées, un de fer jetant pierres for Duke of Orleans' fortresses, September 12th, 1407.—JARRY, 353; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 273. For plommées, see DESCHAMPS, IV., 272; VII., 35; ponderosas plumbatas.—ST. DENYS, III., 322. [2] For "gonne-stones," see DAVIES, SOUTHAMPTON, 100. For a payment for 10,000 of them, see DEVON, 336, and cf. the order in RYM., IX., 159, apparently referred to in ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVIII., 385. PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 4 d, March 2nd, 1408, has order for workmen to make petras pro canonis sive gunnis from quarries at Harescombe, near Gloucester. Other noted quarries were at Maidstone Heath (Pinnenden?) and Ashford in Kent.—FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV.; RYM., IX., 542; HIST. MSS., 9TH REPT., I., 138. Cf. "mulle stones" in P. PLO., XXI., 295; "bussen stene."—VOSSBERG, 130; "pierres de canon."—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135; "pierres canons gettans ou hault estaige."—DESCHAMPS, V., 218. [3] For illustrations, see FROIS. (Johnes), I., 119, II., 208, IV., 213; KNIGHT, II., 246, 248, from HARL. MS., 2379. PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 29 d, March 26th, 1408, has order for guns and trunks, also for boscum et mæremium *pro truncacione gunnarum*. FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., has one magnum canon *cum trunco*, and frequent entries of ligaturæ canonum and truncs p. canon. See Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{23}$, App. E. [4] In 1406, the Duke of Burgundy bought at Bruges 8 pieds de bois pour canons and 16 entaillements pour mectre et à faire canons. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 339. [6] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 2, App. A.; *ibid.*, XI., 15, 123. [7] For the metal trade of Dinant, see KUNTZE, XLV. [8] The prices of cannon vary immensely, *e.g.*, 12s. each, DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A. (1403). Twelve for £46 4s. (1404), Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{23}$, App. E., or nearly £4 apiece without trunks, which cost 16s. 8d. each. In 1372, a great iron gun cost 40s.—NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 480. On January 16th, 1408, a large new cannon costs £13 6s. 8d.—DEVON, 307. [9] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135. [10] See the "Rifflard" at Orleans in 1420.—VIOLLET-LE-DUC, MOBILIER, V., 249, S.V. ENGIN. [11] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{95}{36}$ (1), App. F.

single horse. Some were forged with two[1] heads and two stocks, throwing stones six inches in diameter. Others were known as pellott-guns,[2] or handguns,[3] for lead pellets[4] from ¼lb. to ½lb. in weight. The guns were fired by means of heated pins[5] or gads[6] thrust into the vent, and the charge was firmed with wadding,[7] rammed home with an iron pestle.[8] The gun-stones were tied[9] with iron bands, nailed and pegged together. A large[10] gun would take twenty skilled enginers to handle her, and could only be fired about once in an hour, and even then at great risk to the gunners' lives. It is not surprising that the guns frequently burst[11] in action. Cannoners[12] had the same wage as balisters[13] and archers. They were clad in habergeons[14] and bassinets, and served their guns with affectionate care. The larger guns had separate names,[15] as The Messenger, The King's Daughter, London, Thomas-with-the-

[1] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{20}$, App. E. Une canon ove deux chambres.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 341. In NAVAL ACCTS. for 1338, is un canon de ferr ove ii chambres, un autre de bras ove une chambre, iii canons de ferr ove v chambres, and un handgone.—NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 475. [2] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{23}$, App. E. [3] For parvum gonn manuale, see FOREIGN ACCTS., 10 H. IV.; PLANCHÉ, I., 233; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LOUIS ET CHARLES, Plate xl., 266; ARCHÆLOGIA, XXII., 60. [4] For pelate, see CATHOL., 273; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 479; GOWER, CONF. AM., 281. They cost 1d. apiece in 1403.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{23}$, App. E.

Cf. As swift as a pellett out of a gonne,

When fire is in the pouder ronne.—CHAUCER, HOUSE OF FAME, 282.

[5] The Duke of Burgundy's account (Oct., 1406), has 300 sacs de charbon pour chauffer les *broches* de canons.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, from TRES. DES CHART., J, 922. [6] For 40 gadd' pro gunnes, 2s. 2d. (1405) see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{50}{16}$, App. G. [7] PROMPT. PARV., 219. [8] Pestell ferr' p. gun firmand.—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{56}{16}$, App. G. [9] 300 lbs. of iron pour forgier et faire chevilles bandes clouz et liens pour lier les pierres des diz canons.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153 (1406). [10] At the siege of Dun-le-Roy, in Berri (June 4th-8th, 1412), the Griete was fired twelve times in a day. The noise was heard four miles off.—ST. DENYS, IV., 652, 668 (an eye-witness). [11] LABORDE, I., XXXIV. For the bursting of a bumbard at Bologna in 1404, where four men were killed, see DELAYTO, 993. [12] *i.e.*, 6d. per day to Anthony Herman, FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. [13] For office of Balaster in the Tower of London, see PRIV. SEAL, 654/7114. [14] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{20}$, App. E. [15] ORD. PRIV. CO. II., 339; DAVIES, 100. For "Dulle Griete" at Oudenarde, 1382, and "Mons Meg" at Castle Douglas, 1455, see TRANS. ROYAL IRISH ACAD., XXIII., 320. In GAMEZ, 160, a large cross-bow is called La Niña (*i.e.*, La Fillette—The Lassie).

Beard, &c. England had already a name for the manufacture [1] and export [2] of guns, and many Flemings and Germans found employment here as gun-masters.[3] King Henry himself took a personal pride in his guns, and employed his ingenuity in inventing a new one, the cost [4] of which is entered at £25 6s. 8d. The gunpowder [5] was mixed in the proportion [6] of 6lbs. of saltpetre [7] to 1lb. of brimstone [8] or quick-sulphur [9] and 1lb. of talwood (usually willow [10]) charcoal, brayed in a mortar [11] or pounded on a stone, bolted and garbled in a kerchief, or riddled through a hopper [12] or sarse,[13] the powder [14] or the separate ingre-

[1] For cannon cast at Buxted, in Sussex, see DENTON, 136, from HIST. MSS., 5TH REPT., 305. [2] RYM., VIII., 694. [3] "Gunnemeysters," DEVON, 382; EC. DES CHARTES, II., 1., 47. On December 6th, 1409, Baldwin Jacobson and John Sluter were appointed Balistars in the Tower, at 6d. per day. On January 1st, 1412, Jacobson was receiving 1s. per day,—PAT., 13 H. IV., 10, 11; ISSUE ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., February 18th, 1412; ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., November 15, 1413. [4] DEVON, 308. On November 12th, 1403, Robert Walys is maker of bows, springalds, arblasts, and of apparel and array, of our guns in Pomfret Castle.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 11[t], 57[t]. [5] For Bacon's account, see BACON, 536, 551. In 1404, 1,300lbs. of gunpowder are made in the Tower, from 1,360lbs. of saltpetre and 400lbs. of sulphur.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{23}$, App. E. For "pulvis pro ingeniis" (1344), see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXII., 381; or "gunpoudre," ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 341; PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 28 (1404); RYM., IX., 160 (1414); "pobras de canon" (1406), JURADE, 3, 126, 172; "polvere da Bombarda," PITTI, 71. In 1398, 8lbs. of "bussenerude," or "pulver to den bussen," cost one mark at Marienburg.–VOSSBERG, 130. There is a record of 30 barrels of "pomadre" at Guernsey as early as 1339 (SOUTHEY, I., 428), but some learned scoffers declare that there are only barrels of *cider!*—EC. DES CHARTES, II., 1., 44; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 185. [6] See Arderne in PROMPT. PARV., S.V. "gunne." For Friar Bacon's recipe, see MEYRICK, II., 106. [7] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{20}$ m. 46, shows £8 12s. 0d. paid November 5th, 1404, to Hans Doubler for 172lbs. of saltpetre to make gunpowder for the King's cannons, lately sent to Pontefract. [8] "Brymstone."—DUNELM. IIIST., CCCCXLI. [9] "Sulfur vyf," or "sulphuris vivi," not "vini," as RYM., VII., 187. Cf. NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 480, 481. For another mistake, see EC. DES CHARTES, II., 1., 41. [10] NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 184, 479. [11] Amongst the material forwarded to Berwick for this siege was one brazen mortar, with one pestel, graters and "fraying barrells."—FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. In GROCERS' ARCH., 227, are morterz and pestell, sarsys and saundrys. [12] FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV., has taratant p. pulvere gonn'. See DU CANGE, S.V. TARATANTARA; HIST. MSS., 2ND REPT., 139; PROMPT. PARV., 246; CATHOL., 188; CHAUCER, REVES TALE, 4034, 4037; P. PLO., IX., 60. [13] NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 479;

dients[1] being delivered either in barrels[2] or leathern bags,[3] so that the mixing[4] might be done as required.

One effect, doubtless, of the appearance of the new engines had been to revolutionize the science of fortification. Old buildings, or those in course of construction, such as the Abbey of Whalley,[5] were strengthened or crenellated; others, such as Bolton and Raby, were entirely rebuilt with walls of portentous thickness. The battle between balls and walls was fairly set, and for centuries the walls had it all their own way.

At Berwick, however, the task was not very formidable. The walls were crumbling from "very feblesse,"[6] and in some places lengths of from 200 to 300 yards[7] were in actual ruin. A survey[8] of the fortifications of the town and castle was taken in the reign of Henry VIII., when the walls were "rysted and shronkin, and reven, and craysed, and bowgyt, and lyke to fawll." From this report we gather that the castle was built "so low under the town as, if the town by any means be against

ARNOLD, 188; CATHOLICON, s.v.; RELIQUIÆ ANTIQUÆ, I., 15, where "rede vynegre" is one of the ingredients. [14] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{91}{23}$, App. E (1404), shows 8,000lbs. of gunpowder stored in the Tower, and 5,000lbs. at Pontefract, the price being 1s. per lb. In 1406, the Duke of Burgundy buys 6,000lbs. of poudre de canon in Paris at 6s. per lb.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, 4.

[1] ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXII., 386 (1370-1374). ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., October 3rd, 1407, has payment for sending "salpetir" to the King in Wales. *Ibid.*, PASCH., September 10th, 1408, sending "salpetyr and sulfur" to Aberystwith. For sallepetir and souffir-vif exported to France, June 29th, 1412, see RYM., VIII., 754. In 1406, the Duke of Burgundy bought at Bruges 2,568lbs. of saltpetre, 1,114lbs. of sulphur, and 520lbs. of charbon de tilleul.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, 4. [2] Barilia xx. pulveris a bombarda or polvere da bombarda.—SATHAS, II., 225, 234. [3] NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 479. [4] In the STEWARDS' BOOK of Southampton, 1457, are payments to two men "to make gonepowdere for iiij. dayes," and for a labourer to "bete coles" (*i.e.*, charcoal) "for the gonepowdere," while the French were before the town.—DAVIES, 214. [5] WHITAKER, WHALLEY, I., 96. [6] VESP. F., VII., 97. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 93, 137; ROT. PARL., III., 605; OTT., 257. On Dec. 5th, 1405, an order was issued from Westminster, granting 1,000 marks to the people of Berwick out of their customs to help repair houses and buildings lately destroyed by "our rebels and enemies."—ROT. SCOT., II., 176. [8] ARCH. ÆL., I., 87.

the castle, the said castle can no ways hurt or danger the town, and the town greatly hurt and danger the castle." The town was surrounded by a wall about two miles[1] in circumference, made of lime and stone and black earth, from three to four feet in thickness. On the south-western side facing the river, it was connected by a timber bridge with the town of Tweedmouth, which was the home of "fishermen[2] that doth fish the river for salmon." But on this side, where the river with the "surging of the water" formed a sufficient defence, there were no towers, and the wall was mostly of stone and clay, so low "that a man may stand within the wall and take another by the hand without the wall." On the north and east sides, at intervals of about 120 yards, rose small towers, some 12 feet wide, with outer walls varying from 4 to 8 feet in thickness, "overheled" with timber, and strengthened on the outside with a countermure. The towers varied in height from 14 to 40 feet, and were known as the Percy, the Broadstair Head, the Murderer,[3] the Middle Tower, the Red Tower, the Conduit, the Windmill, the Blackwatchouse, the Plommers, and so forth. To the east, the wall was further protected on the side of the sea and the Ness by additional bulwarks and earthworks, taking advantage of the stanks or pools which formed in the low ground towards the sea. On the western side, opposite to and about 50 yards from the Percy Tower, stood the Castle or Dongeon which had been strengthened by King Edward I. about one hundred years before. It was approached on the town side by a drawbridge, and was surrounded by a wall with towers in every way resembling those of the town. From the sout-west angle a wall 94 yards long, known as the White Wall, ran down to the

[1] *i.e.*, 3,105 yards, excluding the entrance. [2] RAINE, 25, from survey dated 1560. For the salmon fishery at Berwick, see STAT., I., 355 (1357).
[3] See NOTES AND QUERIES, March 3rd, 1887, p. 215.

Tweed, terminating in a tower which stood in the river itself. On the north-west corner of the fortifications was a stank with a postern strengthened by a barmkin[1] or apron of stone.

The King's army was soon in possession of the town, and the guns were directed against the south face of the castle wall till a breach of some 40 yards was made near an iron gate known as the "postern entry behind the court." Then a well-directed stone from the big gun crashed through an iron grid[2] that served as a window in the Constable Tower, and killed a man who was mounting the stair. The masonry was here only two feet[3] in thickness, and the upper portion of the tower was wrecked, so that no one could pass. The garrison quickly lost heart, and resolved to throw themselves on the King's mercy. Aske, Boynton, Haconshaw, and Del See were executed within[4] the castle, together with many others, of whom the names of William Mamiby, John Carter, John Lilleford, and Walter Benn are still known. The heads of Boynton[5] and Mamiby were sent to Newcastle, to be fixed[6] for a few days on the bridge and over the gates; those of Aske and Del See were set on Bootham Bar at York; while others were forwarded to Bishop Auckland, Barnard Castle, and Barmpton,[7] near Darlington. The Lord of Welle was pardoned[8] through the intercession of his father-in-law, but he had to pay a fine[9] of 100 marks, which went to fill the coffers of Prince John. Three

[1] CLARK, I., 171, has license dated 1406, to "fund, big ande upmak a toure of fens with barmkin and bataling" at Kilravock, near Inverness. Cf. "Hyde thy hande in thy barme" (= bosom).—YORK PLAY, 77. "Had his knockus lapt in his barmskin."—TIM BOBBIN, TUMMUS AND MEARY, 43. See BATES, BORDER HOLDS, 64. [2] EUL., III., 408. [3] ARCH. ÆL., I., 92. [4] LANCASHIRE INQUISITIONS, p. 82. [5] ROT. VIAG., 17, July 12th, 1405. [6] Boynton's head was given up for burial on July 23rd, 1405.—ROT. VIAG., 17. The order for removal of the others, dated July 6th, should probably be August 6th.—*Ibid.* [7] See FEODARIUM PRIORATUS DUNELM., 46, and DEP. KEEP., 33RD REPT., 44, 46, 62. [8] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 11, August 7th, 1405. [9] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 30; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 26.

ships with 180 armed men[1] brought round provisions from Scarborough, Whitby, and Flamborough Head, including 100 quarters of wheat, 340 barrels of beer, and four barrels of codling, mulwell,[2] and other salted fish, and the further keeping of the castle was entrusted to Sir Thomas Grey.[3]

Berwick had certainly fallen before July 12th, 1405, and its capture was regarded as a triumph for the "great guns," which could, it was believed, "shete[4] stones of so great peyse that no wall may withstonde them." Contemporary chroniclers assert that the castle surrendered at the first shot,[5] and later writers believed that this was the first time[6] that a gun was ever used in England. The guns seem, however, to have suffered somewhat for their practice, and on August 17th, 1405,[7] smiths, masons, and carpenters were called in to help in their repair.

There was indeed little further work for them in the North. A day or two sufficed to bring the captain of Alnwick to his knees. Alnwick Castle stood on an eminence, surrounded by curtain walls and sixteen flanking towers, enclosing five acres of ground, supplied with wells, kitchens, stores, offices, stables, and lodging for at least 300 men, together with a brewhouse, fitted with a copper,[8] "which will hold liquor for the brewing of 24 boles of malt." It was still in charge of one of the Earl of Northumberland's grandsons, known as Sir Henry Percy of Athol,[9] from his father Thomas' marriage with the heiress of David of Strath-

[1] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{55}{19}$, App. G. [2] PROMPT. PARV., 348. [3] ROT. SCOT., II., 189; FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. [4] Quoted in PROMPT. PARV., 219, from a translation of VEGETIUS DE RE MILITARI, IV., 22, ROY. MS., 18, A. XII., finished in 1408, now in Bodleian Library, DIGBY, 233, said to be by TREVISA (HIGDEN, I., lv.), or CLIFTON (BOASE AND COURTNEY, II., 797, from COXE, CATALOGUS CODICUM MSS. IN COLL. OXON., II., 19). The translator signs himself enigmatically:—"Worschepful $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ toun." [5] ANN., 414; WALS., II., 271; followed by KNIGHT, II., 17. [6] SPEED, 631. The tradition is not dead yet; see WELFORD, 239. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 3. [8] GROSE, III., S.V., from survey of 1567. For view before re-building, see ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., 4, 383. [9] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 4 CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 14 d.; HODGSON, II., II., 43; BATES, 14.

bolgie, thirteenth Earl of Athol. He was advised and assisted by Sir William Clifford,[1] who had been amongst the first[2] to counsel rebellion, though yet showing much skill in balancing himself between his own interests and those of the Percy family. Immediately after the fall of Berwick, the castle of Alnwick was surrendered "without assault,"[3] and the garrison were allowed to go out with all the honours of war. The council in London had evidently not contemplated so easy a finish, for as late as July 8th, 1405,[4] they had sent orders to Lynn, Boston, and Hull, to forward great supplies of corn, wine, and fish to Newcastle. But by July 14th,[5] the King was in Alnwick Castle, transacting business on his way south.

It is not surprising that the fall of the place was attributed to treachery,[6] seeing that, before a month was over, Sir Henry Percy got back all his lands,[7] while Clifford was not only pardoned[8] but even received the castle of Egremont,[9] just confiscated by his fugitive master, together with Workington, Seaton, and Thornthwaite in the Derwent Fells. Sir Robert Umfraville, Sir Ralph Ewere, and John Mitford were commissioned[10] to see that the peace was kept in the neighbourhood of Alnwick. Other castles and strong places submitted in due course, such as Alnham[11] Tower at the head of Alnedale, and Newstead Tower near Bamborough. By the 16th July,[12] the King was again at Newcastle, and the work of the army in the North seemed done.

[1] He was brother to Sir Thomas de Clifford, Lord of Skipton.—WHITAKER, CRAVEN, 311. [2] ANN., 402. [3] HARD., 363. Faciliter.—ANN., 414. Levi negotio.—OTT., 258. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 7. [5] RYM., VIII., 454. [6] ARCH. ÆL., X., 49. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 4, August 10th, 1405. [8] ROT. VIAG., 16, July 26th, 1405. In ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., November 26th, 1412, he is retained by the King *penes se*, receiving £40 per annum. PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 27, May 3rd, 1408, records pardon to William Ashburne, lately one of the rebels in service of the Earl of Northumberland, infra castrum de Alnewyke. [9] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 7, August 9th, 1405. [10] ROT. VIAG., 15, July 20th, 1405. [11] Not Alnmouth, as RAMSAY, I., 92. [12] ROT. VIAG., 18. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Part 3, m. 10., has entry dated Newcastle, July 17th, 1405.

CHAPTER LV.

CONFISCATIONS.

WHILE the English army was at Berwick, the Abbot of Kelso[1] was sent north to remonstrate with the Scottish government for violating the terms of the truce, and to ask whether they would "reform the attemptats," or not. Arrived at Edinburgh, the Abbot was told that King Robert had gone northwards, so the letter that he brought was opened by James Douglas, who issued a meaningless proclamation that the truce must be kept, although he himself was the chief offender. But the English did not wait for legal redress. The monks of Melrose,[2] who were an offshoot from the Cistercian house at Rievaux, had begged for the protection of the King of England, promising in return to supply provisions to the English garrison at Roxburgh. The Prince of Wales,[3] with a band of raiders, now made a rapid dash, plundering in Lauderdale, Teviotdale, and Ettrick Forest. Whereupon James Douglas took upon himself to send an angry reply to the English King's message. He wrote it at Edinburgh on July 26th, 1405, charging the English with being the real trucebreakers by their attacks on Scottish ships, and their recent plundering in the Clyde;[4] and urging that, if the King of England had been led to believe that he had broken his oath,

[1] "Calkow" (*i.e.*, Chalk Heugh), in PINKERTON, I., 451; or "Kalco," SCOTICHRON., I., 286, 295, &c.; or "Kelcow," EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., II., 592. [2] ROT. VIAG., 15, July 20th, 1405; MELROS LIB., II., 473; DENTON, 73. [3] HALLE, 25. POL. VERG., 435, adds the Duke of York, who was certainly a prisoner at the time (p. 48). This may perhaps be the raid referred to in MONSTR., I., 153. [4] Page 66.

it must be because he had been victimized by some "liars"[1] who had got possession of his ear. Then followed a general disregard of truces and any such paper checks. Scottish Marchers swarmed across the border both east and west, raiding, robbing, plundering, and lifting[2] cattle and prisoners. They burned the hay stored up for winter use by the garrisons of Roxburgh and Berwick. Outside the walls of these castles none dared pasture cattle or work in the fields. The Scots captured boats and nets, and ruined the fishing in the Tweed, till the state of truce was voted worse than war. The wrecked walls of Berwick gave prospect of anxious and fatiguing watches during the coming winter nights. The garrison were disaffected, rough words were used and counsels of despair. Pay was in arrears to the amount of £6,000,[3] extending over eighteen months, and rather than face another winter they threatened to desert and leave the place void and desolate. No provisions could reach either Berwick or Fastcastle by sea, for Scottish vessels cruised constantly off the coast between the Tweed and the Tyne, under the command of Alexander Stewart,[4] Earl of Mar.

Prince John, whose headquarters were at Warkworth,[5] had orders[6] to take over the castles of Scarborough, Whitby, and Hartlepool, in the King's name. But at Scarborough, the Constable, John Mosdale,[7] refused to comply, alleging that the

[1] "Learys sulde be lytille alowid wyth ony sic worshipful kyng as yhe ar.—PINKERTON, I., 452; DOUGLAS BOOK, IV., 65; EXCERPT. HIST., 143, where (as in COTTON CATALOGUE, 498,) the letter is wrongly assigned to 1384. [2] Prises de prisoñs et forrey de bestaill.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 92. [3] In VESP., F. VII., 97, it is £4,830 17s. 9d. "Not a penny" had been received since the previous Easter, and Prince John had to pledge all his silver plate and "other poor jewels."—*Ibid.*, 113. [4] PINKERTON, I., 84, from VESP., F. VII., f. 62, printed in ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 91-95; WYNT., III., 2883. [5] For his confirmation of the charter of Hulne, dated Warkworth, January 1st, 1406, see PROCEEDINGS OF ARCHÆOL. INST., 1852, NEWCASTLE, Vol. II., App. C.; BATES, 109. [6] VESP., F. VII., 112, dated Warkworth, November 26th. [7] RYM., VII., 791; IX., 527. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 6 d., July 24th, 1410, he has had 50 marks yearly for repair of "our castle at Scarborough" since 15 R. II. He kept his post till after 1421.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 292.

castle had been committed to his charge for his life-time by King Richard II., and refusing to be ousted on such a notice. At Whitby, the Abbot, and at Hartlepool, Lord Clifford (who was married to Hotspur's daughter), demurred in like manner, and Prince John was too much weakened to insist. He forwarded a succession of letters to the council at Westminster in November, 1405,[1] urging immediate help in guns, stores, and ammunition, that the forces of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Nottingham, and Derby, should come to their aid, and that the winter should be used in carrying the war into the Scottish Marches. On December 5th, 1405,[2] the citizens of Berwick received permission to apply 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) out of their customs' receipts, towards repairing their burnt houses, and if the place did not at once fall, they had to thank the rain[3] and the floods, which soon made a serious attack impossible.

On July 18th, 1405,[4] the King was at Durham, and the services of Fulthorpe and "other his companions,"[5] were again required as judges or sentencers in another assize of blood. The four leaders who had been taken at Topcliffe, together with a chaplain, William Fuster, and Tomlin Forster, who seems to have been the captain at Cockermouth, were straightway sentenced and executed, July 20th, 1405.[6] On this day, the King was the guest of the Earl of Westmoreland at Raby,[7] where he signed an order (July 22nd),[8] by which the heads of Hastings,

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 91. VESP., F. VII., 97, 110, 111, 112, 113, all except the first signed Warkworth, Nov. 26th or 28th. In the COTTON CATALOGUE, p. 498, they are referred to 1407, but 1405 seems to fit in better. [2] ROT. SCOT., II., 176. [3] Par cause de grant crecyne de ewe.—VESP., F. VII., 97. [4] RYM., VIII., 405. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 633; CHRON. GILES, 43. HUME (II., 291) is certainly wrong in supposing that none were executed but the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal. [6] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 15; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 19. [7] ROT. VIAG., 15, 17, 18; MELROS LIB., II., 473. [8] There is a memorandum referring to this in ROY. LET., BOX 15, Public Record Office.

Fauconberg,[1] Colvil,[2] Fitzrandolph, and Forster were sent to decorate the stocks and tolbooths at Helmsley, Guisborough, Yarm, Richmond, and Scarborough, where their tenants could see for themselves the triumph of authority, and take warning from their masters' fate. The head of Fuster, the priest, was sent to York, and stuck on the Ouse bridge; most of the others were removed[3] for burial after a short exposure varying from two to three weeks, though the head of Sir Ralph Hastings remained on the tolbooth at Helmsley till well into October, 1405.[4]

Considering that the castles of Pontefract[5] and Knaresborough were crowded with prisoners, the number of rebels executed was mercifully few, and the roll which records the deaths of the leaders is filled also with long lists of pardons. In one[6] of these there is a list of sixty-three chaplains, clerks, vicars, and tenants. Their names would be tedious to repeat, but a glance at the places from which they came, such as Rudston (near Bridlington), Potto (near Stokesley), Kirkleavington, Darlington, Malton, Felton, Chynyngton, Joleby, Corbridge, Boroughbridge, Thirsk, Rievaux, and Catton, will show with tolerable accuracy the limits of the area of disturbance. In many cases reparation was made. The men of Kilburn[7] were allowed some of Colvil's sheep to compensate them for their losses, and the corncrops and harvests on Fauconberg's lands at Skelton and Marske were given

[1] In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., March 4th, 1408, he is referred to as dead, and the Earl of Westmoreland pays £100 to the Exchequer for the marriage of his daughter and heiress Joan. [2] RAMSAY, I., 92, thinks that his wife ("make," HARD., 363) was executed also, but Hardyng limits the number of executions to four, all knights. [3] See orders dated August 6th and 10th, in CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 6. [4] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 41, October 3rd, 1405, has order for its removal. [5] ROT. VIAG., 15, 17. Amongst those at Knaresborough on July 27th, 1405, is Robert Lamplowe, though according to DRAKE (107, 491), he was executed with the Archbishop, and buried in York Minster. [6] ROT. VIAG., 16, *passim*. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 2.

to his widow Joan.[1] Mary, the widow of John Haconshaw, received her husband's property in Preston,[2] where he was one of the Stewards of the Merchant Gild.[3] A maintenance of £80 per annum was apportioned to Avise,[4] the wife of Lord Bardolph; an allowance was made to Sir Henry Boynton's widow Elizabeth, and her six little children, and £40 per annum was allotted to Alice, the widow of Sir William Plumpton and her family of ten, though she was still bound to depend on others for support. Her eldest son Robert, who was twenty-two years of age, and had married[5] an heiress in the Midlands, allowed her a "table[6] sufficient and suitable for her degree" for herself and three of the younger children, Richard, Elizabeth, and Isabel,[7] and a nurse, together with a room called "the closets," with fuel and light,[8] free of charge, till November, 1406. After that, she would have to pay 1s. per week for herself, and 6d. or 8d. per week for each of the children, the gentlewoman, and the chamberer. But she had wealthy relations among the Gisburns and the Frosts in York, and she managed to get along. She died, after much suffering, in 1423, and was buried by the side of her husband at Spofforth.

The King slept at Northallerton[9] on July 22nd, 1405, on his way to Pontefract,[10] where he remained until the 10th of

[1] For her dower, see CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 32, January 20th, 1408. PRIV. SEAL, 646/6348, November 12th, 1402, refers to her lands in Skelton, Marske, and Redcar, granted to Richard Cliderow, esquire, April 13th, 1411. [2] Called "Preston in Andernesse" (LANCASHIRE INQUISITIONS, 82, August 8th, 1405), or "Agmundernes," in deed of 1194, quoted in CARTE, ORMONDE, I., viii.; also 1208, *ibid.*, xxi., &c. For "Aundernesse," see DUC. LAN. REC., XI., 15, 2[t]. [3] June 4th, 1397.—ABRAM, 1; *ibid.*, MEMORIALS, 12. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 7, August 11th, 1405. [5] *i.e.*, Alice Foljambe.—TEST. EBOR., II., 224. [6] PLUMPTON CORR., XXVII. For the "table" or "metesilver," see LIB. ALB., I., XXXVI. [7] A separate small allowance (40s. per annum) was made to Richard for his lifetime.—TURNER, ILKLEY, 104. [8] Luminare et fououk. See DUCANGE, s.v. Foagium. [9] DUC. LAN. REC., XI., 15, Part 3, m. 16. ROT. VIAG., 15, has also an entry dated from Northallerton on July 20th, 1405. [10] For papers dated Pontefract, July 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, August 7th, 8th, 10th, see ROT. VIAG., 15, 16, and DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, which has also an entry at Blyth, July 28th, 1405.

August. And now began the confiscations.[1] Following "Westminster law,"[2] parks, lands, castles, towns, tenements, offices, rights over bridges, ferries, and waterbaillies, belonging to the ill-fated leaders, were bestowed upon expectant loyalists, amongst whom the King's own relatives absorbed, as usual, the lion's share. The large estates of Lord Bardolph in Norfolk, with his profitable dues from the bridges over the Ouse at Wiggenhall, were granted away, whole bundles of his manors being swept up by the Scottish Earl of March.[3] Lands in Sessay, Thirkleby, Kilburn, and Thirsk, were forfeited by George Darrell,[4] and the custody of Colvil's estates[5] passed to Sir Thomas Rokeby and Sir William Fulthorpe. The King's sister, Elizabeth,[6] had been much distressed at the death of her son-in-law, the Earl Marshal. Her disparagement[7] had long since been condoned, and her husband, Sir John Cornwall, had been made Constable of Queenborough, and otherwise handsomely provided for.[8] A son had been born on February 15th,

[1] ROT. VIAG., 15-19; PAT., 6 H. IV.; CLAUS., 6 H. IV., *passim*.

" For though the fader be a frankelayne and for a felon be hanged,
The heritage that the air sholde have ys at the kinges will.—
P. PLO., XI., 240.

[3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 30. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 2. [5] REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 7th, 1408; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 16. [6] For her death, November 24th, 1425 (not 1426, as Vol. I., p. 105), see NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th S., VIII., 122. [7] SHARPE, II., 128; CHAUCER, REVES TALE, 4269. [8] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., has frequent entries of payments to him, *e.g.*, October 21st, 1405, and *passim*. See also *ibid.*, PASCH., April 20th, 1406, and 8 H. IV., MICH., October 24th, 1406. On February 14th, 1413, he is keeper of the royal forests of Morf and Shirlot, on both banks of the Severn above Bridgenorth, on which date the keepership is granted to Robert Wyliley, esquire.—PAT., 14 H. IV., 7; PRIV. SEAL, 657/7472; EYTON, III., 212, 218, 295, 298. For his clerical patronage in Devon and Cornwall, see STAFF. REG., 69. For his disputes with the Mayor and Bailiffs of Barnstaple, of which he was Lord, see HIST. MSS., 9TH REPT., I., 212. In October, 1396, when Richard II. and Charles VI. met at Ardres, he was present and received from Duke Philip of Burgundy, at Eperlecques, a brooch set with pearls and sapphires, worth 135 francs.—ITINÉRAIRES, 554. ADD. CH. (B.M.), 3395-3397, has order of Duke of Orleans to pay to him and to the Count of St. Pol, 3,000 francs, which he had lost to them at tennis (dated Paris, October 8th, 1396). In

1405,[1] and the King signified his reconciliation by gossiping[2] his little nephew at the font-stone[3] at St. Alban's, though a troublesome suit[4] was pending at the time in reference to the non-payment of a promised annuity to the parents. A further reparation was now made by a grant to Sir John Cornwall of the Earl Marshal's manor of Weston,[5] near Baldock, in Hertfordshire, together with an annuity of 1,000 marks, secured on the customs of London, while a good share of the rest of his estates[6] was appropriated for his young widow Constance.[7]

On August 6th, 1405,[8] Prince John received the ancestral lands belonging to Lord Bardolph, at Bradwell, on the mouth of the Blackwater, in Essex. He also took over the castles[9] of Langley, Prudhoe, and Alnwick, with many neighbouring manors, and all the property of the Earl of Northumberland in York, Carlisle, Newcastle, and Calais. The castle and domain of Framlingham,[10] in Suffolk, just forfeited by the Earl Marshal, were given to the Prince of Wales "to help him to maintain his state," while Queen Joan[11] was to receive, as a kind of conso-

BLOMFIELD, II., 166, is a payment (1409) to the minstrel of Lord John Cornwayle, 12d. For his arms in the cloister at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 143. For his will, dated at Ampthill, December 10th, 1443, see GIBBONS, 166, 215; GENEAL., V., 328. He was buried in the Blackfriars churchyard in London.—STOW, LONDON, 374; SANDFORD, 259.

[1] ANN., 397. [2] NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Series, VIII., 71. [3] CHAUCER, MAN OF LAWE, 5143. [4] YEAR BOOK, 6 H. IV., HIL., 32. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 23; RYM., VIII., 404. [6] See the list in INQ. POST MORT., III., 303. [7] CUSSANS, II., 38, quoting INQ. POST MORT., 16 H. VI., 60. She afterwards married John, eldest son of Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and died in 1437.—YOUNG, page 1; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., page 71. [8] RYMER, VIII., 406; PRIV. SEAL, 649/6633, 6643, July 4th, 1410. [9] HARD., 372; HODGSON, III., 1, 27, where the date should be 1416, not 1460; III., 2, 382, from PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 10; see also PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 1; *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., 1, 17; ARCH. ÆL., XIV., 204. The grants include Fawdon, Chatton, Revington, Guyson, Rothbury, Brotherick, Shilbottle, Topcliffe, Seamer, Leconfield, Erghs, Catton, Nutterton, Rudston, Pocklington, Langstroth, Gisburn, Cletorp, Settle, and Preston-in-Craven (*i. e.*, Long Preston). [10] RYM., VIII., 401, June 12th, 1405. For view, see GROSE, III., S.V. [11] By PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 10, June 27th, 1405, the Earl of Westmoreland was to have Warkworth, Spofforth, Walton, Waltonhead, Wressil, Healaugh, Foston, Burwell, Calseby, Petworth, Cockermouth, and the Isle of

lation for the arrears of her unworkable dower,[1] the castle of Wressil and the manors of Healaugh and Petworth, together with manors, shops, solars, hostels, and other pickings from the estates of the Earl of Northumberland, for her lifetime, as well as all the castles and possessions of Lord Bardolph and the Earl Marshal, with the exception of those which had been already given away to the King's sons Henry and John, his half brothers Henry and Thomas Beaufort,[2] his mother-in-law the Countess of Hereford,[3] and his niece Constance. Some idea of the weight of this gigantic present may be obtained by consulting the lists of the property returned by the escheators[4] in 1407, in which the possessions of the Earl Marshal alone, after deducting those which had passed[5] to his widow Constance, include the castles of Bedford, Bramber,[6] Chepstow,[7] and Swansea, the town of Horsham with St. Leonard's Forest, the hundred of Earsham in Norfolk, two-and-a-half divisions or hundreds in the county of Sussex, two-thirds of the peninsula of Gower[8] in Glamorganshire, two-thirds of the manor of Epworth in the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire, more than fifty manors in Norfolk, Leicester, Bedford, Warwick, and other counties, and parks, rents, revenues, and pensions in various parts of England and Wales. It is true that the grant was soon found

Man; but the Queen's grant is of later date, August 10th (RYM., VIII., 408), so that other arrangements must have been made. The grant includes Erees Brighton. This may possibly be Arusum, or Arsum (Aresum in MONASTICON, VI., 269), the old name for Marske in Cleveland.—ORD, 191.

[1] The same amount (10,000 marks per annum) was granted by Henry V. to his wife, Catharine, in 1420.—RYM., IX., 878. [2] RYM., VIII., 422. [3] She died April 7th, 1419, and is buried with her husband in the Abbey at Saffron Walden.—DUGD., I., 187; TEST. VET., I., 147. [4] INQ. P. MORT., III., 313. [5] *Ibid.*, III., 303. [6] Granted to Sir John Pelham, December 4th, 1408.—REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH. [7] Striguil, or Straguillia.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 195; ORMEROD, STRIGULENSIA, 64, 72. For the seventy-one ways of spelling it, see MARSH, iii. [8] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 8 (August 29th, 1405), grants the castle and town of Swansea, with all Gower, to the Earl of Warwick.

to be illegal,[1] and was cancelled accordingly, but only on the express stipulation that the Queen's claims[2] were to be satisfied from other sources. It is not, of course, to be understood that these lands were granted to her in perpetuity. In most cases they returned to the heir on his making his submission. But in the meantime the Queen, as grantee, drew all the profits, being only bound under writ of waste[3] to keep the estates in as good plight[4] as she received them. On the death of Katharine Swynford in 1403,[5] she had received £1,000 per annum from the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster in lieu of rents from some of her castles and manors. In the Parliament at Coventry she had been secured in the possession of all the lands that had belonged to Anne,[6] the Queen of Richard II., after the claims of the Earl of Westmoreland had been satisfied. She had custody of the alien Priory of Otterton,[7] on the south coast of Devonshire, representing an income of 300 marks per annum, and when Henry V., in the first year of his reign, took all the alien Priories into his own hands, he regranted Otterton to her and her chancellor, Master John Tibbay,[8] parson of Wensley.

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 3, and 2, 7, dated August 10th, 1405, with a side entry in another hand. See also PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 2. [2] RAMSAY (I., 156) estimates that she received only £2,000 per annum out of her £6,666, but there is nothing to prove this. [3] YEAR BOOK, 12 H. IV., 3. [4] Cf. DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 37; GOWER, CONF. AM., 436. [5] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 4^1, 12^2, June 27th, 1403. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 9; CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 8, 10, 11; *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 7, 14, 40. The allowance to a Scottish Queen at that time was 2,500 marks (£1,666 13s. 4d.) per annum.—ACTS OF PARLTS. OF SCOTLAND, I., 212. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 34, Feb. 12th, 1405. [8] For Jenkyn Tyby, see Vol. I., 246. He was closely identified with the Scrope family. In 1385-1390, he was a proctor for Sir Richard Scrope of Bolton, and an executor under his will and that of his son Roger (TEST. EBOR., I., 277, 278, 330); also of Sir Stephen Scrope of Masham, dated January 6th, 1406 (SCROPE AND GROSV. ROLL, II., 50, quoting LAMBETH MS., ARUNDEL, II., 40 b; TEST. EBOR., III., 38). For an account of him, see TEST. EBOR., III., 40. PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 9 (Sep. 16th, 1406), has pardon to John Siggeswyk de Tibbay, for treasons, rebellions, insurrections, and felonies. In LE NEVE (II., 132), John Tibbay has prebend of Clifton (Linc.), May 17th, 1410, to March 24th, 1414, when he was made Archdeacon of Huntingdon. He was with the Queen Oct. 28th, 1410.—

She had the castle of Nottingham,[1] the town of Mansfield[2] with the manor of Linby in Sherwood Forest, and lodges at Bestwood and Clipston, the Chase of Nidderdale[3] in Yorkshire, the manor and park of Woodstock,[4] with the adjacent manors of Stonesfield,[5] Handborough, and the hundred of Wootton, and the profits arising from the district known as the 'Twixt-Seas, near Bordeaux.[6] She had the castle of Bristol,[7] with the forests of Kingswood and Fulwood, the castle and town of Odiham,[8] the castle of Devizes,[9] the forests of Melksham[10] and Pewisham in Wiltshire, the castle, manor, and park of Leeds[11] in Kent, the castle and town of Hertford,[12] the manors[13] of Havering-at-Bower in Essex, Gillingham near Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire, and

PAT., 12 H. IV., 34; CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 4. In PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 27, John Tibbay, clerk, and others, sue John Giffard in the King's Bench for a debt of £10; writ issued July 2nd, 1412. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 23, October 16th, 1412, he is parson of the church of Bedale in Swaledale. Tibbay was murdered July 22nd, 1414, and buried in the church of the Grey Friars in London.—COLL. TOP., V., 282. His will was proved July 24th, 1414.—LE NEVE, II., 51. CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 24, has Johannes de Tibbay de com. Westmoreland. For brass of John Mapleton (the Queen's Chancellor, who died 1432), at Broadwater, Sussex, see ANTIQUARY, XVIII., 96.

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 41 d. NOTT. REC., II., 122, from PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 1. In 1409, John Burton, Sheriff of Nottingham and Derby, claimed special leniency because of the loss caused in these counties by reason of the immunities granted to the Queen.—PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 2. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 3. [3] *Ibid.*, 1, 28 d. [4] *Ibid.*, 1, 33; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 2, 10; 11 H. IV., 1, 18. [5] *Ibid.* In PAT., 12 H. IV., 7, 18, March 15th, 1411, she grants them to Thomas Chaucer to farm. [6] Entre deux mers, or Antre dos mars. On September 8th, 1408, the præpositura of this district was transferred from her to Sir J. Tiptot.—ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 12. [7] PAT., 14 H. IV., 22, where she makes Sir Hugh Luttrell constable, March 7th, 1410. See also ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXVII., 163; LIPSCOMB, III., 523; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 194. For Bristol as the Queen's Chamber, see HUNT, 56. [8] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 5. [9] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 24 d; PRIV. SEAL, 650/6731. [10] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 5. [11] PAT., 14 H. IV., 18; RYM., II., 856. [12] Granted to her for life at Tutbury, September 1st, 1404.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 26; XXVIII., 4, 8, App. A; CUSSANS, II., 52. [13] Granted June 4th, 1403.—PROCEEDINGS IN CHANCERY, I., xxiii; CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 32, September 9th, 1404; PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 15; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 196. All these places appear in the dower of Margaret of France, the second wife of Edward I.—RYM., II., 854; HUTCHINS, II., 224; MORANT, I., 59.

Throwley, Moldash, and Chilham, in East Kent. On July 18th, 1404,[1] it was ordered that she should have £3,000 from the first proceeds of the coming ecclesiastical taxation. She had also £100 secured from the fee-farm of London, and £200 per annum[2] from that of Southampton. On December 10th, 1404,[3] she was granted all the lands of Humphrey,[4] the infant son of Edmund Earl of Stafford,[5] during his minority, including the great manor of Calliland,[6] in Cornwall, and on February 24th, 1408,[7] she was allowed the control of the marriage of the Earl of March. She had charges on the revenues of multitudes of alien priories,[8] and nothing seemed to come amiss to her. Yet her claims were constantly unsatisfied.[9] She had custody of the lands of the heir of Margaret Blewit[10] during non-age, and half of the lands of the heir of Sir Thomas West.[11]

[1] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 13, 23. [2] HIST. MSS., 11TH REPT., App. III., 43. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 18; PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 9 d. [4] He was born in 1402. His father was killed at Shrewsbury (1403), and he did not succeed to his estates till 1422.—DUGDALE, I., 164; DOYLE, III., 388. [5] His widow, Anne, daughter of the Duke of Gloucester (WILLS OF KINGS, 185; DOYLE, III., 388) married William Bourchier without license.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 31, November 20th, 1405. For wills of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, Lambeth, 1386 and 1404, see GENEAL., VI., 222; STAFF. REG., 337. For administration of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, May 19th, 1405, see GENEAL., VII., 281. For will of Humphrey Stafford, senior, knight, Abbotsbury, 1413, and Elizabeth, his wife, 1405, see *ibid.*, VI., 222. [6] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 10. [7] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 6. [8] In PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 15, dated July 1st, 1409, also CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 8, are long lists of her revenues (ROT. PARL., III., 632), including charges upon the churches of Corsham and Sturminster Marshall, and the alien priories of Linton, Carswell, Cowick, Modbury, Oxford, St. Jas.—(not Exeter, as DUCKETT, I., 198), Allerton Mauleverer, Lancaster (St. Mary's), Felstead, Panfield, Wells-next-the-Sea, Lyra, Patrixbourne, Long Bennington, Hagh, Minting, Creeting, Everdon (near Weedon), Horstead, Cogges, Minster-Lovell, Strathfieldsaye, Stoke-Courcy, Warham, Holne, Leominster, Hayling, St. Helens (Isle of Wight), Lapley, Hinckley, Clatford, Upavon, Avebury, Totnes, Folkestone, Blyth (near Worksop), and Tickford in Newport Pagnell. Her interest in the claim of John Burghersh, Prior of Lewes, to get himself raised to the dignity of Abbot, is thus explained.—DUCKETT, I., 200, 208. For William Parl or Parles, of Watford, who carried the letter to Cluni, see INQ. P. MORT., IV., 202. [9] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 21, shows tallies for 2,500 marks, due to her since October 27th, 1403, and still unpaid December 21st, 1405. [10] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1., 23, 28, October 23rd, 1404. [11] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 26, April 24th, 1405.

On January 8th, 1405,[1] she was granted whatever money might come in from the sale of French prisoners taken at Dartmouth,[2] and still in the custody of Sir John Cornwall, and on February 3rd, 1405,[3] her receiver, William Denys, lifted £147 18s. 8d. for her in cash. When the confiscations took place in the spring of 1405, after the failure of the Duke of York's plot, she got custody of the lands and castles of the Lady le Despenser,[4] which yielded her 400 marks per annum; also the Isle of Wight,[5] with the castle of Carisbrook, and a good town-house beautifully situated in Thames Street,[6] just forfeited by the Duke of York. Independently of this, cash-payments stand recorded to her of sums amounting to nearly £3,000,[7] for less than three months, at the beginning of the year 1405. Yet the cost of her household must have been small, for she was only allowed to retain ten of her country-women[8] in attendance upon herself and her daughters. She spent much of her time at her hostel at Cirencester,[9] at Sonning,[10] on the upper Thames below Reading, or at her castle at Devizes.[11] She used her influence with the King to secure

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 14. [2] For an example of the traffic in prisoners, see PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 22 (November 27th, 1404), where the King "sells" *(vendidimus)* a Norman knight, John Martell, to Sir John Cornwall and Sir Thomas Erpingham, for "a certain and sufficient sum," and they are to get what they can for him. [3] DEVON, 300. [4] See page 50. PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 30, April 6th, 1405. [5] *Ibid.*, 2, 31, March 13th, 1405. [6] For the beauty of this part of London, see the Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester in POL. SONGS, II., 207. The Duke of Gloucester's house was close to Paul's wharf, though the condition of the venells and quays on the waterside above-bridge was very foul.—LIB. CUST., 446; LIB. ALB., I., 581. For the streets of York in 1416, see FABRIC ROLLS, 247, 248. [7] Page 121. [8] Vol. I., p. 411. In PRIV. SEAL, 646/6394, January 10th, 1410, and ISSUE ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., November 12th, 1410, John Fowler is her Clerk of the Closet. *Ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 15th, 1412, shows John West and Richard Boteller as her valetti spicerie. In PRIV. SEAL, 648/6535, April 17th, 1410, Robert Bese is her Garceon de la Sale. [9] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{6}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. [10] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 5. On April 9th and May 7th, 1410, she was at Chertsey Abbey.—*Ibid.*, 11 H. IV., 2, 23; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 22. On April 20th, 1410, she was at Windsor.—DUCKETT, I., 200. [11] A nostre chastel de la Vise, dated Sep. 6th, 1411.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 6, December 20th, 1411.

preferment[1] for scholars at Oxford and Cambridge, and in one recorded case it is noted that a short truce[2] was arranged with France at her special request. She had the new tower[3] at the entrance to the great gate of the large hall in Westminster Palace, where her Treasurer[4] could transact her business, audit her accounts, and store her documents. Remittances from Brittany were forwarded[5] regularly to her from across the Channel, together with occasional cargoes of live lampreys,[6] salted fish, teles of salt,[7] and other such "necessaries," from her old home at Vannes.[8] Her countryman, Antoine Ricze,[9] and

[1] RYMER, VIII., 339; CONC., III., 275; AYLIFFE, II., App., cvi.; COOPER, ANN., I., 149. [2] Viz., July 18th to September 8th, 1407, just as the trade-truce with Flanders had been established for one year.—TRANSC. FOR. REC., 135, dated Calais, July 28th, 1407. [3] Granted December 10th, 1404.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 21; RYM., VIII., 380. For position of the tower, see H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 69, 70. [4] Her first Treasurer was Master John Chandeler (November 27th, 1402—February, 1403, ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 7th, 1406), who escorted her from Brittany (*ibid.*, 10 H. IV., PASCH., May 23rd, 1409, where she is by mistake called Isabel). He had been Treasurer of the diocese of Salisbury since April 12th, 1394 (JONES, 345). He was made Dean of Salisbury in 1404 (*ibid.*, 315; LE NEVE, II., 615; PRIV. SEAL, 649/6624, June 25th, 1410). For his banquet as Bishop of Salisbury, see TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 60. [5] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 14; ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., May 23rd, 1409. On March 19th, 1403, she had nominated the Duke of Burgundy Governor of the County of Nantes, which formed her dower.—PLANCHER, III., ccx. [6] For "lampreys de Nauntes," a fish for gentlefolks and great lords, see LIB. ALB., I., lxxvii., 382. Called "laumprons," T. SMITH, 354; or "laumpers," HIST. MSS., 11TH REPORT, III., 219. LABORDE, III., 210, shows 37 live lampreys sent from Blois to the Duke of Orleans at Paris, one died on the way and was eaten by the bearer, the rest arrived alive and were put "aux boticles." [7] Telis sale.—FR. ROLL, 14 H. IV., 2, 3, November 20th, 1412. In ROGERS, II., 713; III., 775, the tela or telum is a weight of lead. [8] Not Vuner, as RYMER, VIII., 429, 482. For two documents signed by her ("Jehanne") at Vannes, January 1st, 1402, see ROY. LET., BOX 15, in Pub. Rec. Office. For a letter to her as Duchess of Brittany, from John Norbury, Treasurer of England, see ALL SOULS MS., CLXXXII., ff. 344-361, in PECKHAM REG., I., lii. On March 15th, 1399, she wrote a letter from Vannes to Richard II. (WOOD, I., 70), which is almost identical with the one referred to in Vol. I., p. 261, as though she had drawn upon a ready-letter-writer. There is no reason to suppose (as WOOD, I., 89), that she learnt to write after she came to England. HOLT (51) calls her the first Queen who has left us her autograph, see NICHOLS, AUTOGRAPHS, 3 A.; PLANCHER, III., ccx. She crossed from Brittany (January 13th, 1403) in King Henry's large ship, which had been fitted with "Imperial cloth of

others, came in for their share of royal favour as accepted

gold," embroidered with the royal arms (Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{43}{3}$, App. B.), and a satin bed with curtains of red and crimson satin (ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCOUNTS, L. T. R., XI., m. 14, App. C.). After a short stay at Falmouth, she passed by easy stages through Okehampton (January 27th), Exeter (January 30th), Bridport (February 1st), Salisbury (February 4th), the mayor and citizens presenting her with large sums of money on the way.—FOR. ROLL, 7 H. IV. The King in the meantime was coming up from Windsor, where he had spent his Christmas.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{68}{4}$, App. B.; ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., L. T. R., XI., m. 14, App. C. He slept at Easthampstead, January 8th. From January 9th to 20th, he stayed at Reading Abbey. From January 20th to 27th, he was at Farnham; Clarendon was reached on January 28th, and he entered Winchester, with Joan, on February 4th. The next day (February 5th) a great feast was held at Winchester, which cost £522 12s. 0d. Presents of lampreys, plovers, partridges, and cheeses poured in from all parts. On the marriage day (February 7th, not January 7th, as LUSSAN, IV., 310; WALCOTT, 91;) a "pass" (ARCHÆOL., LII., 205, 267; LOND. AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 348; V., 431;) of rayed cloth, which cost £23 5s. 8d., was laid from the cathedral door up the middle of the choir, on which the royal pair walked to the high altar. The King gave his bride a collar worked with the motto "soveignez," and links in the form of an S, all set in gold, with pearls, sapphires, rubies, and diamonds, one of the latter weighing eight ounces. The cost of the whole was £385 6s. 8d.—HIST. MSS., 9TH REPORT, I., 56; DEVON, 305. The menu card of the marriage feast still remains (HARL. MS., 279; TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 58), showing three courses of fillets in galantine, cygnets, capons of high grease, venison with furmenty, griskins, rabbits, bitterns, stuffed pullets, partridges, fried leeshes (PROMPT. PARV., 292; CATHOL., 211; JAMIESON, III., 117), brawn-brose (PROMPT. PARV., 53; CATHOL., 45), creams of almonds, pears in syrup, roast kid, woodcock, plover, quails, snipe, fieldfares, custards, fritters, and subtleties with crowns and eagles. On their way to London the King and Queen slept at Bishops Sutton (February 10th), at Farnham (February 11th, DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 2, App. A.; RELIQUARY, January 1887, p. 10), Guildford (February 12th), where they lodged at the Black Friars and left 40s. to help to cover expenses, Kingston (February 13th), and reached Eltham on February 14th, where they rested till the 24th. After the coronation at Westminster, they returned to Eltham, where they stayed from March 3rd to April 28th, when they moved to Windsor for St. George's Day, and the merry months of May and June were spent in hunting in the park and forest, with occasional excursions to Chertsey, Easthampstead, and Henley-on-the-Heath (near Guildford, see MANNING AND BRAY, III., 71). Some of the Queen's retinue were lodged at Bermondsey from Feb. 13th to March 14th, 1403, when they returned to Brittany by sea.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{68}{4}$, App. B. The expenses for the King's household average from £300 to £500 per week this year. In the weeks of the marriage and coronation they rise to £1,157 and £1,344 respectively, though the amount for alms remains at 4s. per day.—RAMSAY, in ANTIQUARY, VI., 104.

[9] He gets £100 per annum from Petworth, August 1st, 1405, in PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 12.

institutions of the country. Every year, on the 8th of March,[1] the anniversary of the death of her sister-in-law, the Queen of Navarre, a painted hearse with torches, boats, mortes, banners, branches and a large taper was set up in Westminster Abbey, and a dirge sung for the dead. In the following reign Queen Joan was placed under arrest.[2] She died at Havering-at-Bower on July 10th, 1437, and is buried beside her husband in the Cathedral at Canterbury, where her monument[3] displays more than ordinary beauty of features,[4] and daintiness of dress.

The confiscations of this year laid the foundation of the fortunes of one of the great families that were destined to play a large part in the future history of England. Sir John Stanley had been put in command of the city of York when the rising of the North was at its fiercest. He kept the citizens down with a firm hand, and reaped his reward. He came of a family whose name was originally derived from the manor of Stanlegh, in North Staffordshire, but the branch to which he belonged had settled,[5] during the reign of Richard II., in the peninsula of Wirral in West Cheshire. He was born about 1353,[6] and, being a second son, he had his fortune to make. He travelled the grand tour, and made his way as far as Constantinople. He was knighted before 1385,[7] and it is probable that he was in the service of Henry as Earl of Derby, for he received from him a silver-gilt collar, with the links made like snags,[8] as a "new

[1] Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{5}$, App. B.; ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., L. T. R., Roll 11, m. 14, March 8th, 1404, where the deceased is called "sister" to King Henry, though Eleanor, wife of Joan's brother, King Charles III. of Navarre, is supposed not to have died till July 27th, 1415 (L'ART DE VER., I., 758), or March 5th, 1416 (MORÉRI, IV., 72; ANDERSON, 705, quoting from her epitaph at Pampeluna). [2] In 1418.—COLLINS, V., 498. [3] GOUGH, III., 30; BLORE, II. IV., 3; ORD. PRIV. CO., V., 56. [4] For pictures of her, see JULIUS, E. IV.; STRUTT, MANNERS, II., Plates x., xi. [5] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 447. [6] SEACOME, 13. [7] ROT. PARL., III., 205; DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 444. For his arms in the cloister at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 125. [8] "Ad mod' de snagg."—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 1, App. A.

gift," on January 1st, 1388. From 1386 to 1391,[1] he was at the head of the government in Ireland, partly as deputy for Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin, but latterly as the direct representative of the King of England, though during a portion of this time he was certainly Warden of the East March of Scotland.[2] In 1394,[3] he was Justice of Chester. In 1396,[4] he was made Captain of Roxburgh Castle and Sheriff of the county of Roxburgh for ten years, for which offices he was empowered[5] to appoint a deputy in the following year. Shortly before the revolution of 1399, he had married Isabel,[6] daughter of Sir Thomas Lathom, heiress to great estates at Lathom,[7] Knowsley, Childwall, and Roby, in Lancashire. But the old knight of Lathom had been a lunatic[8] for some time before his death, and there were difficulties as to the succession, so that it was not until June 26th, 1405,[9] that Stanley was able to enter into possession at Knowsley, on his undertaking to pay £120 per annum, for the remainder of her life, to his mother-in-law Joan, who had become the wife of Sir William Fulthorpe after the death of her first husband.

When the revolution came, Sir John Stanley joined the party of the usurper against the fallen King, and reaped his reward in grants of money and land. He received the castles of Hope[10] and Mold in Flintshire, and his re-appointment

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 7; GILBERT, 254, 260. [2] Appointed 1388.—ROT. SCOT., I., 94. [3] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 444. [4] ROT. SCOT., I., 132. [5] *Ibid.*, I., 138; HODGSON, II., I., 48. [6] For dispensation, dated December 24th, 1398, from Lichfield Registers, see LOCAL GLEANINGS, I., 109. [7] AD QUOD DAMN., 196. [8] ORMEROD, MISCELLANEA PALATINA, 65; STANLEY LEGEND, 9, 23; BAINES, II., 414. For the duty of the Church towards "lunatic lollers and leapers-about as mad as the moon," see P. PLO., X., 107. "God's minstrels and his messengers, and his merry bordiours."—*Ibid.*, X., 136. "Fautekyns and fooles, the which fauten inwitt."—*Ibid.*, XI., 182. For the King's idiot, Roger Stanlak, who had to be provided with shoes, socks, shirts, and other necessaries, see DEVON, 284, 296. [9] See indenture in CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 18, April 5th, 1406. In *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 32, Jan. 17th, 1406, he is Joh. Stanley, Kt. de com. Lanc. [10] Known as Queen's Hope, because it was granted by Edward I. to this Queen Eleanor; or Dame Philippa Castle.—DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., II., 30.

as Viceroy of Ireland[1] and official bankruptcy in 1400, have been already noticed. He left Ireland in June, 1402,[2] and in the following year he was Steward of the Household[3] to the Prince of Wales. He defended Chester[4] in the critical days that followed the battle of Shrewsbury, and, in 1404,[5] he was commissioned to strengthen the defences of Denbigh. About the same time he was made Ranger of the forests of Delamere and Macclesfield,[6] and on November 21st, 1404,[7] he appears as a member of the King's Council. He also held the alien priory of Alberbury,[8] near Shrewsbury. On February 10th, 1405,[9] his debts were remitted, and in the spring of the same year he accompanied the King on his intended expedition into Wales as Steward of the Royal Household.[10] He was made a Knight of the Garter[11] on

[1] Vol. I., 226. ADD. CH., 8494, dated Tristeldermot, May 9th, 1400, contains a letter from him appointing John Cophulle his attorney for receiving tallies from the King's Treasurers. An order, dated Tristeldermot, May 8th, 1400, records that Stanley is daily occupied in Meath, Louth, and Munster, and appoints Gilbert Halsall, knight, to be his deputy for Ulster. —CAL. ROT. HIB., 157; T. LELAND, II., 3. [2] CAL. ROT. HIB., 166. According to WARE (ANNALS, 64; followed by COX, I., 144, and WYNNE, I., 325), he crossed to England in May, 1401, leaving his brother William in his place till the arrival of Sir Stephen Scrope in Dublin, August 23rd, 1401. [3] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 502, August 10th, 1403; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{38}$, App. F. [4] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 446, September 13th and 16th, 1403. [5] *Ibid.*, 447, September 6th, 1404. [6] *Ibid.*, 446, with fees amounting to 100 marks per annum, together with £20 per annum from the revenues of Chester.—J. R. OLIVER, II., 246. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 244. [8] *Ibid.*, I., 195. It was known as the White Abbey, and I incline to think that it was the temporary burial place of the body of Hotspur (Vol. I., 364) rather than Whitchurch, on account of the distance. Oswestry was also known as Album Monasterium, or Blanc Minster, from the colour of the stone.—GIRALDUS, V., 375; VI., 142; EYTON, VII., 91; X., 323. DUGDALE (I., 665) calls it Whitchurch, causing confusion with the town in North Shropshire. [9] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 9. [10] *Ibid.*, 1, 7, March 7th, 1405; GEST. ABB. S. ALB., III., 499, December 12th, 1405; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 99; PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 2; *Ibid.*, 2, 14, 41, January 28th and March 19th, 1406; *Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 2, 14, February 22nd, 1407; *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 34, October 24th, 1408; RYM., VIII., 757, July 9th, 1412. On July 9th, 1404, the office was held by Sir Thomas Erpingham.—RYM., VIII., 364. Also February, 1404.—ROT. PARL., III., 528; not 1408, as ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 99. [11] NICOLAS, II., App. xxviii.

St. George's Day, April 23rd, 1405, in place of Sir Lewis Clifford.[1] He built himself a stronghold[2] of "stone and lime" on the north bank of the Mersey at Liverpool, close to St. Nicholas' Church, which he called "the Tower," and soon obtained the King's permission to fortify it with embattled walls. On July 3rd, 1409,[3] he was made Constable of Windsor Castle on the death of Sir Hugh Waterton,[4] and Keeper of the parks of Withend, Guildford, Kempton,[5] Henley, and Folly John. When the danger was centering at York in June, 1405, Sir John Stanley was charged with the control of the city, and his elder brother William was sent across to the Isle of Man, to seize it in the King's name. On October 4th, 1405,[6] the King granted the Island with its two fortresses, the

[1] Who died December, 1404.—BELTZ, CLVI. He had been made a K.G. in 1378.—NICOLAS, I., 43; II., 53. In 1403, he receives four casks of wine from the King.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. He was an executor under the will of Isabel, Duchess of York, proved January 6th, 1392.—TEST. VET., I., 135; GIBBONS, 29. [2] PAT. 7 H. IV., 2, 13, 14; DUGDALE, II., 247; BAINES, II., 271. It stood in Water Street, and was taken down in 1819.—CROSTON, COUNTY FAMILIES, 10. [3] PRIV. SEAL, 645/6266; PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 13; TIGHE AND DAVIES, I., 274; DEVON, 314, November 13th, 1409. [4] For his will, dated at Harley July 1st, 1409 (proved July 7th), see GENEAL., VI., 226; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 192. His executors were John Leventhorp, Robert Basset, and William Britteby.—PRIV. SEAL, 647/6475, March 1st, 1410. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 136[III], July 5th, 1409, he is referred to as dead. He left a son, John.—ROT. VIAG., 3, Nov. 25th, 1409; CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 16. He was a witness for Scrope in SCROPE AND GROSV., I., 58, and had been Receiver for Henry when Earl of Derby (NOTES AND QUERIES, 4th Ser., XI., 162), and his Chamberlain in 1398.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I, 1, App. A; DEP. KEEP. 30TH REPORT, p. 35. For his seal, see COLL. TOP., VII., 330. [5] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 1, has custodia parci nostri de Kenyngton juxta Kyngeston super Thamisiam, proving it to be identical with Cold Kennington, or Kempton near Sunbury, in Middlesex (PAT., 12 H. IV., 31; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 110; DEVON, 88, 319; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIV., 45; ATHENÆUM, 28/1/88, page 116; LYSONS, MIDDLESEX, 270), not Kennington near London, as MANNING AND BRAY, III., 486; SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., III., 28. In PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 26; PRIV. SEAL, 654/7185, April 19th, 1412, Henry Somer has the manor of Kenyngton, *alias* Cold Kenyngton, in Middlesex. [6] RYM., VIII., 420; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 41; HIST. MSS., 10TH REPORT, App. Part iv., 60; repeated April 6th, 1406, PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 17.

castle at Rushen,[1] and the Peel at Holm,[2] to Sir John Stanley for life, on its forfeiture by the Earl of Northumberland.

The island, with the outlying rocks known as Calfs,[3] was then regarded as "outside of the Kingdom of England,"[4] though after long years of struggle between Norse and Scottish invaders it had, at last, practically settled down as a dependency of the English crown.[5] It was used occasionally as a place of imprisonment for political firebrands, or as a convenient storehouse[6] for Irish corn to supply the garrisons in Carlisle and the Western Marches. It had a Bishop of its own, a Cistercian Abbey at Rushen,[7] a Franciscan Priory at Bimaken, or Beckmaken, in Kirk Arbory,[8] a nunnery at Douglas, and seventeen parish churches of a dismally uniform type, which had taken the place of 193 tiny little Keeills or Treen chapels,[9] roughly built of sods and stones. The island was divided into six sheadings,[10] each with its own court. Two justiciars or deemsters,[11] and 24 laymen or "keys of the law,"[12] held a court as required for the government of the island at the moot-hill[13] or Tynwald,[14] in the sheading of Glenfaba. Much

[1] GROSE, IV., S.V. [2] In PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 2, January 28th, 1406, and 8 H. IV., 2, 14, February 22nd, 1407, permission is granted to Sir John Stanley to import wheat and barley from Ireland to victual the castle and "Pele."—LANGEBEK, III., 239. [3] J. R. OLIVER, II., 162. [4] RYM., VIII., 380. [5] Though the Scottish Earl of March still claimed to be Lord of Annandale and Man.–MELROS LIB., II., 490. [6] Page 125; CAL. ROT. HIB., 162; OLIVER, II., 220, 223. [7] RELIQUARY, XXV., 168. It was an offshoot of Furness.—RAINES, NOTITIA CESTR., II., 571. [8] CHALONER, 18, 83; OSWALD, VESTIGIA, 89; MANX ANTIQUITIES, I., 41; MONAST., VI., 1545. [9] SACHEVERELL, 93, 186; MANX ANTIQUITIES. For specimens in Ireland, see M. STOKES, 154-164. [10] STANLEY LEGISLATION, 83, 86. [11] For domesmen, see WYCLIFFE (M), 32, 241. [12] "Claves legis," in STANLEY LEGISLATION, 77, January 28th, 1417. BLUNDELL, II., 76, calls them "claves insulæ," though he recognizes them as "in some sort judges of a lower classis." They are also called Taxiaci (SACHEVERELL, 73). In COLCHESTER RECORDS, COURT ROLLS, 31, claviers appear among the corporate officers of the borough. [13] For the mote of Urr in Kirkcudbrightshire, and the petty kings of Galloway, see GROSE, II., 181. [14] *i.e.*, Tingvalla, or Thingavöllr.

has been written of these officers as "constitutional representatives of the people,"[1] but there is no evidence to prove that they were anything of the sort in Stanley's time. The revenue was estimated to yield an income of about £400 per annum, and a portion of the church dues, known as "particles,"[2] was set aside for the support of poor scholars, though it was often "dealt in other uses."[3] The Celtic inhabitants remained long under a thick cloud of "Druidical darkness,"[4] yet they were content as long as property was secure, beggars were kept out, and the herrings did not fail. Moreover, provisions were cheap,[5] and so the island, with its old patriarchal despotism,[6] was in every way a safe and desirable spot for a great Englishman to rule in.

The grant to Sir John Stanley was signed in October, 1405, but a counterclaim was set up by Sir Stephen Scrope as the brother of the Earl of Wiltshire, and it was not till June 24th, 1408,[7] that the Tynwald repudiated it as "a falsehood and a blasphemy." Once acknowledged in the island, Sir John Stanley would appoint his own Bishop, his own Chancellor, Lieutenant, Crowner, Receiver, Clerk of the Rolls, Constables, Waterbailiff or Admiral,[8] and Controller, hold his High Council,[9] and act in all respects as a king. He would preside over his "Royal Court of Tynwald," where the Deemsters and the Keys, and a representation of ecclesiastics sat three times a year to lay down the law or expound the royal will. On these "great days,"[10] he would sit in royal array in a chair covered with a royal cloth and "quishines,"

[1] OSWALD, 151, 208. [2] OLIVER, II., 225. OSWALD, 153, wrongly attributes this institution to the Stanleys. Cf. the case of Haddington, temp. R. II.; EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 120. [3] STANLEY LEGISLATION, 81. [4] OSWALD, 154, [5] Page 135, note 1. [6] OSWALD, 106. [7] OLIVER, II., 246. [8] SACHEVERELL, 72. [9] STANLEY LEGISLATION, 92. [10] *Ibid.*, 71. For Quissini, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 516. For "cusshonys," see COV. MYST., 249.

surrounded by his barons, knights, squires, and yeomen. Before him would be held a drawn sword, and the three relics of Man carried by "clerks in their surplices," while the commons stood without "in a circle in the fold." King Henry, however, was as usual too cautious to admit a title to kingship in his grants, and Stanley was content to accept the lesser title of "Lord of Man."[1] But, as one of his descendants[2] said, "It is better to be a great lord than a little king," and it is doubtful whether Sir John Stanley ever paid any heed to his possessions in Man, being too fully occupied elsewhere. His son John, however, began his acquaintance with the island during his father's life, and left his mark on its legislation for all future time.

[1] OSWALD, 122. [2] *Ibid.*, 140; FELTHAM, 9.

CHAPTER LVI.

OWEN AND THE FRENCH.

WHEN the King was at Durham, he had issued a formal summons[1] to the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph requiring them to appear before him at York, on August 10th, 1405, to answer charges of high treason, on pain of forfeiting all they possessed. But time would not permit of this cumbrous form, events were pressing in other parts of the country, and Henry could not afford to waste the summer months beating about the courts in York for the sake of a meaningless process of law. The treason was known, the traitors had fled, the confiscation was an accomplished fact, and it was time to move off elsewhere.

News had already reached the council in London that French forces were collecting in Picardy, and that a descent might be expected at any time on the English or Welsh coasts. They had accordingly issued orders,[2] dated July 2nd, 1405, to the sheriffs of all the seaboard counties, from Norfolk round to Somerset, warning them to be prepared. On July 15th, 1405,[3] the forces of Gloucester, Bristol, and Somersetshire were ordered to proceed to South Wales. They were to be under the command of Lord Berkeley, but if he were absent in the King's service in the North, his place was to be taken by William Beauchamp, Lord of Abergavenny.[4] A requisition was issued for horses from Newcastle on July 16th,[5] and soon afterwards all doubt was set at rest by the arrival of the news

[1] RYM., VIII., 405, July 18th, 1405. [2] *Ibid.*, VIII., 402. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15. [4] SMYTH, II., 11. [5] ROT. VIAG., 15.

that the French had actually landed at Milford Haven. The levies of the border counties were at once called out with orders[1] to meet the King at Hereford without delay. The King set out from Pontefract and arrived at Doncaster[2] on August 4th, 1405. From the 7th to the 14th of August,[3] he was at Nottingham; from the 15th to the 19th he was transacting business at Leicester,[4] and on the 22nd he reached Worcester,[5] where he received very practical evidence of the activity of Owen and the French.

The crushing blows that had been struck at Owen in the month of May, 1405, had well-nigh taken the heart out of him. He arranged to call a Parliament at Harlech in the coming summer. Four representatives were summoned from every commote over which he had established his influence, and it was rumoured that,[6] unless he could be sure of help from France, he was preparing to make his submission. His person was far from safe, even among his own countrymen. Many of his kinsmen[7] did not believe in him. In the early days of the rising, his cousin, John Pole, Lord of Mowddwy,[8] in Merioneth, had been amongst the first to inform against him. His son-in-law, Sir John Skidmere,[9] was prominent in the service of the English.

[1] RYM., VIII., 406. [2] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 9, though *ibid.*, 1, 3, is dated from Nottingham on August 3rd, and the same roll has documents dated Pontefract, August 6th to 12th. See also ROT. SCOT., II., 175; PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 6. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 6, 10. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, has an entry dated Nottingham, August 14th, 1405. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 2, 3, 6, 9. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Part 3, 38, is an entry dated Alcester, August 18th, 1405. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, has documents dated from Worcester, from August 22nd to 31st. See also ROT. SCOT., II., 175. [6] ORIG. LET., II., 1., 43. [7] PENNANT, I., 348. [8] Vol. I., page 169; BRIDGEMAN, 267, 270; MONTGOMERY COLL., IV., 328. [9] Vol. I., page 345. He had married Owen's daughter Alice, Vol. II., 171.; ROT. PARL., IV., 440; LLOYD, I., 212; STRONG, 93. In 1393, he is Deputy-steward of Brecon for Henry, as Earl of Derby. —DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5 b, App. A. In 1401, he was made Steward of the commotes and lordships of Kidwelly, Carnwallon, and Yskenin.—*Ibidem*, XI., 15, 35, 59[1], 60[1]. For charges

His brother-in-law, Robert Puleston,[1] of Emral, who had at first supported[2] him, had now become so strong a loyalist, that immediately after the battle of Shrewsbury he had been nominated one of the Commissioners[3] to receive back to the King's favour repentant rebels in Maelor, the detached part of Flintshire, where his possessions lay. In the Parliament held at Machynlleth in 1404,[4] Owen had narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of the wee,[5] red-haired, sken-eyed[6] Davy Gam, who attended as one of the members for Brecknockshire. But he laid violent hands on Davy, burnt his home[7] on the Honddû, and kept him a close prisoner[8] for many years, without hope of ransom. We do not know what means were

against him as Steward of Kidwelly for extortion and rebellion, selling offices and cattle and not accounting for the proceeds, see ASSIZE ROLL, 1153 (= LANC. REC. XXV., A. 40, no year). For Fernclough's appointment as Receiver, November 30th, 1403, see page 7. On May 2nd, 1403, Skidmere was entrusted with the guard of Carrick Cennin Castle.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 33. From October 13th to December 1st, 1404, he served in the retinue of Sir Richard Arundel in South Wales.—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{19}$, App. G. In PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 19, November 13th, 1408, he is Steward of Kidwelly and Constable of Grosmont, and receives forfeited lands of William Gwyn ap Rees and William Gwyn ap Jevan, who had been condemned to death at Carmarthen. In 1406-7, he was Sheriff of Herefordshire.—DUNCUMB, I., 143; REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., October 26th, 1409. In DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 2, App. A., is a reference showing that John Skidmere, late Escheator of County Hereford, was dead before February 2nd, 1402. This may perhaps be the father of the Sheriff.

[1] He had married Owen's sister Lowry.—BRIDGEMAN, 251; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 258; COTHI, 458. [2] Vol. I., 148. [3] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 394. [4] For the Parliament House, see MONTGOM., COLL., IV., 328; APPLEYARD, III., 75. For Dolgelly, see ARCHÆOL. CAMB., 4th Series, iv., 135 (1876). [5] Son of Llewelyn ap Howel-ychan,—CLARK, GENEALOGIES, 195; CARTE, II., 654; WYNNE, 322; JONES, BRECKNOCK, II., 157, 160; D. WILLIAMS, 227; THOMAS, 109; NICOLAS, AGINCOURT, 119; TYLER, II., 184. For his pedigree, see COTHI, 1-4; not to be confounded with David ap Ednyfed Gam, who married Owen's sister.—BRIDGEMAN, 252. [6] For "gogelen," see WYCL. (M.), 341. [7] *i.e.*, Pentyn, about two miles above Brecknock.—CAMBRO-BRITON, 419; THOMAS, III.; JONES, BRECKNOCK, I., 160; II., 156. Called Cyrnigwen, in BORROW, 243; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., New Series, II., 37. He afterwards lived at Newton, near Brecknock, on the south bank of the Usk.—LEWIS, S.V. BRECKNOCK. [8] RYM., VIII., 753. PRIV. SEAL, 655/7242, shows that he was still a prisoner on June 14th, 1412.

taken to test the quality of the "most sufficient persons" who were now summoned to the Parliament at Harlech, but we have evidence that two of those who were going there to represent Flintshire, were nothing but spies in the English interest. These were David Whitmore and Jevan ap Meredith, both of them men of importance in the county,[1] the latter being Steward of Hopedale, which had been granted to Sir John Stanley[2] in 1401, after the death of the Earl of Huntingdon. Both of them approached Stanley before they set out for Harlech. They talked over the affairs of Wales, and agreed to meet him at Chester on their return, about the middle of August, and "certify[3] him all the truth and purpose of the Parliament." But the events in the North and the arrival of the French put a stop to any chance of submission, and by the time these patriots were due at Chester, there was no doubt as to the determination of Owen to carry on the fight.

The French had, indeed, been long in coming, and, as usual, had arrived too late to effect the expected diversion. When the first treaty with the Welsh had been signed in the previous year (1404), it had been intended to make a great demonstration under James of Bourbon,[4] Count of La Marche, and 100,000 crowns[5] had been actually paid to him for the purpose of arming 800 men-at-arms and 300 archers for three months from June 28th, 1404. His force assembled at St. Pol de Léon,[6] but funds were wanting, there was great delay, and a despatch dated September 24th, 1404, records that the Count

[1] DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., 341, 523. [2] LEWIS, S.V. HOPE; CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 138; PENNANT, I., 435. [3] ORIG. LET., II., I., 43. [4] He was in Paris in the winter of 1405.—GAMEZ, 350; BAYE, I., 147, January 23rd, 1406. [5] Called 112,500 livres tournois in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3, Paris, June 27th, 1404. *Ibid.* (Paris, January 10th, 1401), has his acknowledgment of having received the money from the Keeper of the Royal Charters.—REPT. ON FŒD., D. 317. [6] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 299.

"saw the sea and fled."[1] Many French knights[2] and squires who had assembled at Harfleur,[3] grew weary and began to disperse to their homes, and the expedition was on the point of being abandoned. The ships, however, did ultimately make a start,[4] but were driven by a storm[5] on to the coast of Brittany. At length, in November, 1404,[6] the Count set sail from Brest with twenty large vessels, and after spending eight days at sea, he landed at Falmouth, where he was joined by 1,000 knights and squires from Harfleur. He burnt the town, knighted some of his followers, and returned before the winter. One of the party was young Gilbert de Lannoy,[7] whose vessel was wrecked near St. Malo on the passage home. The bags, coffers, and harness were all lost, the crew went down with the ship, but the "gentlemen" were saved, by God's grace, in two boats that were kept for such emergencies.

We have already seen[8] that some of these rovers had appeared off the Carmarthen coast, but with this exception, the Welsh purpose of the invasion had completely missed its mark. In the following year, however, the Lord of Hugueville would not let matters drop. He had only just been released from his captivity at Marck,[9] but he threw his whole soul into the enterprise, pledged among other things his estate

[1] Mare vidit et fugit abinde per Dei gratiam.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3. [2] One of the leaders was a Norman knight, Baudouin or Robert de la Heuse, known at le Borgne (probably because he had only one eye).—BAYE, I., 254; II., 329. He afterwards became Provost of Paris.—MONSTR., II., 333, 409; VI., 206, 217. Heuse is a little village near St. Hilaire.—MONSTR., I., 259, who seems to have confused the years 1405 and 1408. [3] Vol. I., 459, 467; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 269; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 234. [4] From the Seine, according to POL. VERG., 434. [5] La tourmente.—REPT. ON FŒD., D. 317. [6] COCHON, 209, 210; ST. DENYS, III., 112. See also Vol. I., 382. [7] LANNOY, 4, who dates the year as 1400 (wrongly corrected to 1402, in HIRSCH, II., 443), but all his early dates are three or four years too soon; *e.g.*, he assigns the Count of St. Pol's descent on the Isle of Wight (p. 3) to 1399 instead of 1403; the battle of Othée to 1404 (p. 5) instead of 1408; and the speech of Jean Petit (p. 6) to 1405 instead of 1408. [8] Vol. I., p. 384. [9] Vol. II., p. 93.

at Ayencourt,[1] a suburb of Montdidier, and with the help of Jean de Rieux, the Marshal of France, he got together a force estimated at 800 men-at-arms,[2] 600 crossbowmen, and 1,200 foot soldiers on his own account, rather than let the promises of the King of France remain altogether unfulfilled. After waiting fifteen days[3] for a favourable wind, they put to sea in 120 vessels, including 16 large ships and two caracks, on July 22nd, 1405.[4] They met with stormy weather in the Channel and lost nearly all their horses[5] for want of fresh water, but they arrived at last in Milford Haven early in August, 1405.[6] Here they were met by Owen with a large force[7] amid great rejoicing,[8] and asked that they might get to work at once. They moved up straight to the walled town of Haverfordwest,[9] where the Flemish colony was kept loyal to England, partly by their inherited antipathy to the Welsh, and partly by the nearness of an English garrison in the castle.[10] The town and suburbs were taken and burnt, but the castle held out, so the Frenchmen moved across to Tenby,[11] burning and ravaging the

[1] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 300; LUSSAN, IV., 190. Not Agincourt, as PENNANT, I., 373; FENTON, 222; APPLEYARD, III., 87. It only yielded 200 livres tournois. [2] LUSSAN, IV., 190; L'ART DE VER., II., 387; TILLET, 313; HAMMER, I., 196. [3] MONSTR., I., 82, who assigns the events to 1403. [4] ST. DENYS, III., 322. Le jour de la Magdaleine.—COCHON, 211. [5] ANN., 415, [6] Not "just as the King was leaving Wales," *i.e.*, September 29th, 1405, as RAMSAY, I., 92. The news had reached Pontefract before August 10th, 1405, for on that day a proclamation was issued stating that the Duke of Orleans (*sic*) had landed at Milford with a large mounted force (*á cheval*), and calling up the levies of Lancashire to meet the King at Worcester by Thursday next after August 15th, 1405.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 5. [7] Estimated at 10,000 men.—MONSTR., XV. If this be true, it completely contradicts the view taken by THOMAS (134), that Owen was at this time hiding in caves and abandoned by all except the French. —LARREY, I., 798. [8] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 270. [9] Called Hereford West in HOLINS., II., 531; or "Heleford" in ST. DENYS, III., 322; RAMSAY, I., 93. [10] MONSTR., I., 82 (followed by TIERNEY, I., 282), says that it was under the Earl of Arundel, but he was then probably at York. [11] "Canneby."—ST. DENYS, III., 322. Not "Dinbigh," as HALLE, 18; or "Denbigh," as GRAFTON, 418; MIR. FOR MAG., 299; HOLINS., II., 531. It is proved to be Tenby by FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., where the

country between. They summoned the castle to surrender in the name of Queen Isabel, its rightful owner.[1] But while they were thus occupied, a fleet under the Admiral Lord Berkeley,[2] Henry Pay of Poole,[3] and Sir Thomas Swinburn[4] entered the harbour and set fire to fifteen of their ships. Seeing this the Welsh decamped, and the French were fain to follow their example. Some of them visited the great cromlech known as Arthur's Table,[5] and then the whole force proceeded to beset Carmarthen. After waiting in vain for relief, the garrison[6] agreed to surrender, and marched out "with bag and baggage."[7] The town was burnt and plundered, and the walls[8] were almost razed to the ground. Following up their success they entered Glamorganshire,[9] carrying fire and ravage wherever they were opposed, and they had advanced within ten miles of Worcester, when King Henry arrived from the North.[10]

As far back as July 20th,[11] Treasury Clerks had been sent down from London with rolls, memoranda, and tallies for

King had given 200 lbs. of saltpetre to Thomas Phelip for the defence of Tenby, March 19th, 1406. Phelip's receipt, dated March 22nd, 1406, is in Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{26}$, App. E.

[1] Vol. I., p. 121. [2] Page 296; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 194. [3] In the Parish Church at Faversham are two brasses, one to Henry Pay (d. May 26th, 1419, WEEVER, 276), another to Henry Page, esquire (d. November 3rd, 1434). Both of these have been assumed to be identical with Henry Pay, of Poole.—LEWIS, II., 12; HASTED, II., 716; BURROWS, CINQ PORTS, 154; ARCHÆOL. CANT., IX., lxvi. The supposition appears to be based on WALS., II., 275. See LAMBARDE, 112; PENNANT, I., 37. In FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 18, Henry Page, esquire, is going abroad, April 27th, 1411. [4] Vol. II., p. 55, note 7. In 1403-1404, he is Sheriff of Essex.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A.; MORANT, I., vii.; II., 234; In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., February 1st, 1408, he is late Sheriff of Essex. [5] *i.e.*, Bwrd Arthur at Llanboidy, near Carmarthen, unless it refers to the circle at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire.—MONSTR., I., 82; LA MARCHE, I., 120. For picture of Arthur's Stone, near Swansea, see WOODWARD, HIST. OF WALES, Frontispiece. [6] Vol. II., p. 7. It then consisted of 28 men-at-arms and 100 archers.—FOR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., from August 20th, 1404, to August 24th, 1405. [7] SPEED, 631; ECHARD, I., 429. [8] ST. DENYS, III., 328. [9] "Morgnie."—MONSTR., I., 82. The old reading was Linorgnie, altered to Lincolnie in the edition of 1603. [10] *i.e.*, August 22nd, see page 297. [11] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH.

raising advances to pay the troops. One thousand Yorkshire sheep, lately confiscated in Pickering Lythe,[1] had been requisitioned for the royal use, supplies and luxuries had been sent down in abundance, and as soon as the enemy appeared, the King led out a force against them in person, though it was evident that he was in no position to attack. There is a tradition that the armies met at Woodbury Hill,[2] between the Severn and the Teme, where an ancient British entrenchment has long been misnamed Owen's Camp.[3] They took up strong positions on opposite sides of a valley, and neither of them was willing to begin the attack. For eight days they faced each other, and several skirmishes took place with the result that some 200 were killed on both sides, and many more were wounded. Among the Frenchmen killed were three knights, one of whom was Patroullart de Trie,[4] Lord of Plessis. The names of the others are given as Monsieur de Mathelonne[5] and Monsieur de la Ville.[6] Want of provisions and forage, however, soon told upon the French and Welsh, and they were forced to draw off. But the English were too weak to pursue them. Proclamations were already out, dated August 24th,[7] calling up the forces of ten Midland counties to join the muster at Worcester or "elsewhere in Wales," and on August 29th,[8] the order was given requiring the troops to be at Hereford "by Friday next," to move forward into Wales. In the beginning of

[1] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 11, August 11th, 1405. [2] NASH, II., 465; D. WILLIAMS, 224; APPLEYARD, III., 87. [3] For other instances, see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., N. S., II., 32. [4] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 64; MORÉRI, X., 340. In ST. DENYS, III., 324, he is killed at Haverfordwest. He is called a brother of the Marshal Jean de Rieux, in MONSTR., I., 83; or a son of the Admiral and Captain of Rouen, in GAMEZ, 573; but the Admiral had no son, and was succeeded by his brother. [5] Possibly Mathefelon, or Francis Gattilusio or Gateluzzo, a Genoese, who became Lord of Metelin (Mytilene).—FROIS., XVI., 48; XXII., 201; RABBI JOSEPH, I., 254; ASCHBACH, I., 111; DELAVILLE LEROULX, I., 304, 307. [6] Possibly La Val, or Loys de Villers.—DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 165. [7] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 1. [8] *Ibid.*, 6 H. IV., 6.

September[1] the King entered Hereford, where he was surrounded by a large gathering of lords, barons, squires, and others who had been summoned thither to attend another Grand Council. On September 4th, 1405,[2] letters were sent to the sheriffs of counties representing that the King was powerless for lack of funds, and requiring them to contract loans from all who were willing to lend on the strength of the next moiety of taxation, which would fall due on November 11th, and to hand over the proceeds to the "War Treasurers assigned by Parliament" in London, Coventry, or Worcester, by September 26th.

The King remained in Hereford till September 10th,[3] and then delivered his attack. The northern part of Monmouthshire had already been subdued, and Sir John Greindor, who had been in charge of Radnor[4] and Chepstow,[5] and was now Warden of Monmouth,[6] was arranging terms for the submission of the districts of Usk,[7] Caerleon, and Edelogon[8] (which included Newport, Llandaff, Cardiff, and Cowbridge) in the Usk valley, and Dingestowe in the valley of the Trothy.

[1] For a document dated Hereford, September 4th, 1405, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15. [2] RYM., VIII., 412. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 3, 6, 8, 12, has entries dated Hereford, September 4th, 7th, 8th, 10th. See also Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, App. B. [4] Vol. II., page 14. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 18, June 11th, 1405. On July 27th, 1405, the Captain was Robert Atkyns.—*Ibid.*, 13; and on August 24th, Robert Giffard.—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 6. [6] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 4 b., App. A. On May 30th, 1406, he has payment for defending the castles of Monmouth and Skenfrith.—*Ibid.*, XI., 16, 36^{IIII}. [7] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 9, August 23rd, 1405. *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 2, 42, March 29th, 1406, has his appointment as Steward of the domains of Usk and Caerleon during the minority of the Earl of March. *Ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 1, 13, has pardon dated February 10th, 1408, to tenants and residents in domains of Usk, Caerleon, Tryllek, Tregrek, and Edlogan. See also *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 1, 3, 15 (November 23rd, December 2nd, 1407, and January 14th and 18th, 1408), for pardons to Philip ap Howel and tenants in Dynas Ewyas, Hotheney, Crickhowel, Blenleveny (or Blenkeveny), La Mere, Stradewy, Hayesland, and Powys (see Vol. II., p. 20). [8] *i.e.*, the district near the coast west of the Usk, spelt Eithaf-dylygion (POWEL, 19), Elegan (INQ. P. MORT., 1, 6), Edelegon (*Ibid.*, 221), Edelygion, Eddlogan (JOHNS, III., 9, 117, 121), Edlogan (PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 13).

The Priory of Ewenny,[1] which was a cell to Gloucester Abbey, was wasted by the Welsh; the efforts for the rescue[2] of Berkrolles[3] at Coity[4] had not yet been successful, and on September 9th, 1405,[5] John Stevens,[6] Thomas Sanders, and John Drois, of Bristol, were again commissioned to endeavour to get supplies in to the famishing garrison. The King's army now advanced into Glamorgan, and Coity was relieved,[7] but as

[1] PAT., 14 H. IV., 8 (October 27th, 1406), grants alien priory of Llangethin, on the east coast of Carmarthen Bay, to Hugh Morton, Prior of Ewenny, for ten years, in compensation for his losses. Morton became Abbot of Gloucester, May 27th, 1412.—MONAST., I., 535. [2] For "rescousse," see GOWER, CONF. AM., 166, 174, 247, 365. [3] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 29 d; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Series, II., 291; DEVON, 303. INQ. P. MORT., III., 248, 339, shows that Sir Laurence Berkrolles was then Lord of Coity. For documents signed by him at Coity, October 1st, 1411, see CLARK, CARTÆ, II., 72, 73. For the family of Berkrolles at East Orchard, and their monuments in St. Athan's Church, near Cowbridge, see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 3rd Series, XV., 63-78; *ibid.*, 5th Series, VII., 188; CLARK, GENEAL., 365; CARTÆ, I., 288; II., 17, 18, 26, 35, 69, 78. [4] Vol. I., 462. Not Coify, or Caerphilly, as RAMSAY, I., 92. For description of Coity, a thirteenth century structure, see CLARK, I., 487. For view, see BUCK, April 5th, 1740. [5] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 9 d. [6] The names of "Stephins" and "Droyes" both appear as mayors, sheriffs, and bailiffs in RICART, 37. See HUNT, 92. In PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV. (1405-6), Stevens and Sanders appear as collectors of the subsidy, and in REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., as collectors of the small custom at Bristol. See also ISSUE ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., May 28th, 1411. In PAT., 9 H. IV., 30, November 3rd, 1407; REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., November 5th, 13th, 26th, 1408, Sanders is controller of the customs at Bristol. In *Ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH., October 23rd, 1409, Stevens is still collector; also *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., November 17th, 1411; February 4th, 11th, 12th, 18th, 20th, 1412; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., October 3rd, December 1st, 1412; ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., December 10th, 1412. [7] EUL., III., 408. ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV. MICH., has £20 on this account, October 3rd, 1405, and £20, November 13th, 1405; also February 27th, and March 26th, 1406. Coity was again besieged by armed bands under Sir Gilbert Denys and William Gamage, October 20th, 1412.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 6. *Ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 16 d (October 28th, 1412), and CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 21 d (October 20th, 1412), show that it then belonged to Joan, widow of Sir Richard Vernon, Lawrence Berkrolles having died childless, October 15th, 1411.—INQ. P. MORT., III., 339; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Series, VII., 191. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 23[1], April 24th, 1412, Lawrence Berkrolles is referred to as dead. The manor was then worth £84 per annum.—CLARK, CARTÆ, II., 76, 78. The attack was beaten off without difficulty by the forces of Hereford and Gloucester, and Denys and Gamage

he turned homewards, disaster[1] dogged his heels. He lost both men[2] and stuff in the swollen streams and flooded rivers, gangs of plunderers hung about his rear; the army could only extricate itself by abandoning some forty or fifty carts stocked with provisions and treasure; and tradition long preserved the rallying-cry of Cadogan-of-the-Battle-axe,[3] at whose summons every man and woman in the Rhondda Valley could be mustered in martial order in an instant to pursue. By September 29th, 1405,[4] King Henry was back in Hereford, and he reached Worcester on October 1st.[5] Here he arranged that Lord Grey[6] of Codnor, who was made Justice of Brecknock,[7]

were committed to the Tower. See order for their committal, dated Nov. 19th, 1412, in CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 26. In 1414, Coity belongs to Sir Thomas de la Beere.—INQ. P. MORT., IV., 9.

[1] ANN., 414; WALS., II., 271. [2] MIR. FOR MAG., 299. [3] IOLO MSS., 97 (492). [4] For documents dated Hereford, September 29th, 30th, 1405, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15. [5] RYM., VIII., 420, 421; ROT. SCOT., II., 176. PENNANT (I., 377), misled by entries in RYMER from ROT. VIAG., remarks upon the "wonderful rapidity with which the King flew from Worcester to Hereford, thence to Yorkshire and back again to Worcester, all within a month." For errors in RYMER, *sub anno* 1405, see HARDY, SYLLABUS, III., XX. The editor, however, has failed to notice two documents from the ROT. VIAG., dated April 25th and 26th, 1405, in RYMER, VIII., 394, where the year should be 1408. RAMSAY has fallen into several mistakes on this account, *e.g.*, I., 86, 108. FRASER is still unconvinced, and frequently argues for 1405.—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 373, 433, 435. [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 40, October 7th, 1405. ISSUE ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., July 12th, 1411, shows that he had an annuity of 400 marks for life granted to him November 16th, 1409. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 36, October 1st, 1405. For his force employed in defence of Brecknock and other castles in Wales (Vol. I., p. 286), from September 30th, 1402, to January 28th, 1403, see ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., November 3rd, 1405; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 132, and 16, 41 (November 15th and December 7th, 1402). On October 13th, 1405, he was commissioned to represent the King in Hereford and the Marches for forty days.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 39. He had been one of those appointed to conduct Queen Isabel to Leulinghen in May, 1401 (DEVON, 291), but ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., shows that he had not been paid for his outlay as late as November 3rd, 1405. As Admiral of the Fleet for the North, he had received £1919 12s. 8d. (April, 1402), £899 10s. 6d. (May 10th, 1402), and £899 10s. 6d. (Feb. 23rd, 1403).—ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH.; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15; and had made his way far up the Forth, plundering the shipping in the harbour of Blackness.—MENTEITH, I., 192. He held the Earl of March's lands at Kevenlleece (ROT. PARL., III., 590), Presteign, Norton, Kington,

and Sir Richard Arundel, the Warden of Hay,[1] should advance into South Wales with 200 men-at-arms and 300 archers, while a similar force would enter North Wales under the Earl of Arundel as Captain of Shrewsbury.[2] The King remained at Worcester[3] till October 8th, and on the 9th[4] he was at Oxford. By October 11th,[5] he was at Kenilworth, where he remained with his family till November 2nd.[6] On November 3rd, 1405,[7] he was at Kingsbury, the old royal palace of Dunstable. On

Pembridge, and Radnor (PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 13, January 28th, 1405), Werthrynyan (PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 5) or Warthregnon (INQ. P. MORT., III., 38) or Werthereyneon (*ibid.*, IV., 94, 98), Cnwclâs on the Teme, Comothoidour, Rhayader, Pilleth (called Pelalei in DOMESDAY, Pilluth in ROT. PARL., III., 590, Pillirth in PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 8), and Melienydd, which POWEL (12) calls a cantref in the district between the Wye and the Severn. It corresponded nearly to the modern Radnorshire, as is proved from LELAND, V., 12 (f. 13), who describes the Abbey of Cwm Hîr as "betwixt two great hills in Melennith"; see also *ibid.*, p. 60 (f. 70). "In Melennith is a good breed of horse on a mountain called Herdoel," *i.e.*, Rhydd Hywell, north of Rhayader, which LELAND, p. 13 (f. 14), calls "the chefe village of Melennith"; see also TYLER, I., 129, 351; MONTGOM. COLL., IV., 326. For the will of Lord Grey's widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset of Sapcotes, dated Stamford, April 7th, 1445 (not 1435, as DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXIII., 200), directing to be buried by the side of her husband at Aylesford Priory, near Maidstone, see J. NICHOLS, IV., II., 904, 968; GIBBONS, 168; NOTES AND QUERIES, 8th Series, I., 390; HASTED, II., 168; DUGDALE, I., 711. For his autograph, "R. de Grey," see PRIV. SEAL, 651/6882, May 20th, 1411. For account of Codnor Castle, in Derbyshire, see JOURNAL OF DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, XIV., 16.

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 19 (May 23rd, 1405); *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 34, 40 (October 8th, 1405). By October 13th, 1405, the garrison at Hay had been increased from 16 men-at-arms and 80 archers to 88 and 220 (for a list of all their names, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{19}$, App. G.), at which strength it remained till December 1st, 1405; see Sir Richard Arundel's claim in FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. He is still Captain of Hay in 1408.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 5 b, App. A. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 35, 38, 41, October 3rd, 1405. [3] For documents dated at Worcester, October 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 1405, see PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 26, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39; *ibid.*, 2, 32; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 26, 41; CAL. ROT. HIB., 182. [4] EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., IV., CXCVIII. [5] For entries dated Kenilworth, October 11th, 13th, 16th, 26th, 1405, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Part 3, m. 6. [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 36; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 39; CAL. ROT. HIB., 181. On November 1st, 1405, his daughter Philippa attended mass at Kenilworth.—M. A. E. GREEN, III., 353, from HARL. MSS., 319 (39). [7] RYM., VIII., 421; PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 29; T. THOMAS, 142; TYLER, I., 213.

November 14th and 20th,[1] he was at the Tower of London. On November 26th,[2] he was at Lambeth for the betrothal of his daughter Philippa to the King of Denmark. On December 11th, 15th, and 17th,[3] he was at Hertford, and he spent the Christmas at Eltham,[4] making short visits to the Bishop of Durham's hostel,[5] or the Earl of Westmoreland's herber,[6] near Dowgate, in London, whither tapets[7] for his beds, embroidered with eagles[8] and feathers, were forwarded as he moved from place to place. We find him at Eltham on January 7th, 1406,[9] and at the end of the same month (January 30), he was again at Hertford.

The withdrawal of the King was followed by a pause in the hostilities with the Welsh. Lord Grey was to receive payment for his troops from the revenues collected from South Wales. But in many cases there were no revenues to collect, and in Monmouth,[10] where a little cash did come in, the Receivers claimed that the King wanted it for himself; and so it came about, that in November, 1405, Lord Grey had only received £200 from Kidwelly, £140 from Carmarthen, and nothing[11] at all from the other districts allotted for the maintenance of his men. Troops would not come from England unless they were paid a half-quarter's wage in advance, and consequently nothing could be done. In the Palatine county of Pembroke, the

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Part 3, m. 7. [2] COLL. TOP. AND GEN., I., 82. [3] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, Part 3, m. 8, 19, 25, 43; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 15; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 280. [4] RYM., VIII., 426; PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 24; 2, 27, December 26th, 1405; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 15; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 353. [5] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 1, App. C. [6] SHARPE, II., 122; STOW, 247; LAPPENBERG, II., 35, where it is mistaken for a garden. [7] PROMPT. PARV., 486; CATHOL., 378. [8] Cf. tapet lectorum de egles et lectorum de plumis, L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 1, App. C, with DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 4, App. A. [9] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, 32, 33. [10] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 279. [11] The accounts from February 2nd, 1404, to February 2nd, 1408, show that Henry's revenue from his manors of Monmouth, Ogmore, Ebboth, Kidwelly, Yskenyn, and Brecon was *nil.*—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 4, App. A.

Earldom was in abeyance, and a long suit was pending in reference to the title and honours previously held by Sir John Hastings, the last Earl, who had been killed in a tournament at Woodstock, in 1389,[1] leaving no children. The title was claimed by Reginald, Lord Grey[2] of Ruthin, but the government of the county was vested in the meantime in the hands of Sir Francis Court,[3] who is styled "Lord of Pembroke." Finding that there was no hope of relief for the ensuing winter, he came to terms with Owen. Representatives of the county met and agreed to purchase an armistice from the rebels. They were to

[1] Or 1390.—BELL, HUNTINGDON PEERAGE, p. 8. [2] Adam of Usk was one of his counsel in the suit.—USK, 57, 62. In CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 22; GRAVES, 266, he is Lord of the County of Wexford (I., 225), which he claimed as part of the Hastings estates.—DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXIII., 198. On January 15th, 1402, Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, had been appointed as one of the five principal residents in North Wales, to represent the Prince of Wales in his absence.—DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., II., 101, 442. At this time, plundering and cattle-lifting by the Welsh were proceeding unchecked even up to the gates of Rhuddlan castle.—*Ibid.*, 123, December 14th, 1401. After the capture of Lord Grey (I., 249), his castle at Ruthin held out by the help of troops sent by Hotspur from Denbigh, till further aid came from Chester.—*Ibid.*, 415, April 18th, 1402. It is, of course, a mistake to suppose that he married a daughter of Owen, as D. WILLIAMS, App., 114. His ransom money was raised by selling his manor of Hartley, near Dartford, in Kent (DUGDALE, I., 717), and by remitting fines which he had incurred under the statute for non-residence on his lands in Ireland. His son John (I., 305) was therefore soon set at liberty, and in PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 39 (October 24th, 1405), both he and his father are to be in Ireland for a year. On January 15th, 1405, Lord Grey was summoned to a council at Westminster.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 98. On April 17th, 1405, he was about to proceed to Wales with the King.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 28. For his presence as a witness, December 12th, 1405, see GESTA ABB. ST. ALB., III., 499. He was present in the Parliament at Westminster, December 22nd, 1406.—ROT. PARL., III., 582; RYM., VIII., 463; also January 27th, 1410.—REP. DIGN. PEER, III., 805. [3] See his order, dated November 14th, 1405, in THOMAS, 137, from FENTON'S PEMBROKESHIRE, App., p. 43; RYM., VIII., 588, 699; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 341. In REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., October 9th, 1408, he pays £25 for farm of alien priory of Pembroke. In DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 4, February 1st, 1395, to February 1st, 1396, and DEP. KEEP. 30TH REPT., p. 36, Francis Court, esquire of Henry, Earl of Derby, comes from Italy with furr' de Calabre de dono domini, and receives a demilong gown, furred with Calabre, for Christmas. In 1398, he went with Richard Doncaster to Milan for Henry. —DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 5, App. A.

pay £200 by Sunday, November 22nd, 1405, and thereby to be secure from molestation till the 1st of May following. There is still extant an interesting record of the payments levied to raise this "redemption money," in the vicinate of Carew. Receivers were appointed under the seal of the chancellor of the county, who were to have power to distrain on the goods of those who failed to pay their quota. Every knight's fee was to find 4s., and the twelve churches[1] included in the district paid £13 1s. 1d. between them, in sums varying according to the value of the rectory, the lowest being 3s., and the highest £4 13s. 4d. The disgrace to the English Government of this instructive transaction is emphasized when we remember that this little vicinate alone was surrounded by a ring of vast Norman castles, upon whose walls neither Welsh nor French could make any impression. Pembroke, Benton, Upton, Carew, Picton, Castlemartin, Maenor Byrr,[2] and Tenby could have held their own against all assaults, and been provisioned at any time from Dublin[3] or Bristol by sea, while a little inland was the Bishop of St. David's stronghold of Lawhaden,[4] and the great fortress of Narberth, commanded by the doughty Thomas, Lord Carew,[5] who had given so good an account of himself with the rebels two years before. Lord Grey, however, could only report that[6] the Pembroke men did not watch their opportunity to resist, and ask that a Commission might be held to enquire why they

[1] Viz.: Carew, Picton, Lawrenny, Coedcanlais, Martletwy, Mynwere, Yerbeston, Loveston, Reynoldston, Begelly, Jeffreston, and Gumfreston. [2] Called Mamor Beer in ANTIQ. REPERT., II., 354. [3] CAL. ROT. HIB., 182, February 18th, 1406, has order for sending 10 weys of corn or barley from Dublin to Tenby, Kidwelly, or Llanstephan. [4] Called Laghadyn in RYM., VIII., 328. It is figured in BUCK as Llehaiden. D. WILLIAMS, 219, throws no light on the errors in RYMER. [5] He was appointed Constable of Narberth, October 19th, 1402, and subsequently received a grant of the castle with the town of St. Clears, April 24th, 1404.—Vol. I., 347; Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{8}^{6}$, App. G.; PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15, August 12th, 1405. For his will dated at Luppit, near Honiton (proved at Lambeth, in 1429), see GENEAL., V., 325. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 279.

acted thus, "being so near to the rebel country." But it needed no Commission to tell him that, and when, on December 2nd, 1405, his request was granted, and his term of office as Lieutenant of part of South and West Wales was extended to February 1st, 1406,[1] he was probably no nearer to a practical settlement than before. On December 14th, 1405,[2] he despatched a messenger from Brecknock to the Council to explain the "great danger" that beset him and all in South Wales.

In the beginning of November, 1405,[3] the *élite* of the French forces returned to their own country, leaving 1,200 light-armed troops, and 500 archers under a Picard leader known as "le Bègue de Belay," to face the winter in Wales. They were comfortably lodged, and when Lent came they returned to their own country. But the English admiral was awake, and did not neglect his opportunity. In attempting to put to sea, they lost 14 of their ships and eight of their leaders, but by the beginning[4] of March, 1406, they made their way across to St. Pol de Léon, on the coast of Brittany, and landed with a further loss of eight ships[5] and 60 men. The results of these expeditions must have been miserably disappointing to the ambition of Owen. He had been led to expect some permanent support from the Government of France, but he had to content himself with the slender assistance of a band of private plunderers, who were "idle and not occupied in any way."[6] They took up adventuring to while away the time. They would not strike beyond the coast, and when they wearied of the work, they left him to fight his own battle, and returned to France, leaving no traces behind.

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 19, 24, 30. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 90. [3] ST. DENYS, III., 328; COCHON, 211. [4] Circa carnisprivium.—ST. DENYS, III., 328; JUVENAL, 437. Early in April, 1406, news of some great success in Wales reached Bordeaux, where thanksgivings and processions were appointed for Easter Day, April 11th, 1406.—JURADE, 87, where the editor refers it to the success at Grosmont, March 11th, 1405. [5] ANN., 419. WALS., II., 273, says 38. [6] JUVENAL, 427.

While the French were still with him, Owen had sent two envoys to Paris, who returned and had an interview with him on March 5th, 1406. Their names appear as Maurice Kery and Hugh Eddouyer (Eddowes ?), a Dominican Friar, and their mission is of especial interest in connection with an effort which it is known[1] that Owen made about this time, to secure a national independence for the Welsh Church. The envoys brought with them a despatch,[2] in which King Charles VI. expressed a hope that Owen was well, and would write to him often. He might be assured that the King and Queen of France and all their children were well, and felt a cordial friendship towards him, now that they were bound together as one. But being united in temporal policy, should they not be one in spiritual things, so that they might walk with one accord in the house of the Lord? To further this hope, Owen is urged to join with France in recognizing Benedict XIII. as the true Pope, and to make all his subjects do the same. Princes, above all others, should know the real truth about the Schism, so the document gives a little historical treatise about Urban and Clement, from the French point of view. If Owen will agree, King Charles will use his influence with Benedict, that all prelates and beneficed clerks in Wales shall be confirmed in their present holdings, and that, as vacancies arise, only those persons shall be appointed who will be faithful and grateful to Owen, and not rivals or suspects.

On receiving this despatch, Owen, by advice of his council, called together the "nobles of his race" *(proceres de prosapiâ nostrâ)*, and the "prelates of his Principality," and after diligent examination, decided to abandon Innocent, and to recognize Benedict. This decision was announced to King

[1] GERSON, I., XVIII. [2] CART., 516, 29, in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3, with seal appended in yellow wax.—PAULI, V., 33; not 1405, as WOODWARD, 572.

Charles in a letter written by Owen, at Pennal, near Machynlleth, on March 31st, 1406,[1] in which he begged, that as the French King had deigned to lift the Welsh nation from darkness to light, so he would continue his help to save them from being crushed by the rage of the Saxon barbarians. He then suggested the following proposals, to be submitted to the Pope:—

1. That any ecclesiastical censures that had been issued against the Welsh, should be removed.

2. That the church of St. David's, that had been trampled upon and made subject to Canterbury, should be restored to its old position as the metropolitan church,[2] with Bath, Exeter, Hereford, Worcester, Leicester *(i.e.*, Coventry and Lichfield), St. Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff as suffragans.

3. That no one should be appointed to a bishopric or any church dignity unless he could speak Welsh.

4. That all appropriations of Welsh churches to English colleges or monasteries should be annulled.

5. That two universities should be established, one in North and the other in South Wales, the exact places to be determined afterwards.

6. That "Henry of Lancaster," the usurper, and his supporters should be branded as heretics and tortured *(cruciatum)* in the accustomed form, for burning cathedrals, churches, and monasteries, and for hanging, beheading, and quartering archbishops, bishops, prelates, priests, and religious, and that full remission of all their sins should be granted to those who warred against him.

[1] Not May, as TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, from TRES. DES CH., J, 516.
[2] A list is given of 24 of its Archbishops from Eliud to Sampson, taken from "chronicles and old books of St. David's Church," see GIRALDUS, VI., 102. For the claims of St. David's, see GODWIN, II., 151; MONAST., VI., 1301; STUBBS, REG., 154.

The envoys who carried this despatch did not pretend[1] that Richard was alive, but pressed the claims of the Earl of March. They got little satisfaction, however, beyond presents and promises, and advice to stand firm till the time should come. On October 2nd, 1406,[2] the French King issued a vague proclamation to the "friends of truth," calling upon them to rise and drive out the usurper from England, and set up the true heir, the Earl of March, assuring them that the late expedition sent to Wales would have been much more effectual, had the French King been certain that his help was really desired.

On the clerical side, the chief result of the negociation was the appointment of a Welshman, Llewellyn Bifort, to the see of Bangor, and from this point the bards[3] dress out their war-songs with appeals to Peter's seal and the Holy Father's blessing.

[1] JUV., 443. [2] See the very corrupt text from MSS. DE BRIENNE, XXXIV., 227, in TRAHIS., 299; ADD. MS., 30663. It is printed also among the letters of MONTREUIL (1323), and there is an extract in ST. DENYS, III., 428.

[3] *e.g.*, May God and Rome's blest father high
Deck him in surest panoply!
Where'er he wends St. Peter guard him!
And may the Lord five lives award him!
IOLO GOCH, in GORCHESTION, 79; LLOYD, II., 105; translated by BARROW, 242.
Come well begirt with arms of Rome,
Coming possest of Peter's seal,
Thy cause full just will God reveal.
GORCHESTION, 81; LLOYD, I., 220; II., 107; CYMMRODOR, IV., 230.

CHAPTER LVII.

Don Pero Nino.

But other parts, besides the coasts of Wales, had been kept alert by French enterprise during this trying year, and while the English admirals were watching the enemy on the coasts of Pembroke, the whole of the Eastern and Southern shores of England were open to attack. A fleet of 16 Breton and Flemish vessels made a dash at the coast of Yorkshire. They landed at Hornsea,[1] burnt the town, and set fire to some neighbouring villages. But they were not allowed to repeat their exploit. Seven armed vessels set out in haste from Hull, fell upon the marauders, and captured the whole gang, so that not a man escaped, and the 16 vessels with their booty were towed triumphantly into the Humber.

Simultaneously with this little effort, large forces had collected to attack the English in Guienne. The leaders were Jean, Count of Clermont;[2] Bernard VII.,[3] Count of Armagnac, a devoted partisan of the Duke of Orleans, more dreaded at Bordeaux than the "French of France"[4]; and Archambaud de Grailli,[5] known as "lo Captan,"[6] lord of the district called

[1] Ann., 413. [2] Godefroy, 415; Monstr., I., 173; Add. Ch., 11402 (May 3rd, 1405), records payment to him of 4750 livres tournois. For his marriage with Marie, daughter of the Duke of Berri, January 15th, 1400, see Cabaret, 270. [3] Tillet, 314; St. Denys, III., 354. [4] He was promised possession of all the lands that he could conquer from the English.—Jurade, 87. [5] The name is derived from Grelly, near Geneva. —Flourac, 4. For will of John Grailli, Mayor of Bordeaux, proved at Lambeth in 1401, see Geneal., VI., 27. [6] Ec. des Chartes, XLVII., 63; "Capdal de Bug."—Flourac, 198, 199; "Captan de Beu."—St. Denys, III., 202. Cf. "San Capdet et Saint George m'aist."—Deschamps, I., 217.

"la Tête de Buch," on the Bassin d'Arcachon. His father, Pierre,[1] had done splendid service for England in the time of Edward III., who made him one of his first Knights of the Garter. But the son, although he had done homage to Richard II.,[2] had transferred his allegiance in 1401,[3] on becoming Count of Foix,[4] and now brought his great influence to bear in attacking[5] the broken power of England.

The fall of Courbefy[6] in the autumn of 1403, had been followed by the surrender of St. Jean de Colle[7] near Thivier, Badefols on the upper Dordogne, Montsaguel near Issegeac by the Valley of the Dropt, La Force and Madurant near Bergerac, and Chalais[8] on the border of Saintonge. Perigueux[9] had long been in the hands of the French, and it required only a further strong effort to drive out every Englishman from the Limousin and Perigord.

The invading force now moved down the Garonne from Agen, and captured Aiguillon,[10] Port Ste. Marie,[11] Tonnien,[12] Caumont,[13] Langon, Bazas,[14] and other fortified

[1] MORÉRI, V., 206, and ANSTIS, II., 8, are more consistent than L'ART DE VER., II., 313; BELTZ, 28; and NICOLAS, I., 32; yet in a document dated July 14th, 1342, in BOUILLONS, 142, Pierre de Grailli is Vicomte de Benauges, and Jean de Grailli is Captal de Buch. [2] RYM., VII., 161, 189. [3] *Ibid.*, VIII., 223; ROY. LET., I., 438-456, where both letters should probably be dated April, 1401. [4] He had married the heiress Isabel de Foix in 1381.—ARCHIVES HIST. DE LA GIRONDE, III., 179. For acknowledgment of him by Charles VI., March 10th, 1401, see EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 73; L'ART DE VER., II., 313; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 220. He succeeded Mathieu de Castelbon in 1398.—FLOURAC, 5, 195. [5] RYM., VIII., 445; JURADE, 99. [6] Vol. I., page 388. Called "Corbuffyn," in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 254; "Courbuffin," in ROY. LET., I., 451; "Querboffyn," in PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 26, which records pardon, dated April 21st, 1405, to Thomas Henry, Robert Walton, and John Kernell, for surrendering *(proditionem)* the castle. For its position in the hills near Chalus, at the head waters of the Isle, see ST. DENYS, III., 202, 208; BLAEUW, VII., 430. EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 73; FROISS., XXIV., 255; ROY. LET., I., 456. [7] Petite chronique de Guienne, in EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 64. [8] ROT. VASC., 7 H. IV., 11. [9] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 155; JURADE, 10. [10] EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 64, 74. [11] DOUET D'ARCQ., I., 271; JURADE, 89. [12] ST. DENYS, III., 356. [13] L'ART DE VER., II., 276. [14] Called "Bombatat," in ST. DENYS, III., 356.

places on the border.[1] They then approached Bordeaux,[2] and surrounded it with a force of 1,600 men-at-arms and 4,000 archers. But the citizens did not venture to face them, and bought them off after a few days by the payment of large sums of money.

Further down the river, on the right bank, the English had established themselves at Mortagne,[3] and had "appatised"[4] the neighbourhood for the support of their troops. In the spring of 1405, the lords of Saintonge[5] attacked the place with guns and "coullars," but the garrison held out gallantly. Encouraged by the heroism of the Lady of Mortagne, they would listen to no terms. At length, in the latter end of June, 1405, after seven weeks' resistance, they slipped out through a postern before[6] sunrise and escaped by the river, leaving the place in the hands of their assailants.

We have, also, an account of a raid carried out in this year (1405), upon the South coast of England, which is especially valuable, as the attackers were, this time, not merely robbers, but men of education, capable of observing what they saw and relating their adventures in a lively narrative form. A French "repenting clerk,"[7] Charles de Savoisi, Lord of Seignelay, near Auxerre, member of the council, grand cupbearer,[8] and first chamberlain[9] to the King of France, was a turbulent adherent of the party of the Duke of Orleans. He had visited England in 1400,[10] accompanied by 100 attendants, to give our country-

[1] Including "Daire," possibly Villefranche de Cayran.—BLAEUW, VIII., 479. [2] ST. DENYS, III., 356; JUVENAL, 438. [3] *Ibid.*, 434. [4] EXCERPT. HIST., 38, 40. See DUCANGE, s.v. appatisatio, and ROQUEFORT, s.v. appatisser. [5] BARANTE, II., 207. [6] ST. DENYS, III., 278. [7] Il estoit clerc non marié.—JUV., 428; SPONDE, I., 691. He says nothing of this in his own account of himself.—BAYE, I., 106. He afterwards married (1410) Iolande de Rodemach.—MORÉRI, s.v. For CHRISTINE's eulogy of him in 1402, see PISAN, II., 99. For clers repentiz en nul cas ne vault rien, see DESCHAMPS, VII., 74. [8] For duties of the royal cupbearer, see *ibid.*, VII., 175, 355. [9] MONSTR., Chap. XIII. [10] RYM., VIII., 140, 151; ST. DENYS, III., 158. For his pedigree, see F. DUCHESNE, 418.

men a taste of his quality in the lists. In January, 1403,[1] when the French King was suffering from his "grave malady," seven of Savoisi's retainers entered the apartments of one of the royal officers, cut him about the body with swords, and beat him brutally with big sticks about the reins, the legs, and the soles of his feet. But Savoisi escaped[2] punishment owing to the intervention of the Duke of Orleans. On July 14th, 1404,[3] he again got into trouble for breaking up a procession[4] in Paris. His followers pursued the defenceless throng into a church during the time of the High Mass; some seized extinguisher-sticks, or anything that came to hand, and a free fight ensued, the arrows whizzing[5] about the head of the Abbé officiating at the altar. Ladies[6] hid their little children under their cloaks; a priest went mad; and several persons were so badly hurt that for three days they could not be removed to their homes. Three of the leaders in the attack suffered the canonical punishment.[7] They were made to walk "sark-alane"[8] from the Châtelet[9] to the church of Ste. Geneviève, with lighted candles in their hands, there to beg pardon on their knees, and to be afterwards publicly fustigated in five of the principal streets and squares of Paris. Savoisi's hostel,[10] which was built with unusual magnificence,[11] was demolished to the sound of trumpets, and he himself was heavily fined and banished the country (August 22nd, 1404).[12] "Desolate, and in great

[1] BAYE, I., 53. Not 1402, as PISAN, II., 310. [2] BAYE, I., 56. [3] *Ibid.*, I, 93, 100; DOUET D'ARCQ., I., 261. [4] For Ste. Catharine du Val des Escoliers, near the Porte Baudet, see FRANKLIN, I., 197-201. [5] BAYE, I., 102; ST. DENYS, III., 187. [6] GERSON, V., 574. [7] For a similar punishment in 1410, at South Molton, in Devon, for a murderous assault in the Parish Church at Filleigh, see STAFF. REG., 103. Cf. JURADE, 346; WALS., I., 451; THOMPSON, 167. [8] ABERDEEN RECORDS, 212. All naked but here shertés on.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 78. [9] Là sont les prisons en merveilleuse nombre.—G. METZ, 65. [10] On September 15th, 1406, a royal order was issued allowing him to rebuild it.—BAYE, I., 175; II., 288; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 264; ST. DENYS, III., 388. [11] *Ibid.*, III., 192. [12] BAYE, I., 113; JUVENAL, 428.

heaviness," he repaired to Marseilles,[1] where he had two galleys built and fitted with great completeness, the pennons[2] alone costing as much as the whole furniture of an ordinary vessel.

In the following year he sailed for La Rochelle,[3] where he was joined by a wealthy Spaniard, Don Pero Niño,[4] who had come from Santander with three galleys to put himself at the disposal of the King of France. Niño was a special favourite of the Castilian King, Henry III., who had been brought up with him as a foster-brother.[5] If we may trust the panegyric of his biographer, he was a very paragon of chivalry. He had vast possessions[6] in almost every province of Castile, and he afterwards became Count of the Valley of Buelna, near Santander. He was now 27 years of age,[7] and had just returned from his first expedition in the Mediterranean, where he had been roving in search of Moorish corsairs about the coasts of France, Sardinia, and Africa. In accordance with the terms[8] of a treaty then existing between France and Spain, he was now sent for at the request of the French Government, who were making great efforts to attack the English in Guienne, in Wales, and at every available point. On arriving at La Rochelle, about July, 1405,[9] Niño found great preparations making for the attack upon Guienne. He straightway asked and obtained permission of the Constable, Charles d'Albret,[10] to make a dash at Bor-

[1] MONSTR., I., 75. [2] GAMEZ, 270. [3] In ST. DENYS, III., 316, they meet at Hirbrac (? Isle de Brehac, or Brehat), in Brittany. [4] Not Nuño, as RAMSAY, I., 93. [5] The King was nursed by Inés Laso, Niño's mother. [6] GAMEZ, 534-541. [7] *Ibid.*, 108. [8] TILLET, 314. In GAMEZ (309), is a letter from the Duke of Bourbon, dated July 7th (1404?), to the King of Castile, urging him to send the 40 ships promised. [9] GAMEZ, 269. [10] Called d'Alebret (PISAN, I., 209, 231; II., 98); or d'Alabret, or d'Elebret (MART. COLLECT., I., 1561); *i.e.*, Lord of Labrit in the Landes, = Lebret.—DOUET D'ARCQ., I., 247; ARCHIVES HIST. DE LA GIRONDE, III., 131. In JURADE, 10, he signs himself "Le Sire de Lebret." For ballads addressed to him by Christine de Pisan, see PISAN, I., 208, 210, 225, 231. He was one of Boucicaut's Knights of the White Lady on the Green Shield.—BOUCICAUT, 255; PISAN, I., 210, 220; II., p. iv.; founded April 11, 1400, not 1399, as Vol. I., p. 42.

deaux. It was known that an English fleet was approaching, so the three Spanish galleys crept cautiously round into the Gironde, and came to anchor off Talmont. Putting out under cover of the night, they passed the castle of Bourg, and approached Bordeaux in the early dawn. No French ships had ventured so close before, and the city was caught unawares. A party was landed, who set fire to some houses and corn mills. But the garrison was soon roused, and the galleys had to row for dear life between a cross fire of darts, arrows, and stone-shot from both banks of the river.

Niño had on board with him a bannerer named Gutierre Diez de Gamez, who kept a record of the deeds of his chief, and his graphic narrative[1] of the events of the expedition is still preserved. It may be supplemented by a short but independent summary[2] from the Frenchman's point of view, and a still scantier reference to the same events in one of the contemporary English chronicles.[3] So that from the three sources we can put together a tolerably complete account of the whole operations.

The five galleys (three Spanish and two French) coasted along from La Rochelle to St. Malo, and then stood across for England. Like their French comrades, the Spaniards had no love for the English. The Dorsetshire corsair, Henry Pay,[4] had given them cause to dread the English name when he carried off the crucifix from the calvary at Finisterre, and burned Gijon, on the rocky coast of Asturias, soon after the

[1] LE VICTORIAL, OR CRONICA DE PEDRO NIÑO, Madrid, 1782, imperfectly edited by EUGENIO DE LLAGUNO AMIROLO. Considerable extracts were given by SOUTHEY (II., 20-45), and these were further condensed by NICOLAS, ROYAL NAVY, II., 374-382. Further extracts were published by L. G. LEMCKE at Marburg, in 1865. The whole has been well edited and translated into French by COUNTS CIRCOURT AND PUYMAIGRE. [2] JUV., 436, and ST. DENYS, III., 316-322. [3] ANN., 381. [4] ISSUE ROLL, 11 H. IV., Mich., October 10th, 1409, has a reference to messengers sent to Henry Pay, at Sandwich, with summons to appear before the King.

two sieges and the destruction of its walls by the King of Castile, in September, 1395.[1] To them the English were a strange,[2] incomprehensible race, whose land was a healthy spot abounding in food and metals, but greatly overstocked[3] with people; a nation of bowlers[4] and gluttons; a drinking,[5] blustering set, who could never do with peace—if they were not fighting at home,[6] they must be plundering abroad.[7]

The first start from St. Malo was unlucky. Storms swept the adventurers back, and set them wondering whether, after all, God was not somehow specially protecting this vile people whom they meant to chastise. Reflecting, however, that the storms might possibly be a punishment[8] for their own sins, they waited awhile, the weather cleared and they started afresh at nightfall with chart and needle,[9] the lantern[10] gleaming from the poop of Niño's galley to indicate that he held the command. Falling in with some fishing boats near the Cornish coast they gave chase, captured nineteen of them,[11] and drowned the crews, after getting sufficient information from them to guide them in their intended raid. Their first essay was at a place which they call "Chita."[12] This is probably the same as the

[1] GAMEZ, 109-116; MARIANA, I., 322. In 1404, Pay seized the "Marie" of Danzig off the Spanish coast, sold the cargo in Lisbon, and took the ship to Falmouth. It was afterwards restored by order of King Henry.—HIRSCH, DANZIG, 84. [2] GAMEZ, 211. [3] CHALCO., 97. [4] HIGDEN, III., 359; P. PLO., X., 194, and note, p. 193. [5] Quamvis fateor si quis eo modo bibat *ut mos est Anglicis* vinum hebetare hominis ingenium.—ÆN. SYLV., in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 158, IV., 89; WYCLIFFE, SERMONS, IV., 336; HIGDEN, II., 166; DENTON, 204; SCHWAB, 64. [6] Bellicosissimum genus.—MARTENE, ANEC., I., 1699; RTA., IV., 309; CHALCO., II., 49. LA MARCHE, I., 112, 118, considers England the most powerful island in the world, and that had not Providence provided the civil wars of the fifteenth century, the English would have conquered most of their neighbours. [7] For an estimate of the English companies in Switzerland in 1374, see JUSTINGER, 145 (400), where they are "morder, röuber, brenner, kilchenufbrecher, frowenschender, unglückmakher," &c., &c. [8] GAMEZ, 280. [9] *Ibid.*, 276. For "nedel and stone," see GOWER, CONF. AM., 330, 413 (also p. 85, note 2). [10] GAMEZ, 275. See JAL, s.v. Fanal. "Thou art our admiral, thou bearest the lantern in the poop."—HENRY IV., Part I., III., 3, 28. [11] ST. DENYS, III., 318; JUV., 436. [12] GAMEZ, 281.

modern town of East Looe, then known as Shouta.[1] The high-road from Plymouth to Fowey passed over the bridge at the harbour head, and in 1411,[2] the Bishop of Exeter offered the usual indulgence to all who would contribute to the cost of a new bridge, which however was not completed till after 1418. The Spaniard describes Shouta as an unfortified town on the side of a hill, with all the streets leading to the water, the inhabitants, about 300 in number,[3] being chiefly rich merchants and fishermen. The strangers had some difficulty in crossing the bar, where the rush of the tide made the galleys unmanageable either by oar or rudder, but once in the creek they found themselves in a safe and sheltered anchorage. They landed, slew many of the people, plundered and burnt the place, and captured two ships and cargoes, which they sent across, together with their spoils, to Harfleur. After three hours, however, the neighbours collected and gave them some trouble as they left the harbour mouth, attacking the galleys with arrows and stones from both sides of the entrance. Being in want of fresh water, they sailed westward and made for Falmouth,[4] which they mistook for Dartmouth, the scene of the Breton landing in the spring of the previous year, but seeing a large muster of armed men prepared to receive them, they prudently withdrew and put out again to sea for the night. On the following day, they put about and ran eastward for

[1] LYSONS, III., 217, with charter temp. Edward II. NICOLAS (II., 377) refers to BOND, 49, 260, 265. In 1347, it furnished 20 ships and 325 sailors to the fleet of Edward III., for the reduction of Calais.—NICOLAS, II., 508. [2] STAFF. REG., 245. [3] In Leland's time it had decayed to a "Smaule Fisher Villag hard on the se shore," and the harbour was but "a Tyde Creke" (ITIN., VII., 98). CAREW (128) in his SURVEY (1603) says: "the foundation of their houses is grounded on the sand, and the profit chiefly accrueth from industrious fishing with boats of a middle size, able to brooke but not crosse the seas." [4] Alamua.—GAMEZ, 283.

Saltash harbour.[1] They found there as many as 26 vessels, which drew back for protection to the bridge close to the fortified quarter of the town. The place reminded the Spaniards of Seville,[2] with its lovely surroundings, its noble buildings, and its bridge made of seven or eight barges.

Saltash was surrounded with substantial walls and towers,[3] from which the inhabitants opened a heavy fire on the intruders. They shot stones which rose to twice the height of a tower and fell into the sea half a league off, or, at any rate, the bannerer consoled his countrymen by telling them so, when he wrote his account thirty years afterwards, for it was necessary to season the story with a spice of the marvellous in order to explain the haste with which his "ever-victorious" hero[4] had to tail off. The French people were even led to believe that they had scored a great success here.

The little squadron then sailed on to Portland,[5] where the Frenchmen were burning to repeat the pillage of the previous year, and avenge the capture of the Norman knights.[6] The tide was in, and the wretched, ill-armed inhabitants of the

[1] Called Le port de Tasche in ST. DENYS, III., 318; JUV., 436; *i.e.*, Saltash, then called Salthasshe (ROY. LET., I., 271), or Saltasshe (STAFF. REG., 206), though the earlier name was Esse or Asche (CAREW, 112; LEL., ITIN., III., 23), or Ayssh (STAFF. REG., 324). In CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 13 (April 24th, 1407), and 9 H. IV., 10 (May 31st, 1408), are references to the desecration of the church and vicarage of "Saltassh," and consequent excommunication enforced by the sheriff. Juvenal has probably confused the events of Looe and Saltash. He makes the French have a great success at Tasche, after a good deal of "pretty rough work," (*assez aspre besongne*). [2] MARIANA, I., 329. [3] A petition in 1411, still speaks of Plymouth as defenceless.—LYSONS, VI., 391. For old Plymouth, see ANTIQUARY, May, 1886. [4] GAMEZ, 61, 62, 131, 535. [5] Prolent.—ST. DENYS, III., 168, 318; Piolent.—JUVENAL, 436. [6] Vol. I., page 436. CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 30 (October 24th, 1404), has order to the Constable of the Tower to give up French prisoners captured at "Portlond."

island seeing the galleys approach, fled to the caves for shelter.[1] Plundering parties were landed, who made a few prisoners and fired some houses.[2] But, by this time, the tide was going out and the bank was bare. Archers and men-at-arms were seen to be approaching from the mainland. The bugle was sounded and the plunderers were recalled before they could do any damage to the church.[3] But, ere they could re-embark, they were engaged by the English archers, and others of their comrades had to be landed from the galleys to help them in their retreat. Arrows fell as thick as snow, and the marauders got back with difficulty to their boats when night began to fall. Both the French and Spanish accounts seem to claim credit for not doing so much damage as they meant, but the Frenchmen, who were always the first to shrink from landing in the face of real danger, have as usual a little the best of it in gasconade.

The galleys then passed unmolested along the Dorset coast, landing without opposition here and there for wood and water. As they neared Poole, the Spanish commander ascertained that they were close to the home of the famous "'Arripay." Up till now they had prided themselves on having spared churches, women, prisoners, and standing crops, but in the country of the sacrilegious rover they felt themselves free from such self-imposed restrictions. They landed, burnt houses and crops, and carried off cattle, and then made for the entrance to Poole harbour. At daybreak they sighted the haven, and another landing was proposed. The Frenchmen refused, not liking their last experience at Portland, but Niño insisted and sent a party from his own galleys with orders not to cumber themselves with plunder, but to plant a banner for bravado and set fire to the houses, if they could. The town of Poole was then un-

[1] GAMEZ, 296. [2] JUV. (436) says five villages. [3] In ST. DENYS, III., 318, and JUV., 436, it is "une abbaye," quædam sollemnis abbacia.

fortified, though "well inhabited and manned,"[1] but the Spanish chronicler notes that there was a fair tower with a round, cup-shaped top made of tin, which formed a striking object as they entered the haven. The landing-party fired some houses and forced an entrance into a big building stored with guns,[2] ropes, sails, rigging, cordage, and other tackle.[3] But some archers in the town had torn down[4] doors from the houses, and advanced using them as pavises[5] or shelter-boards. They came on in pairs, the paviser[6] planting the door while the archer took aim. They got so close that the Spaniards could distinguish the dark men from the red, and so steadily did they shoot that the intruders did not dare to stoop to charge their cross-bows. Seeing his men draw back, Niño himself landed and persuaded the Frenchmen to join him. With the banner at their head they raised a shout of "Santiago!" and made a rush upon the English. The gallant Gamez describes his companions as very Sebastians all stuck about with arrows. He himself stood like a bull in the arena.[7] The yard-shafts fell round him so thick that you could not step without tramping on them, and they were to be picked up by sheafs. The fight was stubborn, but the English at last fell back, leaving a few prisoners in the hands of their enemies, and the body of one of Pay's brothers was left dead on the

[1] ROT. PARL., IV., 445. [2] GAMEZ, 302. [3] For "takell," see YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., 13; MIRROR OF OUR LADY, 226; GOWER, CONF. AM., 152. [4] The same thing was done by the enraged fishermen on the Thames' banks in February, 1406, when their nets were seized by order of the Mayor of London.—LIB. ALB., I., 515. [5] See RYM., VIII., 384; GROSE, 27; MEYRICK, II., 140; VIOLLET-LE-DUC, S.V. pavois, VI., 215; for escudados (porte pavois), see GAMEZ, 120, 152, 191, 195, 312. In the combat at Montendre in Saintonge [(May, 1402), see GAMEZ, 285, 324; PISAN, I., 240-244] the English champions were provided with "targes et pavois pour le jet des lances."—JUV., 422. Cf. HARD., 366, "And archers good well pauyshed in specialitee." See also FROIS. (JOHNES), II., 208; KNIGHT, II., 248, from HARL. MS., 4379. [6] PROMPT. PARV. S.V. quotes Talbot's Ordinances, 1419. "ij yomen made them a good pavise of bordes, that on may hold it while the other dothe shete."—EXCERPTA HISTORICA, 42; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plate xl., 259. [7] GAMEZ, 303.

field. From his prisoners Niño learned that the King's forces had been baffled by the Welsh, and the chronicler expresses his regret that the number of the galleys was so small :—with twenty more, now would have been the time to do "marvellous things."

Sailing on, they next came to the Isle of Wight, but when the islanders saw them approach, they were this time not at all dismayed. About 400 of them were drawn up armed on the shore, waving their caps[1] and shouting :—"Come out of your galleys !"—and when a small party landed, they captured them and refused to allow them to return, but sent to enquire from the others in the ships the reason of their coming. The Frenchmen answered that they came in the name of Richard the rightful King of England, and of Isabel his wife, to whom their tribute ought to be paid. But the islanders replied that they knew that Richard was dead, and that Isabel had returned to her father, and they would hear nothing of tribute. The French broke out upon them with threats that they would soon rue their insolent defiance. "Come on, then !" said the islanders mockingly, and they offered to let them land and to give them six hours to refresh themselves before beginning their attack. The invaders, however, knowing that some of their party were already captured, and suspecting that they were being lured into a bushment,[2] declined the invitation and prudently sailed away. This is the English account.[3] The French[4] say that they landed and dispersed the English and left 22 of them dead, that they then advanced into the island, set fire to a large village, and returned in safety to their ships.

Sailing into Southampton water, they found in the harbour

[1] ST. DENYS, III., 320. [2] Page 93, note 3, also WYCL. (M.), 421. Embusshément.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 384. [3] ANN., 381, where the events seem referred to 1404 (RAMSAY, I., 77). Following this date, I had already worked in the story in Vol. I., p. 445, but it is much more probable that it belongs to the year 1405. [4] JUV., 436.

a Genoese carack, which had been taken by the English. They could not bring it off, as the sails had been removed, and they were about to burn it when the master begged them to desist, as he had hopes that he would get restitution[1] ultimately from the English courts. They came within sight of Southampton, which was then a fortified town[2] with a strong intrenched castle, surrounded with towers, ditches, and walls more than a mile-and-a-quarter in circumference, recently strengthened on the south or watergate[3] side facing to the sea. Against such works the marauders could make no stand, so they amused their crews by telling them that they were sailing up "a great river called the Thames,"[4] and had come within sight of London. They then sailed up to Havant,[5] but found that stakes had been rammed into the mud to stop their course. Nothing daunted, they drove at them in small boats, made good a landing, fired the town, and did some plundering.

The galleys reached Harfleur at the end of September, 1405, where the crews got supplies of biscuit,[6] and lay up for the winter. But Niño, being "very valiant and well-reputed in love,"[7] went up the Seine to Rouen with some of his comrades, and spent a few days in gaiety in the mansion of the gallant old Admiral Renaud de Trie,[8] at Serifontaine[9] near Gisors. He

[1] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 25, has order to Mayor of Southampton (January 19th, 1406), to release a carack of Genoa captured when Prince Thomas was across the sea. [2] RYM., IX., 293; DAVIES, 63-110; CLARK, II., 472-481; HIST. MSS., 11TH REPT., App. III., p. 7. [3] Vol. I., 385. PAT., 12 H. IV., 18, in DAVIES, 112; PRIV. SEAL, 651/6816, March 26th, 1411, refers to Southampton as lately fortified. [4] In GAMEZ, 310, the place is called "Antone, near London." In ST. DENYS, III., 320; JUV., 436, it is "Hantonne," Hantonia. LUSSAN, IV., 196, calls it "Anache." [5] Avonothe, in ST. DENYS, III., 320. [6] See receipts dated October 3rd and 7th, 1405, in GAMEZ, 306, 314; JARRY, 344. [7] GAMEZ, 62. His wife, Costanza de Guevara had recently died. [8] JUV., 438; DESCHAMPS, VII., 202.

then went to Paris and took service in the household of the Duke of Orleans, and was ready, when the following year came round, to begin his piracies again.

He was Keeper of the castle of Rouen. See documents dated July 12th and September 11th, 1399, in THORPE'S CATALOGUE, 1835, p. 56. In BAYE, I., 7, he attended the council July 14th, 1401, as Messire R. de Trie, amiral de la mer; also *ibid.*, 66 (May 26th, 1403). He resigned April 1st, 1405 (MAS-LATRIE, 2184), in consideration of a large sum of money. For his ballads, see CHAMPOLLION, 129; LE LIVRE DE CENT BALLADES, QUEUX DE ST. HILAIRE, Paris, 1868; PISAN, I., XXVII. His will is dated on his death-bed, April 12th, 1406.—GAMEZ, 570. After his death, his widow, the beautiful Jeanne de Bellengues, engaged herself to Niño, but he failed to carry out his promise.—MORÉRI, X., 341; SOUTHEY, II., 33; CONTEMP. REV., January, 1893, p. 99. [9] ITINÉRAIRES, 293.

CHAPTER LVIII.

CASTILE AND PORTUGAL.

YET, all this time, there was peace and personal friendliness between the courts of England and Castile. King Henry's half-sister Catherine, had married Henry III., King of Castile and Leon. She was contracted to him when he was only eight years old, and she married him in 1393,[1] as soon as he was fourteen. He was then a pale, delicate lad,[2] pleased with his hawks[3] and his kayle-pins,[4] but his handsome features were marred with the finger of premature decline, and he is known in the old lists as Henry the Nesh.[5] He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1401.[6] After long and anxious disappointment, his wife at length bore him a son (afterwards John II.), in the Franciscan monastery at Toro on the upper Douro, March 6th, 1405.[7] Torch fires were instantly lighted, and messengers posted to convey the glad news to the happy father at Segovia,[8] some 100 miles away. Then followed great rejoicings and a feeling of national relief, for the kingdom of Castile was torn with internal factions, and threatened[9] on all sides by Portugal, by Aragon, and by the Moors. But, before the infant was two

[1] For the "reasonable aid" raised for her dowry, see FURNESS COUCHER, I., 224. [2] See the story of his mother shaking him violently when he was a baby, to get rid of the stranger's milk.—GAMEZ, 108. [3] MARIANA, I., 335. [4] Juvenem quemdam vidi ludentem.—BONET, 223. NOTICES DES MSS., 569, and STRUTT, SPORTS AND PASTIMES, 202. [5] El Doliente. Le Maladif.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 216, 273; COURT OF LOVE, 1092. [6] BELTZ, XIV., XV.; NICOLAS, II., li. For his arms in the cloisters at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 145. [7] MARIANA, I., 332. She had already two daughters, Mary and Catherine.—RYM., VIII., 683. [8] GAMEZ, 205. [9] Yet in 1411, Boniface Ferrer praises the independence of the courts in Castile.—MART., ANEC., II., 1470.

years old, Henry III. died at Toledo, December 25th, 1406.[1] Some of his letters[2] to the King of England are still preserved, professing much attachment to his "dear and most beloved brother," and when a truce was concluded in 1403,[3] between him and the King of Portugal, it was expressly stipulated that the King of England should be included[4] as the friend and ally of both, though Lisbon[5] and Oporto had the same tale to tell of English piracy as the Castilian[6] ports on the shores of the Bay of Biscay.

Queen Catherine is described as a tall woman of a simple and liberal mind, who became very stout, owing to her English habit of over-indulgence in drink. She died suddenly on June 2nd, 1418,[7] and was buried in the cathedral at Toledo, and her English attendants returned to their native land.

The King of Portugal, João I., known as John the Good[8] or the Father of his country, was connected with the King of England by still nearer personal ties. Nineteen years previously, he had married Henry's own sister Philippa,[9] one of the two young girls[10] of genuine English parentage whom John of

[1] MURATORI, III., 2, 802; SURITA, 275; RAYNALDI, XVII., 304; WADDING, IX., 317; NICOLAS, ORDERS, I., 49. [2] ROY. LET., I., 111, has a facsimile of his signature. [3] ROY. LET., I., 191, 228; RYM., VIII., 329, 351, 425; BAVE, I., 69. For computation by the Era of Spain, see ROY. LET., I., xlvii. TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, xiii., has a document dated Leicester, August 21st (s.a.), in which King Henry IV. informs King John of Portugal that he has heard from John Gomez de Silva of the ten years' truce with Castile, from Michaelmas last. Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, App. B, shows £136 expenses of ambassadors of King of Castile, 1403. [4] FRENCH ROLL, 7 H. IV., 15, December 27th, 1405. For treaty between England and Portugal dated July 22nd, 1403, from Lisbon Archives, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, iv., xiii. [5] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 14; RYM., VIII., 727. [6] Page 54. [7] Not 1408, as MONSTR., I., 402. See MARIANA, I., 362; TURQUET, 680. For her letters to King Henry, dated Tordesillas, April 17th, 1411, see RYM., VIII., 683; and Valladolid, July 30th (5th?), 1412, see WOOD, I., 86; VESP. F., III., 82. [8] LA MARCHE, I., 115. Juan el Vengador in FARIA Y SOUSA, 231. [9] Not "half-sister," as DICT. NAT. BIOG., XIX., 102. [10] For another named Isabel, who died in infancy, see NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., VIII., 424.

Gaunt[1] had put under the charge of the infamous adulteress,[2] Catherine Swynford.[3] The younger, Elizabeth, had an irregular experience[4] of "court ways and manners." She had been divorced,[5] when very young, from her first husband the Earl of Pembroke, and had been married in a hurry to her second husband, John Holland, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon, to save appearances, if possible, before the birth of her child. The elder, Philippa, sailed from Plymouth[6] to Corunna in July, 1386, with the great expedition which her father was fitting out to fight for his claims to the crown of Castile, and her brother Henry saw her again no more, though, if his exile had lasted long enough, he had intended to pay her a visit in 1399.[7]

At Candlemas, 1387, she was married to the King of Portugal, a "gracious prince"[8] of handsome form and well-stored mind, in every way suited to his English bride. English ways were continued in her new home, her chancellor being an English parson, Adam Devonport.[9] English ladies accompanied her and married into Portuguese houses,[10] and French was introduced in her court as the courtly language of her

[1] So spelt in RYM., VIII., 625, 656; CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 32; MURIMUTH, 93; or Gawnt.—GASC., 137; PRIV. SEAL, 646/6345, 647/6473. [2] FROIS., XV., 238; SANDFORD, 253; WOOD, I., 78; EXCERPT. HIST., 152. [3] In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 30, 96, 132 (John of Gaunt's Register), Dame K. Swynford is "meistresse de nos filles," *i.e.*, Philippa and Elizabeth.—HOLT, 148. [4] Malvern in HIGDEN, IX., 97. NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., VIII., 122; DOYLE, III., 13. [5] "Viduatam," says CAPGR. DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 98. [6] KNIGHTON, 2676; not Bristol, as FROIS., XI., 326. [7] FROIS., XVI., 107, 136. [8] *Ibid.*, III., 124. [9] He had been a prebendary of St. Paul's till 1381.—LE NEVE, 369; DUGDALE, 237; NEWCOURT, I., 125; BLORE, 6; where the Earl of Arundel begs for him the living of Stokenham, near Dartmouth, probably because he was tired of living abroad. But the King put in Richard Prentys (Canon of Salisbury from September 2nd, 1404, to October 7th, 1406.—JONES, 420; will proved, 1416.—*Ibid.*, 386), who was instituted July 14th, 1404.—STAFF. REG., 211, 340. Devonport did not get possession till May 17th, 1417, when he was over 60 years of age, and had no other benefice. He was presented by the Countess of Salisbury after the death of Prentys. The living was worth £33 6s. 8d.—STAFF. REG., 24, 80. [10] FOSTER, VISITATIONS, 200.

English home. In 1400,[1] her husband was made a Knight of the English Order of the Garter. Every year their family increased, and as the boys[2] and girls were born, they received names familiar alternately in Portuguese and English homes. The first-born, Blanche, and her brother Alonso,[3] died young, but the rest all lived to fill great places in the world. One of them, Isabel,[4] became the wife of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; Edward (or Duerte),[5] known as the Eloquent, has left many treatises[6] on moral and philosophic subjects, breathing a spirit of warm affection towards his English mother; Pedro, the "prince that travelled over the seven parts of the world," spent twelve years in visiting the cities of every country in Europe; while Henry, Duke of Viseu, named after his English uncle and known as "the Navigator," has left a deathless name as the daring explorer who first ventured beyond Cape Bojador into the "Sea of Darkness,"[7] and touched the secrets of the mysterious Western Ocean. At the time at which we have now arrived, he was but a boy, eleven years of age, with no hint of the great destiny that lay before him. Queen Philippa was regarded as a model of womanly goodness,[8] famed for her

[1] BELTZ, LIV., CLVI., 398, though NICOLAS (II., LII.) thinks 1406. [2] See their names in SANDFORD, 40-45; MAJOR, 24; FARIA Y SOUSA, 241. Besides the eight there given, MARIANA (II., 13) adds three girls—Eleanor, Catherine, and Joan. [3] Or Afonso.—MURPHY, 35. For his tomb by a Flemish artist in the cathedral at Braga, see LABORDE, II., CXXX. [4] LA MARCHE, I., 97, 106, 117; MONSTR., IV., 370. In the inscription on her father's tomb at Batalha she is called Elizabeth.—MURPHY, 57; COLL. TOP. ET GEN., I., 85. In LEFEVRE, I., 3; II., 150, 158, 163, she is both Isabel and Elizabeth. Her portrait was painted by John van Eyck in 1429.—BARANTE, IV., 289; LABORDE, I., XXX., CXXIX., 251. For figure of her in the chapel of Notre Dame de la Treille at Lille, see VINCART, 50. [5] In 1405 he sailed from Venice to Jerusalem.—ORIENT LATIN, II., 245, where he is called Azifar primogenito del Re di Portogallo. For portrait of his daughter Leonora, see ARCHÆOL., XLIII., 2. For his monument and that of his Queen, Dona Lianor, at Batalha, see MURPHY, 32. [6] MAJOR, 167. For his library, see GOTTLIEB, 268. [7] MAJOR, 87; PURCHAS, Bk. II., p. 4; ANDREWS, II., 11. [8] MAJOR, 29, from MATTEO DI PISANO.

fasting and abstinence and her care for her children, and the wise training and splendid success of her family certainly tend to bear out the justice of the claim. She died of the plague, July 18th, 1415, and was buried in the monastery of Odivallis, where a most fragrant smell[1] arose from her body. Fifteen months later (October 15th, 1416), it was disinterred and placed in the Mausoleum in the great Dominican church which King John built on the battlefield of Aljubarrota,[2] about sixty miles to the north of Lisbon, in memory of his victory over the King of Castile (August 14th, 1385). Philippa and her husband here lie side by side,[3] her right hand clasped in his, and her left hand holding a book.

King John is known as "the King of Happy Memory," and he had a great reputation for piety.[4] His official letters[5] are plentifully sprinkled with Bible texts. When a young man, he had taken an oath of chastity, as became the Grand Master[6] of the Order of Avis, and previous to his marriage at thirty years of age, he was believed by those who knew him[7] to have been strict in keeping it to the letter. He then went through the form of obtaining from the Pope an official dispensation[8] to free him from his strict obligation. But when we look a little

[1] FARIA Y SOUSA (STEVENS), 270, who says that she was then 64 years old! [2] BONET, APPARITION, 26, 73; FROIS., XI., 163. [3] For her epitaph, see MURPHY, 57, who made a beautiful sketch of the tomb in 1789. For fancy pictures of her and her husband in sixteenth century costumes, from a Portuguese MS. (*circ.* 1525), see SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. 2. [4] For his gifts of crosses, chalices, cruets, boats, censers, candlesticks, vestments, altar-cloths, &c., to the church at Batalha, see MURPHY, 43. These have all been melted down or sold, but the church still possesses a small gold cross with relics of Peter and Paul, and a small piece of the Holy Coat in a crystal shrine, set in gold, being a certain specific for curing women afflicted with hæmorrhage. Both these curiosities were sent to him by the Emperor Manuel, on his visit to Paris, June 15th, 1401. [5] ROY. LET., I., 228. For a stock of similar selected phrases suitable for addressing kings and others, see HARL. MS., 431, 110 (99). [6] LA MARCHE, I., 109; FARIA Y SOUSA, 231. Religiosus fuerim non est diu.—BONET, 221; MENEZES, 9. [7] FROIS., III., 159. "Mis juz sa religion."—NOTICES DES MSS., V., 569. [8] MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 96.

nearer, the facts are all against him, and it is certain that he had already played loose with his vow without Papal or other sanction in the matter. As the result of a *liaison* with a lady named Agnes Pires,[1] he had at least two children before his marriage, who must somehow be provided for. The mother became Superior of a convent, and the children were legitimated by royal order. The son, Alfonso Count of Barcellos, became Duke of Braganza and the ancestor of a line of Kings. The daughter, Dona Brites or Beatrice,[2] was now of age to be looking out for a husband. King John was himself a chance-child,[3] and his queen Philippa harboured no harsh thoughts against his left-hand offspring. At any rate, she interested herself in the advancement of the Lady Beatrice, and when Portuguese ambassadors had been passing into England in connection with the truce with Castile, they were authorised to approach King Henry with a view to obtaining for her an English husband. Henry's choice fell upon Thomas Fitzalan,[4] Earl of Arundel and Surrey, an intimate friend and companion[5] of his son Henry, Prince of Wales. The Earl of Arundel had for some time kept up a friendliness by correspondence with the court at Lisbon, though we know on the best authority, that, when the match was really made, the young gentleman did not want a foreigner[6] whom he had never seen.

[1] COLL. TOP. ET GEN., I., 80, quoting JOS. SOARES DE SYLVA, I., 246, 252. [2] MAJOR, 24. In TRANSCRIPTS FOR. REC., 153, XIII., 11, she is Senhora Dã Brites; but the King himself spells it Beatriz.—BLORE, 8. In MENEZES, 407, she is Dona Beatriz. [3] LA MARCHE, I., 107, 110. [4] Vol. I., p. 21. For list of his father's confiscated beds, testers, costers, cushions, &c., see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{1}\frac{5}{5}$. [5] For their visit together to the shrine of St. John at Bridlington, see DUGDALE, I., 321. The Earl of Arundel's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton (MONAST., VI., 135), and his father's sister, Joan, was the wife of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the Prince's grandfather.—SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., II., 198; DOYLE, I., 74. [6] WOOD, I., 81; dating his letter in BLORE, 6, June 25th, 1404, not 1405, from internal evidence. The living of Stokenham was filled up July 14th, 1404 (Page

He was now twenty-four years old,[1] and, a year or two before, he had paid a large sum of money to the King to be allowed to choose for himself in these matters. King Henry was urgent, however, and a dower of 50,000 crowns was to be had with the lady; so the Earl put his scruples aside, and, "by the King's commandment," sent across Sir John Wilshere,[2] Mayor of Arundel,[3] Master John Snapp, and a squire whose name appears in the Lisbon records as John Vabelate,[4] to represent him in the transaction. Negociations were continued during the winter of 1404,[5] and the Earl's proxy, whom the Portuguese called "Huelcitsyra,"[6] sailed from England in the following spring. On April 20th, 1405, Beatrice was solemnly contracted in marriage to the Earl of Arundel in the royal palace at Lisbon. In October, 1405, she and her brother Alfonso[7] crossed to England, attended by a retinue of knights, and on November 26th, 1405,[8] the marriage was celebrated at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury "with glory and

331, note 9). The Earl speaks of it (June 25th) as "now vacant" *(ore voide)*. JONES (315) puts the death of Thomas Montague on August 31st, 1404, which is too late.

[1] He was born October 13th, 1381.—TIERNEY, I., 277; YEATMAN, 324. He was dubbed a knight, and got his gilt spurs (P. PLO., XXI., 11) in the Tower, on the eve of Henry's coronation. L.T.R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 11, shows payments on his account, together with the King's sons, Thomas, John, and Humphrey, three other earls, five barons, Lord Beaumont, and thirty-three knights, pro apparatibus suis ad ordinem militarem accipiendum,—making a total of forty-six (Vol. I., p. 43), as ZANTFLIET, 355; HOLINS., 511. For picture of the ceremony, see STRUTT, ANGEL-CYNNAN, II., Pl. ix. [2] DALLAWAY, II., 2, 244. PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 11, June 20th, 1407, refers to John Wilteshyre, knight, going to Wales. He was one of the executors of the Earl's will in 1415, and was present at Agincourt.—SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., XV., 127. In RYM., VIII., 730, his name is Wilteshire. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 23. [4] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, XIII. [5] *Ibid.*, 153, XIII., 11, refers to a document showing that negociations were commenced in England by John Vas de Almada, and concluded on February 7th, 1405, by Martin d'Ocem. The original document does not exist, but is quoted from FERN. LOP. CHRON. [6] COLL. TOP. ET GEN., I., 81. Or Huelscira, in a letter dated October 17th, 1413, in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, XIII. In the same letter Arundel is called Conde de Rondel. [7] RYM., VIII., 428, 430. [8] COLL. TOP. ET GEN., I., 82.

magnificence," in presence of the King and Queen of England, the Duke of York,[1] who had been released from durance at Pevensey, the Earls of Kent and Warwick, and many distinguished personages, both English and Portuguese. King Henry received the bride at the west door[2] of the ante-chapel, where she stood at his right side as he gave her away. The Bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Chichester assisted at the function in full pontificals, and the bride and bridegroom offered each a candle of white wax, unpursed a gold noble and laid it on the book[3] after the nuptial-mass. All these details, together with long extracts from the marriage service, were taken down by notaries and forwarded officially to Lisbon, in a document[4] which is preserved to the present day.

Of the promised 50,000 crowns of dowry, the Earl got half[5] on his marriage-day, but the rest was still only in prospect and might remain a doubtful factor so long as rovers held the sea. His lands around Oswestry[6] and the adjoining districts of Yale and Bromfield,[7] in Denbighshire, had been laid waste, and he had had to borrow 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s. 8d) to meet the

[1] Page 48. [2] For bridal-mass and marriage at the church door, see ROCK, IV., 172. [3] That ever was the gold unpursed,
The which she laid upon the book.—
GOWER, CONF. AM., 223; cf. HOLT, 30.
[4] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, XIII., from ARCHIVO REAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO CASA DA COROA GAV., 17, Mac. 6. DUGDALE, I., 320, places the marriage in 1404, and his mistake is followed by GOUGH, STOTHARD, and BLORE. The true date (1405) is given in ANN., 416; WALS., II., 272; HYPOD., 417; CAPGR., 293; GREY FRIARS' CHRON., 11; MILLES, 655; and TIERNEY, I., 283. [5] *i.e.*, 25,000 crowns, which was equal to 6,250 English marks (£4,500), at the rate of four crowns to the mark.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, XIII., dated April 20th, 1405; BLORE, 8, 9. See also the Earl's letter dated Arundel, June 25th, 1404. [6] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 21, shows that Owen had burnt and wasted the domain of Whittington *ante hæc tempora*, *i.e.*, before 1408. [7] These had been forfeited by his father, together with the castles of Chirk, Holt (known as Chastel Lyons, or Castell Lleon, Castrum Legionis) and Great Dawley, near Shiffnal (called Dalileye in DEP. KEEP. 36TH REPT., II., 30; INQ. P. MORT., III., 222).

preliminary expenses for his wedding. When his "moillere"[1] came over in 1405, she brought letters[2] from the King and Queen of Portugal to King Henry, urging reasons in his favour for delay in payment of his dues, and from time to time welcome casks of Portuguese wine[3] found their way across to aid the young couple in their housekeeping.

When restoring the fortifications and re-building the streets of Oswestry, which had been burnt[4] by the Welsh, the Earl called the north-eastern gate after his Portuguese bride, and the townsfolk knew the Beterich or Baderikes Gate[5] (disguised at length as Partridge Street) long after the memory of the Countess Beatrice had been forgotten. She survived her husband[6] many years, but found that her foreign birth[7] and

[1] "*Ma muliere.*"—see p. 39, note 9. This would be the legal description for a child born *en mulerie* (DU CANGE, S.V.), *i.e.*, the union was at first illegitimate, but the child would have been born after the form of marriage had been gone through, or otherwise legitimated.—BLACKSTONE, II., 248; ROT. PARL., III., 343; IV., 375. See the case of Joan Harley in 1400, in BLOUNT, S.V. mulier. For Beaufort, see NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., XII., 402. Though there are plenty of cases where the word is used in French ("moiller," or "moller") simply for wife. See DU CANGE, S.V.; P. PLO., III., 120, 145. Cf. "out of matrimonie nat moillere."—*Ibid.*, XI., 209; XIX., 222, 236. For "molher," see JURADE, 80, 158, 178, 359; VERMS, 589. In TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 153, XIII., Constance is called the mulher of John of Gaunt, and Philippa is the mulher of King John I. For "mulier," see YEAR BOOK, 7 H. IV., HIL., p. 9 b. In STAFF. REG., 271, 275, 281, there seems to be a distinction between mulier and wife. [2] See their letters dated Lisbon, October 31st and November 4th [1406?], in BLORE, 9; WOOD, I., 80. Among the archives of Cluni is a letter from Beatrice, dated Arundel, September 2nd (probably 1409), addressed to the Abbot of Cluni, in reference to the "reformation of all his jurisdiction in England," and requesting that the Prior of Lewes might be made an Abbot:—*i.e.*, she told the Prior that he might write what he liked (scriberet quod vellet), and he wrote praising himself as the most religious man in England.—DUCKETT, I., 201, 207, 209. [3] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 31, January 20th, 1408, records arrival of 60 casks. [4] TRAIS., 284; SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., II., 201. [5] HOLINS., I., 69; LEL., ITIN., V., 32; CAMBRO-BRITON, III., 100; HULBERT, II., 216; PENNANT, I., 263. It was taken down in 1782.—SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 162; VIII., 149. [6] He died October 13th, 1415. His will is dated October 10th, 1415.—DUGDALE, I., 320; COMPLETE PEERAGE, I., 147; FENIN, 20; DOYLE, I., 74; GENEAL., V., 212. [7] ROT. PARL., IV., 130.

doubtful antecedents caused difficulties in connection with her title to his grants. After seventeen years of widowhood, her charms secured for her a second English husband in the person of John Holland,[1] second Earl of Huntingdon. She died at Bordeaux, October 23rd, 1439, but her body was brought to England and buried beside that of her first lord beneath a splendid monument[2] in the choir of the parish church at Arundel, where her enormous head-dress has supplied the historian of costume[3] with a telling illustration of the folly of fifteenth-century female fashions. One of her ladies, Agnes d'Olyvere,[4] who married an Englishman, Thomas Salmon, lies near her in the same resting-place.

[1] See license dated January 20th, 1433, in DUGDALE, II., 80; COMPLETE PEERAGE, I., 147. In King John's epitaph at Batalha she is called "Domina Beatrix Comitissa Hontinto et Arondel." — MURPHY, 57. [2] Figured in BLORE; STOTHARD, 83; GOUGH, III., 45; TIERNEY, II., 622. For her seal, see BOUTELL, HERALDRY, p. 424, edition 1863. [3] PLANCHÉ, I., 135; KNIGHT, II., 240; BLOXAM, 205. [4] COLL. TOP. ET GEN., I., 86; TIERNEY, II., 637.

CHAPTER LIX.

Saint Richard Scrope.

After the collapse of the movement in the North, commissions were issued to deal with cases of treason and riot. As usual, there was no lack of informers. At Huntingdon, a locksmith[1] connected with Ramsey Abbey was put on his trial before Sir John Cokayn,[2] Chief Baron of the Exchequer,[3] one of the Judges of Assize.[4] The man was condemned; but, in the hope of saving his life, he pledged himself to prove that the Abbot of Ramsey (Thomas Butterwick)[5] and 58 other abbots, priors, and "honourable persons," were far more guilty than himself. The whole of them were cited by the King's order to appear at Huntingdon and were there confronted with the lockyer, who said that he had often carried sums of money from these high ecclesiastics to help the rebels in Wales. But the judge was not inclined to give much for the word of a wretched informer. By a little shuffling he soon entangled him in a contradiction, and hurried him off to be drawn and hanged.

And now the King had his first opportunity of feeling the power of the priest and of trying his first fall against the

[1] Caprgave, 292, translating "Serrator." [2] Not William, as Ann., 415. So spelt in Rot. Parl., iii., 561; iv., 57; Pat., 8 H. IV., 1, 3 d; and in deed of foundation of Kniveton's Chantry at Ashbourne, 1392.—Journ. of Derbyshire Archæol. Soc., xiv., 145; or Cokeyn (Ord. Priv. Co., i., 162); Cokain (Dugdale, Warwickshire, 1120). See his effigy in Ashbourne church in Derbyshire, figured in Dugdale, Origines, 100, and Pulling, Order of the Coif, p. 18. For a battle-axe and helmet stolen from Ashbourne church and probably used by Edmund Cockayne at the battle of Shrewsbury, see Antiquary, March, 1890, p. 92. [3] Appointed May 14th, 1405.—Foss, iv., 134; Rot. Parl., iii., 578; Issue Roll, 10 H. IV., Mich., October 9th, 1408. [4] *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., Mich., October 27th, 1405; *Ibid.*, Pasch., June 7th, 1406; *Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., Mich., October 19th, 1406. [5] Chron. Abbatiæ Rameseiensis, 345.

dogged resistance of a populace fanatically devoted to the memory of a departed idol. Archbishop Scrope was dead; but round his mangled remains a legend was already shaping, in which the few thin threads of truth can scarcely now be unravelled from the prodigious aftergrowth of pious lies invented and pieced firmly together in an ignorant age to suit the palate of party malice or outraged superstition. That Heaven should "breed revengement and a scourge"[1] for the king who beheaded an archbishop and dethroned a dynasty, was the natural creed of all his enemies in Church and State; and within a year after his death, the scanty literature of that narrow age gloated over the sadness that clouded his declining days, ascribing it to the stroke of God laid heavy on the usurper who dared to lift an impious hand against His priest. The part played by Scrope in the deposition of King Richard was conveniently forgotten, and, by some confusion, he comes out as a champion of the claims of the House of York. In this afterlight the rebel Archbishop is a sainted martyr; the posterity[2] of his judges is blasted with a curse; and a power emanates from his tomb which could work wonders and suspend the course of nature. The head of the Earl Marshal, when taken down after two months exposure, showed no discoloration or decay. Five selions[3] of the barley-field where the martyr's blood had trickled from the block, though left untilled,[4] bore, as he had promised,

[1] HENRY IV., Part I., III., ii., 7. [2] GODWIN, II., 271. [3] ANGL. SACR., II., 370. For "selion," a ridge or measure of land, see COKE ON LITTLETON, 5 b; SHAW, STAFFORDSHIRE, I., 166*; also Documents relating to Fulbeck (Lincs.), temp. Ed. III.–Hy. IV., in CATALOGUE OF FYTCHE MSS., PUTTICK AND SIMPSON, p. 92, December 22nd, 1885; HIST. MSS., 4TH REPT., 580; NOTT. REC., II., 32, 114, where a selion = 3 roods; also WILLIS AND CLARKE, I., 123; III., 618; TRANS. SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., I., 28. For two selions of moor and pasture, see MONAST., VI., 614. In a document dated 1341, in ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 1852, p. 40, one acre = four selions. [4] In ANN., 410, the miracle is represented as a tradition, vouched for by the testimony of several witnesses, ut proditum est testimonio.

prodigious crops,[1] each stalk on this portion of the ground yielding two, four, five, or even seven full and fair heads of grain; while miracles of healing were wrought which defied enumeration. Writers who lived at the time record these marvels with decent reserve:—"as the multitude assert."[2] Dean Langley of York, within six months of the Archbishop's death, referred cautiously to the phenomena as "alleged miracles,"[3] and, but for some recently-found authentic records, we should be tempted to brush them all aside as harmless, though necessary, fictions. It was impossible for the whole of the North to be excited as it had been and to calm down all at once, leaving no trace of the commotion behind. The victims of the treachery in the Forest had bitter memories to avenge. The whole population of York was in suppressed rebellion and waited only some cheering news of the King's defeat to cast off the iron rule of his officers; but, as news of the fall of castle after castle came in, and the northern rebels were beheaded in batches at Berwick or Durham, the mutinous spirit lapsed into dull helplessness and stolid submission.

On the 24th of August, 1405,[4] a general pardon, with restitution of goods, was offered to any citizen of York who was compromised in the events which had occurred between the 1st of May and the last of July, on submitting and suing in the usual form, and on the following day,[5] all tolls were taken off from the bridge, that the river might be perfectly free of dues as before. But these remissions would only be felt by the substantial men; the poorer sort, who had nothing to lose, were still a prey to the old lying spirit which had misled them before. Then began visits to the Archbishop's tomb. Zealots brought

[1] GASC., 228, is cautious, and gives *aliquis* calamus quinque spicas ordei produxit. [2] ANN., 410. [3] Miracula prætensa.—FABRIC ROLLS, 194, dated December 3rd, 1405. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 10. [5] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 3.

offerings and prostrated themselves in the church; the priests and officers of the minster fanned the flame; the tomb was fenced about with a parclose of wood, and crowds approached in reverent adoration. Within three months of the Archbishop's death, the movement was certainly dangerous. On September 21st, 1405,[1] Prince John sent an order from Seamer,[2] near Scarborough, to the sub-treasurer of the cathedral at York, requiring him to have the fence immediately removed, to pile old logs and good-sized stones some distance out between the pillars, and to put a stop to the crowds of "false fools," who went there under pretence of devotion. But the Archbishop's spirit appeared in a vision to an old man named John Sibsun,[3] at Rocliffe,[4] in the haunted district near Boroughbridge, commanding him to remove the fusts[5] and stones; under which supernatural guidance his aged arms moved weights that three strong men could hardly lift, and laid them down before the altar of the Virgin, which stood a few yards further in the centre of the east wall.[6] The governors of the city interfered, broke up the processions and disturbed the services, and the church[7] became a constant scene of brawling and contention. At length, the King took counsel with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was agreed that notice should be sent to the

[1] FABR. ROLLS, 196. [2] ROT. VIAG., 15 (July 23rd, 1405), confers on Thomas Canmer custody of the warren of Seamer, near Scarborough, for life. It was one of the manors forfeited by the Earl of Northumberland.—WHITBY CHART., II., 504; DEVON, 408; LEL. ITIN., VII., folio 66. [3] GASC., 229. The story comes through Joan, wife of Sir Robert Roos, of Ingmanthorp, sister to Thomas Gascoigne. Sibsun's confessor, William Kexby, penitencer (P. PLO., VII., 256; XXIII., 319), of York, who died February, 1410 (TEST. EBOR, III., 43), tells another story of the old man's visions and communications with the dead Archbishop. [4] Called Rouclif juxta Boroughbridge, in PAT., 14 H. IV., 29. [5] DICT. TRÉVOUX, s.v. "Fust," quotes HIST. DE BRETAIGNE, II., 1639, for "escu de fuust," = a wooden shield. See also COTGRAVE, s.v., and BAYE, I., 177. ECOLE DES CHARTES, D., V., 403, has du fust de la croix nostre seigneur. *Ibid.*, F., I., 247, has escuelles de fust and fustailles. Cf. DESCHAMPS, VI., 91. For the fusters or joiners of London, see LIB. CUST., 80, and DU CANGE, s.v. Fusterius. [6] TEST. EBOR., I., 353. [7] ANN., 410.

governors to abstain in future from all interference, on condition that Archbishop Arundel and Dean Langley would use their influence to moderate the violent partisanship of the priests. No efforts were to be made by the clergy, either by word or act, to advertise the miracles, but none who chose to come to the tomb of their own accord were to be hindered, till Holy Church should determine whether these things were from God, in which case they would endure and nothing could ever stop them; or whether they had arisen from the "violent, vain, and superstitious inventions of man," when, with the turn of fashion's tide, they would wear themselves out and die away. A letter to this effect was directed by the Archbishop and the Dean in London to the Chapter at York on December 3rd, 1405,[1] and on the 5th of April[2] in the following year, further directions were sent down from the council, in the name of the King, according to which the clergy at York were to abstain from publishing any miracles worked at the tomb, and were not to invite or induce anyone to pray to the dead Archbishop. On the other hand, they were not to prevent anyone from approaching the tomb for the purpose of offering prayer for the dead man's soul. Three of the minster clergy were to be appointed to tell any persons who might come with offerings, to place them on the tomb of St. William, or any other holy spot within the building in the meantime, till the decision of the Church should be known. But if, in spite of that expostulation, the devotees should still persist in laying offerings[3] on the Archbishop's grave, such offerings, whether in wax, or gold, or silver, were to be at once removed, and appropriated for the benefit of the Church.

[1] FABR. ROLLS, 193. [2] *Ibid.*, 195. [3] For protest that "the wast tresour hanged on stockis and stones be wisely spendid in defence of the rewme and releuynge of the pore comouns," see WYCLIFFE (M.), 279.

Nine days after the execution, June 17th, 1405,[1] the King issued his *congé d'élire* to the Chapter of York to choose a successor to Scrope "of good memory." They chose their young Dean, Thomas Langley,[2] a Lancashire man,[3] who had risen rapidly into prominence through the patronage of John of Gaunt.[4] On January 20th, 1401, when only thirty years of age,[5] he had been made Dean of York. In 1402,[6] he was Keeper of the Privy Seal with the usual handsome allowance of 20s. per day[7] and free quarters in the King's household at the public expense, and on the resignation of Bishop Beaufort, he became Chancellor of England, March 14th, 1405.[8] The King had already marked him out for the vacant bishopric of London[9] in 1404. He now agreed with the choice of the York Chapter, and despatched a young lawyer, Master John Caterick,[10] to Rome, to announce the election of Langley as Archbishop of York and "other important matters" to the

[1] GODWIN, II., 271, from PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 20. RYM., VIII., 291, 407. Called "Langley" in his will.—DUNELM. HIST., ccxlv., and RYM., VIII., 579, but "Longley" in the inscription on the Cuthbert window which he placed in the Minster at York. See YORKS. ARCH. AND TOP. JOURN., IV., 260, also ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., January 30th, 1405; DEVON, 298. [3] He was born at Langley, near Middleton, Manchester.—CHET. SOC., 59, 119. Not a Yorkshireman, as SURTEES (I., lv.), followed by CAMPBELL and FOSS. [4] Langley was one of the executors of his will, in which he is styled "mon trescher clerk."—WILLS OF KINGS, 163-170. GIBBONS, 100; TEST. VET., I., 140. [5] He was born *circ.* 1370.—BAINES, I., 605. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 188, April 3rd, 1402; HOCCL., MIN. PO., XIV.; DEVON, 298 (December, 1403); ROT. SCOT., II., 172a; RYM., VIII., 364 (July 9th, 1404). [7] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH., has payment to him of £507 6s. 8d., since Oct. 1st, 1403. [8] In *Ibid.*, MICH., March 2nd, 1405, he is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, though HARDY (47), following FOSS, IV., 339, thinks that the seals must have been delivered to him between February 27th and March 1st, 1405. [9] ROY. LET., I., 415; GODWIN, I., 186. [10] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH., July 20th, 1405, allows him £66 3s. 4d. for his journey. *Ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., February 18th, 1412, has payment to Master John Caterick, Bachelor in Decrees, of £42 15s. 6d. out of £219 due to him for embassy to Roman court, anno vi. In ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 6, April 8th, 1408, he is commenceour es loye. In ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., February 13th, May 9th, 1409, he is Bacalarius in dicret. and Licentiat. See also SOLLY-FLOOD, 124. The name is pronounced and written "Katric," in ELMHAM, LIB. METR., 103.

Pope for his formal sanction, August 8th, 1405.[1] But others had already secured the ear of Pope Innocent, who paid no heed to the King's request, but proceeded to nominate to the archbishopric Master Robert Hallum,[2] Archdeacon of Canterbury[3] and Chancellor of the University of Oxford.[4] Hallum's claims had been pressed on the Pope for the bishopric of London[5] in the previous year in opposition to the King's nominees. He was now at Rome in person,[6] and matters were so far in train that it had been arranged that the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which would become vacant by his promotion, should fall to one of the Italian cardinals, Angelo Acciaiolo,[7] Bishop of Ostia. King Henry now refused to recognise Hallum's nomination, and the see of York remained vacant for more than two years. Langley, however, had not long to wait. He became Bishop of Durham, May 17th, 1406,[8] on

It is spelt Catrick in his will (BRUSHFIELD, 256), and on his tomb in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce, in Florence; not "Catterick," as OLIVER, 100. In DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXI., 78, he is called Ketterich. For a good account of him see T. N. BRUSHFIELD, in DEVONSHIRE ASSOC. FOR ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, &c., Vol. XVIII., 229-244, Plymouth, 1886, who however is wrong in fixing (p. 232) 1409 as the first start of his diplomatic career.

[1] RYM., VIII., 408. [2] YEAR BOOK, 1409; TYLER, II., 42, 62, &c. Not Richard, as NIEM, 178 (p. 245, edition ERLER), who calls him virum valde industrium et virtuosum. For his will, proved 1417, see GENEAL., VI., 29. For his brass in the cathedral at Constance, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LI., 364; HAINES, I., xciii. Not to be confounded with his namesake, who was Canon of Exeter from August 11th, 1400, till his death in 1406.—STAFF. REG., 168. [3] Since 1400.—JONES, 97; LE NEVE, I., 42; not 1401, as HASTED, IV., 783. [4] WOOD, II., 402. BOASE, EXON., XV., 12, has 3s. 4d. for cheese and wine for him in 1399; also 5s. 8d. in 1402. [5] ROYAL LETTERS, I., 415. [6] ANN., 419; WALS., II., 273. [7] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 30; CIAC., II., 658. The King confirmed the appointment of Angelo, October 28th, 1406.—LE NEVE, I., 42. [8] GODWIN, II., 331; DUNELM. HIST., 146, CXCVIII. For the rights of the Bishops of Durham, including a mint, a chancery, and coroners of their own, see RYM., VIII., 572.

the death of Bishop Skirlaw, and Hallum was made Bishop of Salisbury, June 22nd, 1407.[1]

But the dead-lock continued at York. Pope Innocent VII. prepared an excommunication against all "of whatever station, pre-eminence, dignity, or condition," who had helped in the death of the Archbishop, "whether by word or counsel or act." The document was brought across by a Neapolitan, Jacopo di Hugolino, and Louis, Bishop of Volterra,[2] whose face was quite familiar in England; but Archbishop Arundel[3] preferred not to publish it; and, as the envoys had "Peterspenny"[4] to collect from English pockets, and distraints to make upon English churches and monasteries, they thought it wiser not to insist. Moreover, the Archbishop did not venture to allot any part of the Convocation grants[5] to pay the usual expenses[6] of the envoys, owing to the general poverty and discontent among his flock, but sent them round "like begging"[7] among the wealthier clergy for money to get along with. They started on their way back to Italy at the end of February, 1406,[8] taking with them the usual stock[9] of cups, chalices, basins, and other vessels in gold and silver, besides Essex cloth, tin vessels in barrels, brass candlesticks, and other more homely articles, to be turned into money and paid over to the Roman court.

[1] LE NEVE, II., 602. For letters of Hallum addressed to Henry IV., London, in hospitio nostro, February 8th, 1410, and in manerio nostro de Sonnyng, March 17th, 1409, see ROYAL LETTERS, BOX 15, in Public Record Office. [2] TEST. EBOR., III., 60; RYM., VIII., 86, 117, 222, 277. He is probably the person described as Untluanus Episcopus (*i.e.*, Vulteranensis), who applied in 1404 for admission as a "brother" in connection with Salisbury Cathedral.—JONES, 304. [3] EUL., III., 408. [4] OLIVER, 280; RYM., I., 182. [5] HIST. MSS., 10TH REPT. (WELLS), 277 (1407), refers to grant of 1½d. in the pound to be sent to the Roman curia, granted in the last convocation. [6] STAFF. REG., 342. [7] Velut emendicatum.—ANN., 417. [8] RYM., VIII., 428, 431; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 17, also *ibid.*, 32 (January 26th, 1406), which records that Master John Southam is starting for Rome. [9] ROT. PARL., III., 626; STAT., II., 76, 165.

On July 18th, 1406,[1] Sir John Cheyne[2] and Doctor Henry Chichele,[3] accompanied by a clerk, John Pygot,[4] were preparing to leave London for Rome with explanations, and, lest the Pope should be acting without due knowledge of the facts, they carried with them the iron jack-of-fence[5] or habergeon[6] that the Archbishop had on at the time of his capture, in proof of his red-handed rebellion, with the caustic query to the Holy Father whether "this was his son's coat or no." But the Papal wit was ready with the smart reply that "an evil beast had devoured him."[7] The English envoys appear not to have left for Rome till after November 25th, 1406,[8] but before that date Innocent VII. was dead, and Gregory XII., his successor, was disposed to look at the question with other eyes. At first, he calculated on reserving the archbishopric of York for him-

[1] RYM., VIII., 446. Not 1405, as BROWNE, 287 (copying a misprint in RYMER). Following DRAKE, App. cxvii., he gives another commission dated August 18th, 1407. [2] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 1. ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 18th, 1406, has £100 paid to him going to Rome with letters to the Pope. [3] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., August 14th, 1406, has payment to him of £100 for the journey; though HOOK (V., 13) thinks that "the expense of the embassy was defrayed by Dr. Chicheley." FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 22, shows that Cheyne and Chichele were just leaving on October 5th, 1406. ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., April 25th, 1408, shows £100 a-piece paid to them at the Roman court as ambassadors on secret business for the King. [4] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 4. [5] Pages 218, 224; GIBBONS, 95; *ibid.*, ELY REC., 196; PROMPT. PARV., I., 256; TEST. EBOR., I., 150; WALS., I., 435; SHARPE, II., 164; ARCHÆOL., XIX., 224. In 1403, a "jakke de defence" cost 24s. 4d. in London.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A. [6] CHRON. R. II. to H. VI., 33; MARTIN, 119, Appendix xxii.; JAMIESON, I., 13. Cf. "haberion."—P. PLO., XXI., 22; "habirion."—FIFTY WILLS, 12; SHARPE, II., 149, 341; RIPON MEM., II., 141; NICOLAS, AGINCOURT, CCLXI.; "habarioun."—APOLOGY, 98, 99; PLANCHÉ, I., 236; "haubergon."—DESCHAMPS, V., 113; "habgeon."—FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV.; GOUGH, I., cxli.; STRUTT, DRESS, II., 176; GROSE, 15; PROMPT. PARV., 220; "aulbergeon."—CABARET, 308; "hauberk."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 254. For specimen, see brass of Sir John de St. Quintin (1397), at Brandshorton, Yorkshire, in BOUTELL, BRASSES, 32. [7] CHRON. GILES, 48; DE LARREY, I., 798; SPONDE, I., 696. For another application of the passage (GEN. XXXVII., 32, 33), see WYCL., DE BLASPHEMIA, 223. [8] FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 1, November 25th, 1406, still refers to John Cheyne as going to Rome.

self,[1] together with the patriarchate of Constantinople, and some benefices in the neighbourhood of his native Venice, so that, if he had to resign the Papacy, he might not "sue Christ naked,"[2] like a Bishop of Nout.[3] But in April, 1407,[4] Cheyne and Chichele were again despatched to chaffer with the Court of Rome,[5] and, this time, the troubles that were gathering round him made Gregory more wide-awake to his own interests than Innocent had been. A Papal envoy, Lawrence, Bishop of Ancona, came to England in June, 1407,[6] and it was evident that matters were nearing a settlement. The King's envoys had approached the Pope with bare feet[7] and distributed large presents amongst the cardinals, for it had long been a recognised maxim that no poor man[8] was looked at in Rome, that letters without presents were barren and fruitless, and that nothing could be done there with empty hands. The Apostolic Chamber was an ocean[9] into which all rivers ran without overflowing it. It swarmed with leeches[10] crying "Give! Give!" while usurers[11] and moneylenders went about the streets clad in silks and showy stuffs, as if they belonged to the best families in

[1] NIEM, 176. On page 305, he calls it Oxford, qui habet magnos reditus ut dicitur (page 308), followed by CHRISTOPHE, III., 263. J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 249, supposes that NIEM means *Exeter*. MILMAN, V., 448, speaks of York as "then *expected* to fall vacant." CREIGHTON, I., 157, has: "wrongly supposed to be vacant." HOOK (V., 16) seems to think that he meant to reside in England, adding: "this was, so far as England was concerned, a popular act." [2] RAYNALDI, XVII., 321; SPONDE, I., 701. "In pouert sue Cristis cross."—WYCLIFFE (M.), 50, 60, 111, 118, 122, 189, 195, 221, 252, 266, 308, 312, 320, 373, 374, 381, 382, 408, 409, 410, 412, 416, 430, 437, 438, 449, 451, 457, 460, 471, 476, 478, 481; APOLOGY, 43; P. PLO., XIII., 166; XX., 79. [3] For Episcopus Nullatensis, see WYCLIFFE, LAT. SERM., II., 65; P. PLO., A, VI., 119; PROMPT. PARV., 359. [4] RYM., VIII., 479. [5] The Pope with his court chaffarith with simple men in beneficis and assoilyng.—WYCLIFFE (M.), 66, 303, 357, 436, 446. [6] RYMER, VIII., 483, 571. [7] ANGL. SACR., II., 371. [8] HIST. TASCHENBUCH, IV., 59, 64, 76, 80, 87, 95, 126; WRIGHT, EARLY MYST., XXIV.; WYCL. (M.), 245; POLEM. WORKS, (BUDDENSIEG) II., 691. In the court of Rome may no man get no grace but if it be bought.—APOLOGY, 12. [9] NIEM, 504; LENZ, 17. [10] WYCL., DE BLASPH., 54. [11] NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 9.

Rome. No man could enter his benefice by the door,[1] but by threats or bribes or armed pressure. Woe to the man that was snared in the Camera's net![2] They stripped him like Turks and Tartars when he entered that Place of Torment. All must be feed[3]—the secretaries, auditors, briefers,[4] bull-writers,[5] taxers, plumbers,[6] correcters, copiers,[7] engrossers,[8] examiners,[9] chancellors, proctors, advocates, councillors, solicitors, notaries,

[1] MART., ANEC., II., 1447. [2] NIEM, 504; MEIBOM, I., 8. God amende the Pope that pileth holichurche.—P. PLO., XXII., 444. For expenses of living at Rome, see ROGERS, I., 137; II., 633.

[3] Papa quærit, chartula quærit, bulla quærit,
Porta quærit, cardinalis quærit, cursor quærit,
Omnes quærunt, &c.—WRIGHT, POL. SONGS (CAMD. SOC.), 17.

Coram cardinalibus, coram Patriarcha,
Libra libros, reos res, marcum vincit marca.—*Ibid.*, 31.

Moche gold goth out of oure lond bi long pledynge at rome.—WYCL. (M.), 93. In 1376, it was believed that the amount of English money paid to the court of Rome every year amounted to five times the total taxation of the country.—ROT. PARL., II., 337.

Car nulz homs mortels ne scet bien,
L'or qui a court de Rome vient.—BONET, APPARITION, 47.

[4] GEST. ABB., I., 309. For oath of *abbreviator*, see NIEM, LIB. CANC., 7, 174; HARDT, I., 303, in which he swears that he will take nothing pro signatione notarum aut petitionum; the pay allowed for forming a note was 3, 10, or 20 groats Tournois, according to circumstances. [5] In spite of all precautions, forged bulls were very common in England.—WYCL., LAT. SERM., II., 343. In CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 29 (December 2nd, 1410), is a reference to John Broke, a Franciscan friar, Bishop of Aldeñ. *(sic)* in Ireland, who had fabricated letters patent, and forged the seal of the Pope and of divers lords spiritual in England. He was caught at Deptford and sent to the Tower, but afterwards handed over to the Minorites of London for punishment. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 213 (John of Gaunt's Register), 5 marks are paid in 1375, for a bull from Rome, concerning the appropriation of a church. For the cost of bulls, from 3 to 1,000 gulden, see HIST. TASCHENBUCH, IV., 132. The Bishop of Ermeland once offered 200 gulden, but was told that he might as well have drunk it in good Rhine-wine. —*Ibid.*, 132. [6] DU CANGE, S.V. Plumbator. Thes rom-renneris beren the kyng's gold out of oure lond and bringen agen *deed leed*, and heresie, and symonye, and Goddis curse.—WYCL. (M.), 23. Give him gold for his *lede*. —*Ibid.*, 66. A litel *deed leed* costith many thousand pound bi yere to oure pore londe.—*Ibid.*, 82. [7] For oath of a *rescribendarius*, see NIEM, LIB. CANC., 4. He received 2 groats Tournois per day when there was audience, and 30 per month in vacation. See also ERLER, 25. [8] In 1356, there were 100 *grossatores* in the Papal Chancery at Avignon.—EHRLE, 177. [9] GEST. ABB., II., 57, 114.

grooms, ushers,[1] doctors, savants, prelates, and cardinals,[2]—while "something special"[3] in the way of honorarium was always needed "to soften the greed of the Holy Father." No doubt these methods were well understood by the English messengers. A bull[4] was sent to King Henry, assigning him a penance, on fulfilment of which he was absolved; "and so by privy means of money the matter was ceased."[5] On October 7th, 1407, the Pope signed a bull consenting to the translation of Henry Bowet from the see of Bath and Wells to the archbishopric of York. The new Archbishop had been Constable of Bordeaux[6] and Chief Justice of Aquitaine, had served in embassies[7] all over Europe, and, when Henry was in exile, had been condemned[8] to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, on account of his devotion to his cause. On November 20th,

[1] For duties of *ostiarius*, see MURAT., III., Part II., 812, 822. [2] WYCL. (M.), 66. For wealth of the cardinals, compare: —

Treize pourtant chappeaulx rouges,
Qui tiennent l'estat sans mensonges,
Plus curieux que roys du monde,
Plus net servy hostel, plus blonde, &c.—
BONET, APPARITION, 36, 41.

Mais pour Dieu regardons,
Les estas, les grans cuisines,
Les grans destriers, robes, manteaulx, ermines,
Les escuiers, la tourbe des chevaulx,
Qui sount a court et les divers couvines,
Au jour d'uy font ainsi les cardinaulx.—
DESCHAMPS, III., 117; V., 279.

Les rouges chapeaulx,
Qui de tous poins l' (*i.e.* l'Eglise) ont prinse et estranglée,
A l'aide de pluseurs loups rapaux.—*Ibid.*, VI., 178.

The countrey is the cursedour ther cardinales cometh ynne,
And ther thei lyggen and lengen most lecherie ther regneth.—
P. PLO., XXII., 419.

[3] HIST. TASCHENBUCH, IV., 102. For specimen of a Christmas "Ehrung," see *ibid.*, 107. [4] CAPGR., 302. [5] CHRON., R. II., to H. VI., 34. [6] RYM., VIII., 7, 43, 116, 127, 141; IX., 41, 113. In PRIV. SEAL, 654/7125, February 1st, 1412, John Bowet, one of the King's squires, is Controller of the castle at Bordeaux. [7] RYM., VIII., 709. [8] ROT. PARL., III., 385.

1401,[1] he had been consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. In September, 1403,[2] he was in charge of 10 men-at-arms and 20 archers, in the retinue of the Earl of Somerset[3] at Carmarthen, and he was afterwards allowed to import wine[4] from Bordeaux free of duty. Amongst his accounts is an entry of 20s. for a pair of silver spectacles, but it is going too far to say that he was "one of the first Englishmen to wear them."[5]

On April 12th, 1408,[6] Pope Gregory issued fresh directions authorizing the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln to cancel the censures of his over-hasty predecessor, specially exonerating King Henry for his share in the business, on the ground that he was not actually present when the Archbishop was seized, and that he only gave his consent to the death-sentence under pressure from those about him. The King, on his side, is said to have undertaken to found three monasteries of the strictest

[1] LE NEVE, I., 140; STUBBS, REG., 62. In a letter dated from London, July 19th, 1406, he is called Mosenhor de Bada (JURADE, 49), and on September 13th and 22nd, 1407, he stills signs his name as Bishop of Bath and Wells (*ibid.*, 373, 433). For his tomb in York Minster, see GOUGH, III., 75. For brass of Ele Bowet at Wrentham, Suffolk (died February, 1400), see HAINES, 105 (edit. 1848). [2] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{4}^{0}$, App. G. [3] Vol. I., 375, 376. [4] CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 362. [5] PROCEEDINGS OF SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES, XIII., 62, where two of his seals are engraved. For spectacles see ANGLIA, V., 35; HOCCLEVE, 12; MINOR POEMS, 21. In LYDGATE, 105; CHRON. LONDON, 262; SKEAT, 25; "spectacles to reede" are sold by the Flemings at Westminster. For gold eyes or spectacles of Duke Philip of Burgundy (1403), see BARROIS, XVII., 108; LABORDE, I., 55. Platina d'argent doré pour mettre ez (=ces ais, œilles d'or) du livre du duc pour mettre ses lunettes afin qu' elles ne fussent cassées. Cf. LABORDE, I., 32, quoting PEIGNOT, AMUSEMENT PHILOSOPHIQUE, 403, 460, 463, Dijon, 1824, where spectacles (besicles, besiecles, bis oculi, though said to be connected with bericle or berique, *i.e.*, beryl, in LEROUX DE LINCY, 477) are traced to the thirteenth century. In SENLIS (G. METZ, X), besicles pour les yeux are sold in the Halles in Paris before 1322. In the Nancy tapestry (*circ.* 1450) a scribe wears spectacles.—JUBINAL, Plate vi. See also LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, XCVII.; HOCCLEVE, MINOR POEMS, 51. In DESCHAMPS, VII., 234, they are called bericles and œillez.

> Poverte a spectakel is as thinketh me
> Thurgh which he may his veray frendes see.—
> CHAUCER, WIF OF BATH, 6785.

[6] DRAKE, App. xcvii.; RAYNALDI, XVII., 291; not April 13th, as MILMAN, V., 484.

orders,[1] in honour of the three principal feasts. If Henry ever made such a promise, he forgot to carry it out and made no sort of provision for it in his will,[2] though after his death his son took up the work, re-confiscated[3] the property of many alien priories, and built the great religious houses on his manor at Shene.[4]

And so ended this singular travesty of the Interdict of Innocent the Great. Discountenanced by the higher powers, the miracles at York promptly ceased, and we have a curious little anecdote[5] that very effectively illustrates King Henry's cynical contempt for the pliability of the Church, and the whole batch of mitred glosers[6] who had managed to extricate him from his grave embarrassment. One day, when talking with Scrope's successor, Archbishop Bowet, he asked if he could tell him how it was that bishops worked no miracles now-a-days, and got no "translation" after death as they used to do? The new Archbishop had nothing to say, but a witty clerk who was present ventured to put in a reason or two. He thought it might be:—1st, Because in the old days, God used to point out by means of miracles who were the men whose learning and good lives made them worthiest to be bishops; but now the king chose the bishops,[7] and, of course, they could only do the same kind of miracles that kings, who made them, could do. Again, kings used to go down on their knees and beg of holy men to undertake the burden of a

[1] *i.e.*, Carthusians, Celestins, and Brigittines. [2] WILLS OF KINGS, 203; WEEVER, 208. [3] MYROURE OF OUR LADYE, XI.-XX. [4] CAPGRAVE, DE ILLUSTR. HENRICIS, 114; WALS., II., 300; TIT. LIV., 5; ELMHAM, 24; CHAUCER, LEG. OF GOOD WOMEN, VIII., 61. The palace had been abandoned since the death of Queen Anne in 1394.—CHRON. GILES, H. V., 9. [5] GASC., 21. [6] WYCL. (M.), 135, 148, 154, 284; not "commentators," as Editor, 550. A gloser also kepethe his silence.—HOCCL., DE REG., 111. But who that couthe glose softe and flater.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 370, 372. [7] Quid quod suam promotionem rege instante factam regi ipsi et non Deo nec ecclesiæ imputant?—CLAMENGES, 17.

bishopric, and they got their translation after death; but now bishops get their translation when they are alive, from one bishopric to another, if there is more money to be got *(propter majores divicias)*, so that they do not deserve to be translated after their death. Besides, they have to pay[1] so much for their bishoprics while they are alive that it is not worth God's while to work miracles for them and get them translated after, "And you, my lord," he added, with a sly look towards Bowet,

[1] Men comen to grete prelacies and othere degres of the chirche bi money and worldly favour, and pledynge and fizttynge.—WYCL. (M.), 122. For frystefruytes for gifte of a chirche, see *ibid.*, 66, 92, 245, 277, 393. HUS states that many thousand florins were paid to obtain the archbishopric of Prague.—PALACKY, DOC., 724. Every ecclesiastical office, from an archbishopric down to the poorest parish living, paid a tax to the Exchequer at a vacancy and presentation. *e.g.*, the Prior of Selby, £80 (REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 7th, 1408), on appointment of William Pygot (ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 7, March 16th, 1408); the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, £100 (REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., November 28th, 1407), and £5 (February 25th, 1408), CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 30; the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, £80 (REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., February 17th, 1408). Every bishop on his appointment had also to give an annuity to a clerk nominated by the King, to continue until he was provided with a benefice. —See YEAR BOOK, 10 H. IV., HIL., p. 6 a. For Bishops of Bath and Wells and Worcester, see CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 13 d, 34 d. Or the King or Queen could secure provision for an old servant by nominating him for a corrody at the expense of one of the religious houses, and we have plenty of evidence that King Henry exercised this right to the full. *e.g.*, for a valet of his kitchen, at Brackley Hospital, Northamptonshire (CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 14 d); for one of his valets, at Leicester Abbey (YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., 81; PRIV. SEAL, 647/6488); for a marshal of his hall, at St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton (CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 28); for a clerk in office of Privy Seal, at Reading Abbey (*ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 2; 11 H. IV., 9); and many similar cases. *e.g.*, Peterborough (CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 3); Eynsham (*ibid.*, 11; 13 H. IV., 20 d); Michelney (*ibid.*, 12 H. IV., 13); Buckfastleigh (*ibid.*, 13; and PRIV. SEAL, 651/6899); Glastonbury (CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 18 d); Llanthony (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 27^1); Daventry (*ibid.*, 28^1); Norton, near Runcorn (*ibid.*, 37^1); Winchester, St. Swithin's Priory (PRIV. SEAL, 652/6985); Winchester, St. Mary's Nunnery (CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 9); Northampton, St. James (*ibid.*); Bardney (PRIV. SEAL, 648/6548); Cerne (CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 37 d); Bordney (*ibid.*, 38 d); St. Mary Graces, in East Smithfield by the Tower (*ibid.*, 3 d; MONAST., V., 717); Canterbury, Christ Church (HIST. MSS., 5TH REPT., 449); Kirkstall (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 77^1); Mottisfont (*ibid.*, 16, 58^1); Spalding Priory (*ibid.*, 16, 130^{III}); Westminster (PRIV. SEAL, 652/6925); Bristol, St. Austin (*ibid.*, 644/6109). For other corrodies, see page 25, note 10. For fees paid to the crown for founding chantries, see page 119, note 1.

"you know somebody[1] who gave 2,000 marks to a great earthly[2] lord before he could get his translation." And the King and all the company enjoyed the joke.

On June 3rd, 1406,[3] it was considered safe to relax the state of siege in York, and to restore to the citizens their forfeited liberties. They at once proceeded to elect their two Sheriffs,[4] and certified the names to the King, according to their old chartered rights, on June 23rd, 1406.[5] After this, all who would might make offerings to "Bishop Scrope"[6] without let or question. The central tower[7] of the Minster, with its nine bells, had fallen suddenly with a crash in the previous November, owing to insufficient care[8] in working out the alterations. No one had been killed, but great damage had been done to the "new work." Two years later, William Colchester,[9] the most skilled mason in England, was sent for to superintend the re-building of the tower, and stonecutters and workmen were

[1] CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 28, has £735 advanced by Bowet to the King. [2] APOLOGY, 7; WYCL. (M.), 82, 171, 207, 232, 241, 335, 338, 452, 470, 478. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 29; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 21. [4] *Viz.*, Robert Kirkeby and John Useburn.—DRAKE, 362. [5] For this and similar notifications in 1401, 1404, 1407, 1408, 1412, see ROY. LET., Box 15, in Public Record Office. [6] HARD., 372. [7] Page 206. G. STONE in a letter written soon after November 26th, 1405, reports from York: opus est novum construct' campanile quoniam antiquum cum novem campanis corruit *paucorum dierum spatio vix transacto* sed plus nocuit campanarum quassatio quam ejusdem destructio campanilis. He adds that it fell in a place where it could not have damaged either the church or any living person:—ymo per se solum occidit, quod diutius stare non potuit pro nimia putrefacti meremii vetustate quod cum in terram sic corruerat ceciderat *(sic)* . . . si deposuissent manus artificum, plus gravasset in duplo sumptuum effusio quam ruina.—HARL. MS., 431, 130 (111). RAINE (YORK, 149) speaks as though the Norman tower were only re-cased. For unstable bell-towers, see WYCL., LAT. SERM., II., 123. [8] Per incuriam seu nimis sufficientem et improvidam gubernationem lathomorum *subito conquassatum* et ad terram funditus collapsum et ecclesia illa tam in novo opere ejusdem quam in aliis loci illius partibus magnam patiatur ruinam. PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 21, December 14th, 1407, which grants protection to masons coming and going. See also PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 17 (June 6th, 1410), where workmen are pressed for the re-building. [9] In FABRIC ROLL of Westminster Abbey, Master William Colchester receives 100s. in 1400 as chief mason.—G. G. SCOTT, App., p. 27.

brought from all parts of the country to repair the ruin. The work was certainly not completed within the next three years, and money was needed more than ever. Accordingly, the minster authorities wisely turned the tide of fanaticism to practical effect, and directed[1] that all offerings at Scrope's grave should be used for the repair of the fourth column supporting the new Tower, one of their own clergy being appointed keeper of the tomb[2] to prevent pilfering by devotees and pilgrims. In 1415,[3] the yield was £73 8s., and in 1419, it amounted to £150.

No shrine[4] was ever made for Scrope's remains; no formal translation, beatification,[5] canonization, or other official recognition was ever allowed him by the Church; yet he was shrined as a saint in the hearts of many who bore no love to King Henry and his house. These reverently spoke of him as the "Blessed" Richard Scrope;[6] they cherished relics of him with pious care, or styled him outright "Saint Richard Scrope,"[7] in defiance of the legal technicalities of a luke-warm hierarchy. As early as 1409, it was thought a special privilege to be buried near the martyr's grave.[8] In 1413, a bell-tower

[1] FABR. ROLLS, 200. [2] *e.g.*, John Stytenam in 1421.—TEST. EBOR., III., 63, 232; CORP. CHRIST. GILD, 21. [3] FABR. ROLLS, 32, 37. [4] There is mention of a feretrum in FABR. ROLLS, 235, though probably the gold chain was for the *proposed* shrine, if it ever came. [5] For modern form of these ceremonies, see ALBAN BUTLER, I., xxiii. For specimen, see Peter of Luxemburg, in ACTA SANCTORUM, July 2nd, 486; Pierre Thomas, by MÉZIÈRES, *ibid.*, January 6th, XVI., 221. [6] TEST. EBOR., II., 231. [7] ROWS, EARLS OF WARWICK, 359; HIST. REG. ANGL., 207. For Richard Fitzralph, called by Wycliffe "St. Richard," see WYCL. (M.), 128, 507; LAT. SERM., III., 311; DE APOSTAS., 36; DE EUCHARIST., 293. LECHLER, I., 53, 112, quotes Gascoigne for the statement that Grostest was called "St. Robert," but the only passages that I can find in GASCOIGNE, pp. 74, 140, speak of him merely as "Lincolniensis sanctæ memoriæ doctor." For Gian Galeazzo who was called a saint at Pavia, see COMMINES, II., 353, who adds: "nous appelons sainctz tous ceulx qui nous font du bien." See also PERRENS, VI., 97. [8] TEST. EBOR., I., 353; T. BURTON, HEMINGBOROUGH, 57; FABR. ROLLS, 86. See also will of Thomas Parker (1423), in BROWNE, 289.

took fire near York,[1] and was partly burnt down. When nothing could be done to save the building, some one in the crowd of bystanders put up a vow to "Saint Richard";[2] the fire abated, and the half-burnt stump remained to record the efficacy of the intervention of the sainted dead. In one of the minster windows, which must be earlier than 1418, there is a figure of the Archbishop, and below it his nephew kneels, with the legend:—"Good Shepherd Richard, have mercy on Stephen thy servant!"[3] A century ago, there was extant in manuscript a missal,[4] certainly written before 1445, containing a prayer to Saint Richard Scrope, the "glory of York" and the "martyr of Christ," with a picture of a suppliant praying for his intercession.

Fifty years after the Archbishop's death, when the last Lancastrian King was a phrenetic[5] and a fugitive, and the name of Scrope had become in some illogical way identified with the cause of the House of York, another outburst of devotion arose, and a strong effort was made to canonize him as a saint. In 1458,[6] the owner of the precious book,[7] which had been taken from the martyr's body at the block, left a

[1] For frequency of fires—quæ frequenter contingunt,—see OLIVER, 271; ANN., 415. [2] EUL., III., 421. [3] O Ricarde pastor bone tui famuli miserere Stephani.—BROWNE, 234. For will of Stephen Scrope (died 1418), see TEST. EBOR., I., 385. [4] NOTES AND QUERIES, Ser. II., 25. p. 489. In July, 1715, it was in the possession of "Mr. Thomas Fairfax, of London," who lent it to Dr. Harbin, librarian at Longleat. The BODL. MS., LAT. LITURG., f. 3, has:—

Pro nobis ora quesumus
Ricarde martir Christi.—ATHENÆUM, 4/8/88, p. 161.

For similar premature cases, see suffragium de beato Henrico rege, *i.e.*, Henry VI., who was never canonized after all.—YORKSHIRE ARCH. AND TOP. JOURN., IV., 269; FABR. ROLLS, 82, 208; STANLEY, 521. [5] WYCL. (A.), I., 26. [6] TEST. EBOR., II., 233, reading precularum (see *ibid.*, II., 259) for precarum. See DU CANGE S.V. precula, and PROMPT. PARV. S.V. "Bedys." TEST. EBOR., I., 381, has precum. In will of Alice Pulter, dated 1458, is unū par prec' de corall (RELIQUARY, N. S., II., 30); also 1455, par precularum de gett.—MUNIM. ACAD., 584, 663. [7] Page 240.

rosary of 50 coral beads with gold gaudies,[1] to his "beloved, most blessed Saint Richard Scrope," to help in his canonization, with a prayer to God that it might be granted of His great grace. In 1462,[2] the Convocation of York solemnly took into their consideration the "holy work of the canonization and translation of Richard Scrope of blessed and pious memory." In 1467,[3] one of the canons of Ripon left 20 gold nobles to be used for the shrine of the Blessed Richard Scrope, "when God should grant that he should be translated;" and, in 1472,[4] a pious worshipper left a large silver spoon to be placed on the shrine of "Saint Richard le Scrop, when he is translated and has one." But the authorities at Rome were by this time keeping a sharper look-out,[5] and it was becoming every year more difficult to impose on the credulity of the world with flimsy evidence and "old wives' tales"[6] in face of the growing scepticism of educated critics.

In a chronicle[7] written in the reign of Henry VI., the "signs and miracles" are spoken of as continuing to that day; and opinions must differ as to whether the miracles of healing arose from the application of a "most salutiferous oil which distilled from the body,"[8] as in the case of St. William two centuries and a half before, or were the effect of "a quick or

[1] For gaudez d'or, see SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 187. Cf. A pair of bedes gauded all with grene.—CHAUCER, PROL., 159; SHAW, DRESSES. For gaudés, see GOWER, CONF. AM., 442; HOLT, 144. For par paternosters de corall' cum guadees aur', see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 5, App. A.; FIFTY WILLS, 102. For "gaude," see SHARPE, II., 27, 210, 698; ATHENÆUM, 25/7/91, p. 136. [2] BROWNE, 245. [3] RIPON CHAPTER ACTS, 232. See ARCHBISHOP GRAY'S REGISTER, 148, for translation of St. Wilfrid's body at Ripon in 1224. [4] TEST. EBOR., III., 232. For cochlear (=spone, PROMPT. PARV.), see CHRON. OF ABINGDON, II., 400; REGISTER OF ST. OSMUND, II., 137. [5] See Bull of Sixtus IV., 1475, in MARTENE COLLECT., VI., 1382. [6] See the remarkable protest against old wives' tales (anilitates), after seeing St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins at Cologne, in MONTREUIL, 1418. See also CONC., III., 342; WYCL., DE ECCLES., 32 (POLLARD); LATIN SERMONS, II., 164. [7] GODSTOW CHRONICLE, 239. [8] DRAKE, 419.

strained imagination," producing a "cessation of palpable symptoms," in an age characterized by its ignorance of medical science. But there is no room for doubt as to the multitude of votive offerings which poured in as tokens of gratitude from rich and poor. We see them in the great "wall of glass"[1] put up, soon after King Henry's death, by Lady Margaret de Roos in honour of St. William in York Minster; and we have a list of the most precious of them compiled about 1500, before they were impounded by the voracious courtiers of King Henry the Eighth. The list includes silver and gold models[2] of "teeth, legs, feet, hearts, eyes, heads, breasts, ships, anchors, rods, girdles, buckles, oxen, lambs," and what not, all fastened to the Archbishop's tomb.

A word or two may be entered here as to the writers on whose credibility we have had to rely in dealing with the Scrope legend. Thomas Gascoigne was a Yorkshireman, born at the manor of Hunslet,[3] near Leeds, in 1403. His father, Richard Gascoigne,[4] Marshal of the Exchequer, was a younger brother[5] of the Chief Justice, and had been retained, in 1391,[6] as Henry's attorney in the Exchequer. In 1400, he appears as one of his Head Stewards,[7] with an annual fee of £40, for all manors belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster north of the Trent, and in the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Warwick, and Northampton. When he made his will[8] in 1423, he

[1] YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOL. AND TOP. JOURN., III., 198. [2] FABR. ROLLS, 212-234; MONAST., VI., 1206. [3] GASC., 128, 207. [4] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., October 24th, 1406; RECEIPT ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., March 4th, 1407; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., PASCH., July 16th, 1409. For duties of a Marshal of the Exchequer, see H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 79. [5] The relationship rests upon something more than "a constant tradition" (as ROGERS, in GASC., XVII.; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XVI., 41). It is proved by TEST. EBOR., I., 293, where the Chief Justice names his brother Richard in his will. See also *ibid.*, 249. [6] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, No. 4, 5, App. A. [7] Capitalis seneschallus.—*Ibid.*, XXVIII., 4, No. 1, 2, 3, App. A, where there is a note of a journey made by him from Lincoln to Hunslet in February, 1403. [8] Proved April 23rd, 1423 (TEST. EBOR., I., 403).

left an "honest and competent sustentation" to his son for "learning and scholarizing at Oxford or London." This son was Thomas Gascoigne, a sickly youth[1] then scholarizing[2] at Oriel College, Oxford, where he had been entered since his thirteenth year. He was ordained priest in 1427;[3] and, in 1432,[4] he was offered the post of Chancellor of York Minster, in which capacity it would have been his duty to write notices[5] of the Archbishops, and to record topics of general interest in connection with the history of the cathedral. It is evident, however, from his own account,[6] that he never actually took up the office. On July 19th, 1433,[7] he became Rector of the parish church of Kirk Deighton,[8] near Wetherby. His father had been an intimate friend of Sir Thomas Roos, who lived at the neighbouring manor of Ingmanthorpe, and was one of the executors under his will in 1399. Sir Robert Roos,[9] his son and heir, subsequently married Joan, a sister of Thomas Gascoigne, and presented his brother-in-law to the living of Kirk Deighton. The benefice was small, but Gascoigne resided on it at intervals for ten years.[10] The rest of his life he spent at Oxford,[11] and he died March 13th, 1458,[12] after writing industriously upon every possible subject[13] bearing on churchmen

[1] Propter diversa impedimenta in corpore meo.—GASC., 51. In 1445, he describes himself as infirmus.—*Ibid.*, 232. [2] For "scholarizantibus," see STAFF. REG., 414. [3] RAINE, II., xx.; not 1437, as RAMSAY, I., xiv. [4] LE NEVE, III., 164. [5] RAINE, II., xxi., xxv. [6] GASC., 51, 194. [7] See extracts from TORRE'S MSS., in TAYLOR, ECCLESIÆ LEODIENSES. [8] He calls it "Dighton," or "South Dighton," p. 205. In KIRKBY'S INQUEST, 45, it is "Suth Dithon." In NOMINA VILLARUM, 348, it is "Magna Dighton." [9] CORP. CHRIST GILD, 31, 49. He died in 1451.—GASC., 202. [10] His successor was appointed September 29th, 1443.—TAYLOR, *ut sup.* [11] He was chancellor of Oxford University in 1434.—GASC., 116. According to LE NEVE, III., 467, he was commissary or vice-chancellor in 1434, 1439. His name appears as a witness to Lord Lovel's will at Oxford in 1454.—GIBBONS, 186. [12] For his epitaph and brass, formerly in the ante-chapel at New College, Oxford, see WOOD (edition GUTCH), I., 207; GOUGH, III., 180. [13] One of the two volumes now in the library of Linc. Coll., Oxford, was transcribed by the Rev. Wm. Fleming, Fellow of Oriel, who held the living of Plymtree in Devonshire in 1796.—GOUGH, III., 181.

and their lives. His notice[1] of the execution of Archbishop Scrope was probably put together while he was at Kirk Deighton, and he drew many of his facts from the recollections of personal friends. His sister Joan[2] had heard old Sibsun tell the story of the logs, though she must have been a very little girl at the time; and he was familiar with Sir Thomas Cumberworth, George Plumpton, and Stephen Palmer, all of whom had something personal to relate in reference to their share in the events. It is obvious that Gascoigne's narrative is entitled to great respect, and the conscientiousness and candour of the man, as shown in his later writings, form an additional evidence of his trustworthiness of intention. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that he was to a large extent disqualified to sift evidence, by his known readiness to accept the marvellous.[3] This mental twist led him to devote much attention to the story of the lately-canonized Swedish Saint Brigit.[4] He translated a life of her into English from a Latin copy made in Rome, and by his will[5] he left his books to the monks of the new Brigittine convent at Sion, where his friend Thomas Fishbourne[6] had been the General Confessor; and it

[1] The extract in ROGERS, 225, from GASCOIGNE'S LATIN PSALTER, in BODL. AUCT., D, 4, 5, appears to have been written in 1432. See DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXI., 43. [2] Page 342, note 3. [3] He knew a man at Oxford in 1450, who kept crying out that he was lost, that the sentence had gone forth: "Depart, ye cursed!" and that there was no God but the Devil. Gascoigne urged him to say: "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me!" but the man could not till the by-standers prayed to St. Brigit. Then the Devil was driven out, the man said the magic words, kissed the crucifix, and died two days afterwards, fortified with the sacraments of the Church.—GASC., 140. [4] GASC., 53, 156, 165, 170. A. WOOD, II., 107, refers to COTTON MS., OTHO, A, 14, now lost. Cf. MIROURE, IX. [5] Dated March 12th, 1458. —TANNER, S.V.; MUN. ACAD., II., 671; proved March 22nd, 1458.—GRIFFITHS, 23; not 27th, as DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXI., 43. [6] GASC., 170, where *primi* cannot mean the first appointed, who was William Alnwick.—MONAST., VI., 542. The election of Fishbourne was confirmed by the Bishop of London, May 5th, 1421.—ORIG. LET., II., i., 91, where Bishop Clifford calls him "Sire Thomas Fyscheburne, my well-belovyd cousyn." He was a native of the district about York, and had been a squire in his

is doubtless in this connection[1] that his story has come down to us through the medium of Clement Maidstone, who repeats it with omissions and additions of his own.

Several persons bearing the name of Maidstone are known to have been living about this time, though it is not easy to connect them with our Clement. One of them, Richard Maidstone, had been a fellow in Walter Merton's Scholars-House at Oxford, confessor to John of Gaunt, and a member of the brotherhood of the Carmes[2] or White-Friars at Aylesford,[3] on the Medway. He has left a Latin poem describing King Richard the Second's passage through London with his Queen in 1392; and a volume of his sermons long held the field under the curious title of "Sleep sound!"[4] because they would be found useful for priests, pastors, and chaplains to incorporate without great study, in preaching to their congregations every Sunday throughout the year. Beyond this we know little of him, except that the flavour of his flattery was particularly fulsome, and his Latin particularly canine. Another Richard Maidstone was appointed one of the Tellers of the Exchequer on September 30th, 1408,[5] at a salary of 5d. per day, and held the office for many years after. On March 1st, 1409,[6] he was

earlier days, possibly taking part in the rising of 1405.—GASC., 170. He is mentioned in Bishop Skirlaw's will, 1404.—TEST. EBOR., I., 309, 315. He died September 13th, 1428 (or 1427, according to AUNGIER, 110), and was succeeded by Robert Bell.—EXCERPT. HIST., 415, from BISHOP GRAY'S REGISTER, LONDON, f. 69. For his obit, dated 1431, at which date two of the nuns are called Joan and Isabel Fishbourne, see AUNGIER, 32, 55.

[1] MYROURE, XXI. [2] HOCCL., DE REG., 72, 155. [3] Where he is buried. He is said to have died there in 1396.—BALE, 498; WRIGHT, CAMD. SOC., 3, p. vii.; POL. SONGS, I., 282; STRICKLAND, I., 421; HŒFLER, ANNA, 130; though his name still appears on the books at Merton in 1399. —BRODRICK, MERTON, 224; A. WOOD, I., 103; MONAST., VI., 1578. [4] Dormi secure. Editions printed in Lyons, 1494; Paris, 1520, 1527. See EC. DES CHARTES, LI., 308. [5] ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH.; DEVON, 311, 312, 375, 385. In 1408-9 he was a member of the Fraternity of SS. Fabian and Sebastian in St. Botolph, Aldersgate.—HONE, 80. For Richard Maidstone at Canterbury, 1399, see HIST. MSS., IXTH REPT., I., 137. [6] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 2.

made Assayer and Controller of the King's Mint in the Tower. William Maidstone, the squire who championed the Lady Spenser in the Duke of York's conspiracy, has been already noticed.[1]

Clement Maidstone is known to have been the son of a squire named Thomas Maidstone,[2] who was one of the representatives of the county of Middlesex[3] in the parliament of 1399. Clement was born at Isleworth,[4] and was entered as a scholar at Winchester in 1403, in the same year with Thomas Beckington,[5] who afterwards became Bishop of Bath and Wells; and, as Richard, Thomas, and John Maidstone, of Isleworth, also appear in the Winchester Registers as scholars admitted in 1393, 1399, and 1406 respectively, it is probable that the family was in some way akin to the founder, William of Wykeham. Clement entered religion early. In September, 1410, he joined the Priory of the Trinitarian Friars at Hounslow as a sub-deacon, and was ordained priest September 19th, 1412.[6] Six months after this, Henry the Fourth died, and Clement[7] says that, within a month after the King's death, he was sitting with his father at a meal in the Priory, when a man entered and told them how a terrific storm had sprung up in the Thames, between Barking and Gravesend, as the corpse of that wicked king was being conveyed to Canterbury for burial; how he and two other men on board had taken the body out of the coffin and pitched it into the river, and how

[1] Page 43. In ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., May 23rd, 1409, William Maydeston receives £7 15s. 2d. for fish, cattle, &c., supplied for the use of the King's household. [2] He was in receipt of a pension of £5 per annum, granted by Edward III.—ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., November 24th, 1406; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., PASCH., June 11th, 1408; 10 H. IV., MICH., December 4th, 1408. [3] RETURN PARL., I., 258. [4] KIRBY, 19, 26, 29, 33. [5] *Ibid.*, 31; BEKYNTON, I., xvi., cxviii.; HIST. MSS., 2ND REPT., 134. [6] TANNER S.V., quoting REG. CLIFFORD. [7] ANGL. SACR., II., 372; PECK, VII., 5; ANDREWS, II., 14; GENT. MAG., XXXVII., 346; WAURIN, I., cxlii.; WALL, 297.

immediately there was a great calm. Such a miracle, he says, must tend to declare the glory of Archbishop Scrope and establish it in our memories for ever. He tells us that they took the coffin, filled it with stones, and deceived the country by burying it without the body[1] in Canterbury Cathedral; but this last touch shows the whole story to be false, for the coffin was opened in 1832,[2] and the body was then found in it undisturbed.

Clement Maidstone afterwards became a Brigittine monk,[3] and entered the monastery of Sion-by-Shene,[4] which Henry the Fifth built at Isleworth,[5] in memory of his father and mother.[6] Here he set his ingenuity to work to reform the Ordinal[7] or the "Pye,"[8] a set of rules for finding the different offices in the daily service-book, which varied with the moveable feasts in the calendar. This improvement he called the Priest's Directory, and as the Ordinal was a working book, a copy of which was frequently chained in the parish church,[9] it was one of those selected by Caxton[10] for publication as a "well and truly-correct Table, to be sold good cheap to any man, spiritual or temporal, at the Almonesrye at the reed pale" at Westminster.

[1] Cf. the substitution of the body of Harold at Waltham.—NOTES AND QUERIES, 21/3/85. [2] ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVI., 440; ARCHÆOL. CANT., VIII., 294; BRENT, 295; RAMSAY, I., 142. [3] BLADES, CAXTON, II., 193. It is possible that he was the author of the MIRROR OF OUR LADY. [4] STAFF. REG., 25. Quem vulgus vocat Scheene.—GASC., 170. [5] Juxta villam de Braynford, *i.e.*, Brentford.—MUNIMENTA ACAD., II., 671. In parochia de Iselworthe juxta Braynford.—ANNALS OF BERMONDSEY, 487. [6] MONASTICON, VI., 542. [7] If a prest faile a poynt of his ordynal he schal be reproved scharply.—WYCL. (M.), 170, 193. [8] WHEATLY, 142; STAT., 3, 4 Edward VI., c. 10 (IV., 110); DU CANGE, s.v. Ordinale. The subchantress at Syon was to have experience of the ordinal and making of the table for the quire.—AUNGIER, 361. [9] HIGDEN, VII., 294; RIPON MEM., III., 114. On December 21st, 1410, John Leycestre and Cecily, his wife, stole one valued at £5 from the church at Stafford, and were hanged for it. —BOOK LORE, IV., 163. [10] See his advertisement in BLADES, II., 101. For a specimen, see *ibid.*, p. 103; *e.g.*, Feria vi et sa° de jejunio cũ resp histo° p ordinẽ et resp. fẽl' ptrmittat' Dõ ii tõ cantel' histõ ij° v° erũt de sãcto mattheo. et sol' meõ de sãcto Laudo Dem̃ de dõ, &c., &c.

But Maidstone's industry was not only displayed in making a pye; he tried his hand also on the Scrope myths, and being at the monastery which was said to have been built as an expiation for the martyr's blood, he worked up the story of Gascoigne and enlarged it with exaggerations of his own.

We have also a small Latin poem[1] of great interest, written while the wars of the Roses were raging. The writer has gathered up the facts of the Archbishop's death as told in Gascoigne and the St. Alban's chronicle, but with some remarkable omissions. He leaves out all mention of the refusal of the Chief Justice to convict; he knows nothing of the leprosy; and, although he is full of pity for the shameful death of Scrope, and full of admiration for his character, and full of detail in his story of the execution, he never hints that his hero was treacherously betrayed, being, perhaps, too cautious to repeat the slur that clung to the powerful name of Nevill.

In a metrical chronicle[2] of the Archbishops of York, written by a chantry priest of Ripon between the years 1452 and 1464, the martyrdom of Scrope is absolutely ignored, two lines alone being devoted to him, and no fact being given except his high birth and good connections. One is inclined to suspect that there has been some excision here, or that the omission must have been designed.

The failure of the English to secure an official place among the saints for their Archbishop may be read in connection with another effort for canonization that was making at the same time in a very different part of the world. Widow Dorothy, the patroness of Pomesania[3] in Prussia, was a plain

[1] POL. SONGS, II., 114-118; ATHENÆUM, August 27th, 1887, p. 280. [2] RAINE, II., 485, from MS. RAWLINSON, OXFORD, 446, and CLEOPATRA, C. IV. [3] It was a bishopric on the right bank of the Vistula. For its boundaries, see VOIGT, I., 479; II., 481.

peasant woman[1] born at Montau, in the swamps of the Vistula.[2] She became the wife of a bladesmith, and during 26 years of married life, when she had born nine children "without any pleasure,"[3] she had practised fastings and severities till she passed into states of ecstasy. In one of these the Lord Jesus shot five shafts[4] and marked her body within and without. In another, He took out her heart and planted a lighted piece[5] of flesh in her instead, which made her body like a boiling pot.[6] It fumed and sweat so that she could not touch it with her hand, and, though she wore very little clothing, she needed no fire even in the coldest Baltic winter. She saw her own soul[7] clear as crystal and flecked[8] with the tiniest faults. She could smell the foul stench of other people's sins.[9] Her body swelled,[10] and something fluttered quick within her as she felt the sweet kiss of her bridegroom Christ. After years of sanctity and pilgrimage she entered religion,[11] and on May 2nd, 1393,[12] was bricked up in a small cell[13] built in the church at Marienwerder, lighted only from above, but with a little hole in the side through which she could receive the sacrament as soon as night was past. Here on June 25th, 1394,[14] her confessor found her with her eyes closed, her feet covered,[15] her head facing east

[1] Mulier idiota.—LILIENTHAL, 69; VOIGT, v., 664-681. [2] Cf. civitates stagnales, *i.e.*, the Hanse Towns, in OLAI ERIC, 124. [3] LILIENTHAL, 30. [4] *Ibid.*, 47. [5] Eyn hitzcig stucke fleischis.—MARIENWERDER, in HIRSCH, II., 231. [6] LILIENTHAL, 32. [7] *Ibid.*, 75. [8] CATHOL., 134. [9] HIRSCH, II., 262. [10] *Ibid.*, 365. [11] Intravit religionem.—FANT, I., 113. [12] HIRSCH, II., 287; VOIGT, V., 657. [13] For measurements, see LILIENTHAL, 79. For the ankerhold at Bengeo, see ARCHÆOL. JOURNAL, XLIV., 28. For mulier clausa, see SHARPE, I., 700. For inclusi and ankrets, see ROCK, III., 114, 117. For anchoresses in England, see SHARPE, II., xxiii., and ANCREN RIWLE, CAMD. SOC., 1853. Compare:—

> To every church and recluse of the town,
> Bade he give eke of golde a quantitee.—
> HOCCL., DE REG., 156; SKEAT, 20.

[14] POSILJE, 193. [15] Cf.—Whan that she fell so as she might,
Her clothes with her hand she right,
That no man downward fro the knee
Should anything of her then see.—
LUCRECE, in GOWER, CONF. AM., 402.

and resting on the palm of her right hand, "dead for the heart-breaking love of her dearest Lord."[1] No wonder that a sweet odour arose from her tomb, that she appeared four times, and answered prayer by countless miracles, not only healing pains[2] in old women's toes, and curing broken-winded horses, but even raising 31 persons from the dead. The miracles are monotonous repetitions of the neighbouring marvels of Saint Brigit,[3] whose Order found a footing in Danzig in 1396.[4] On June 24th, 1404,[5] a commission sat in the church at Marienwerder, under an order from Boniface IX., concerning whom Dorothy had had a revelation[6] that God loved him and called him a good man. Two hundred and sixty men and women deposed to the reality of the miracles from their personal knowledge, and so great was the crowd of witnesses, that selections had to be made as samples only. Before they had all been examined, Boniface died,[7] but Innocent VII. took up the threads, and, at length, on February 10th, 1406, the papers were finally forwarded to Rome. But for lack of funds no action followed.[8] Eighty years afterwards, the case was pressed again at Rome, and Innocent VIII.[9] was furnished with an

[1] "Das sy tot in der worheyt von der hertczbrechenden libe."—HIRSCH, II., 328, 337. [2] LILIENTHAL, 120. [3] HIRSCH, II., 257, 367. [4] *Ibid.*, 258; *ibid.*, DANZIG, 9. [5] *Ibid.*, II., 180. [6] VOIGT, V., 676. [7] October 1st, 1404.—Vol. I., p. 484. [8] VOIGT, V., 680. [9] For bull, dated March 6th, 1486, see HIRSCH, II., 181. For miracles at the tomb of Edward II. at Gloucester, see DEVON, 248, 259, 264. For Simon de Montfort, see RISHANGER. Cf. also the interesting facts as to the "abstractions and ravishing and manner of most singular living of St. Catherine of Siena," from the account of an eyewitness dated thirty years after her death (Oct. 26th, 1411), in ANGLIA, VIII., 195; ACTA SANCTORUM, April 30th, pp. 961-967. She was a "vile, little woman," and died before she was 34 years of age. She loathed flesh, wine, confections, and eggs, and sucked the juice of grapes "without the gross matter," living upon green herbs and a "mess of worts with oil." Yet she could read men's thoughts, command the sick to rise from their beds, and when "ravished into a swogh," she did not feel a needle pricked into her foot, though when she came again to her bodily wits, her foot began to ache sore. For impostures in Bohemia, see HUS, MON., I., clx.; LOSERTH, 102.

authorized copy of the depositions; but the influence of the Teutonic knights had then vastly declined, and the saintly Dorothy failed of her well-merited reward.

CHAPTER LX.

The Tripartite Convention.

When the Earl of Northumberland left Berwick,[1] he seems to have made for the monastery of Coldingham,[2] on the coast near St. Abb's Head. This singular community was a settlement of English Benedictines in the district of the Merse,[3] subject to the Bishop of Durham, though actually situated in the Scottish diocese of St. Andrew's. While the Schism lasted, the Coldingham monks refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the King of Scotland,[4] affirming that he was excommunicated because he recognised the Avignon Pope. They stood as an outpost for damaging the Scots. If troops were gathering for a raid on England, the monks got word of it, and found means to forward warning across the border. On the other hand, so jealous were they of their neighbours, that no Scottish boy was allowed to stand in their kitchen, lest he should find out awkward secrets and betray them to the Scots; and, if the Percies crossed in force enough to plunder in the Merse, the Prior of Coldingham would take arms and join in the burning and the slaughter. Nevertheless, the monks were fairly safe even in the jaws of their enemies, for they were rich and could be squeezed by either side when money was scarce. But so battered were their tenants, that, in 1400, their rent-roll had fallen to one-fifth of its normal value,[5] and no tithe could be got because the corn was "wasted by the Scots."

[1] Vol. II., p. 264. [2] Grose, I., 95; Gordon, Monast., I., 359. [3] Vol. I., 290. Called "Merkis."—Walcott, 92; or "The Marshe" in 1575.—Dougl. Book, IV., 202. Cf. Morthyngton infra *Mariscum* in Scotia.—Rot. Scot., II., 193. [4] See the fragment of twelve charges brought against them before the Bishop of St. Andrews in Edinburgh, in 1379. [5] *Viz.*, from £263 3s. 2d. to £53 4s. 6d.—Coldingham Corrdce., p. lxxix., 65, &c.

As the Schism increased in bitterness, Pope Urban VI. chose to assume that the see of St. Andrews was vacant[1] because the Scots did not acknowledge his authority. In 1388, Archbishop Nevill, being deprived of his see at York, was translated to the bishopric of St. Andrews.[2] But the appointment was a mere sham and perfectly inoperative, so far as concerned any practical connection with the duties or emoluments in Scotland, except in places such as Berwick and Roxburgh, which, though locally in the diocese of St. Andrews, were actually in English hands.[3] As a matter of fact, Nevill never went near his supposed Scottish diocese, but died in 1392, at Louvain, where he had served as a parish priest[4] for three years. Similarly, there were at the same time Bishops[5] of Caithness, Dunkeld, and Glasgow, figuring as suffragan bishops in England, though the Scottish people disregarded them as schismatics and got on quite well without them, and if it had not been for one or two obscure notices, we should never have known of their existence.

Pope Boniface IX., shortly after his accession in 1389, placed the care of St. Andrews diocese in the charge of the

[1] RYMER, VII., 573; VIII., 31. [2] MALVERN in HIGDEN, IX., 179. FULLER (I., 129), who will have his joke, calls this a "post-ferment" to an "arch-no-bishoprick." [3] A similar complication occurred in the Channel Islands; they formed part of the diocese of Coutances, but the Bishop was a "schismatic" to the English, who held the islands.—FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 18. [4] MALVERN in HIGDEN, IX., 267; STOW, CHRON., 304; RAINE, HIST., II., 424. [5] WALCOTT, 6, 213; JONES, 96, 97; STAFF. REG., 53. For William, Bishop of Tournai, who had "nothing to live on," and had £40 per annum from the English Exchequer, see Vol. II., p. 205, note 3; STUBBS, REG., 144; ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH. (March 26th, 1406); *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (April 25th and August 2nd, 1408). In *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH. (December 4th, 1409), he has £60. He expresses himself willing to resign his pension in PRIV. SEAL, 657/7436, January 8th, 1413. For other claimants to the see of Tournai, viz., Jacques Gaite and Martin, see GALL. CHRIST., III., 230; D'ACHERY, VI., 363. The Bishop actually in possession was Louis de la Tremoille, installed April 21st, 1392.—ITINÉRAIRES, 227, 262, 312, 379, 394, 401.

Bishop of Durham, calling the other Pope[1] a "son of damnation," and his nominees "sons of iniquity." The diocese of St. Andrews bordered on that of Durham, and included[2] the whole of the south-eastern side of Scotland, from Brechin to the Tweed. The Bishop of Durham straightway appointed[3] the Prior of Coldingham to have jurisdiction as his representative; but we may judge how far his power extended, when we know that he had to submit to bullying letters[4] from the Earl of March, and to pay a "pension" of £100 every year "of usual money of Scotland" to the Earl of Douglas, as Keeper[5] of his land and rents and "Sovereign Baillie and Governour of all his lordship."[6] In 1397, another sham appointment of an Englishman was made to the see of St. Andrews,[7] in the person of Archbishop Arundel. But it made no difference to the position. Constant bickerings went on between the Prior and the Scottish Bishop in possession, and the property of the monks was continually exposed to be plundered both by Scots and English. On the accession of Henry IV., and the return of Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury, his appointment as Bishop of St. Andrews was annulled,[8] and the monks of Coldingham seem to have seen the wisdom of giving up the struggle. The Scottish Bishop of St. Andrews visited the monastery, and a large sum[9] was spent in coal, wine, food, and presents on the occasion. After the escape of the Earl of Northumberland from Berwick, it is probable that he also rested at Coldingham, and met there the newly-appointed Bishop of St. Andrews, Henry Wardlaw,[10] of Torry, who

[1] HIST. DUNELM., SCRIPT. TRES, CLX. [2] For the eight rural deaneries, see WALCOTT, 91. [3] RAINE, NORTH DURHAM, App. 94, dated October 20th, 1390. [4] COLDINGHAM CORRDCE, 65. [5] RAINE, App. 34; DOUGLAS BK., III., 367, from NATIONAL MSS. SCOT., II., 47. [6] COLDINGHAM, 86; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 374. [7] Not St. Albans, as CREIGHTON, I., 305. [8] October 19th, 1399.—CONC., III., 246; RAMSAY, I., 2. [9] COLDINGHAM, lxxix. [10] WALCOTT, 87.

became afterwards the founder[1] of St. Andrews University; for the Prior's accounts[2] for the year 1405 include receipts to the amount of £62 9s. 8d. from "Lord Henry Percy and other friends," while the Bishop of St. Andrews and "other friends of the realm of Scotland" came in for presents to the amount of £8 12s. 0d.

What arrangements were made we do not know, but the Bishop soon after received the fugitive Earl and his grandson, together with Lord Bardolph, in his castle at St. Andrews "with great honour and honesty;"[3] and a second time the Earl had leisure to meditate over the wreck of his imprudent schemes in the solitude of enforced retirement. He did his best to incite[4] the Scots to move before the season was past, and not without success. The Scots had, indeed, their own reasons for anticipating a very different termination to the difficulty. Their King, Robert III., was fast sinking to the grave in senile dotage. He was only 58 years of age,[5] but he had been kicked by a horse when young, and had never been "feirie"[6] since. His authority[7] had long ago been set aside, and his name had become a by-word for feebleness throughout Europe.[8] He was still shifted about[9] between Rothesay, Stirling, Dundonald, and Linlithgow, but it was seen that the end was fast approaching, and it behoved all who had

[1] SCOTICHRON., II., 445; BOECE, 342; BUIK, III., 497; BELLENDEN, 257. [2] COLDINGHAM, lxxx. [3] WYNT., IX., xxiiii., 137; SCOTICHRON., XV., ch. XVIII., 439; LESLEY, 254. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 606. [5] D. SCOTT, 223. [6] WYNT., IX., 970; JAMIESON, II., 216. [7] In January, 1399, the Parliament at Perth records that "it is wele sene and kennyt that our lorde the kyng for seknes of his person may nocht travail to governe the Realme." —ACTS PARL. SCOT., I., 210. [8] CHEVALIER ERRANT, written in 1394 in the form of a dream, by THOMAS, THIRD MARQUIS OF SALUZZO (d. 1416); NOTICES DES MSS., V., 569; TRAIS., 225; NOUVELLE BIOG., S.V. Orléans, p. 800; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 181. Saluzzo was at Jerusalem November 11th, 1391.—ORIENT LATIN, I., 540. [9] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 624, May 28th, 1405.

interests to serve to be on the spot when the change should come. Four years before, his gifted son David had been taken from him, just as he was rising into the promise of manhood.[1] The old King could offer no resistance, and the murderers had justified their crime on the plea of high policy of state.

But King Robert had yet another son,[2] James Earl of Carrick, a short, big-boned, passionate lad,[3] with brown eyes, "abourn" hair, and a leaning to stoutness.[4] He was now eleven years of age,[5] and "not far past the state of innocence,"[6] but we have already evidence that he was not to be allowed to succeed to his father's throne. In 1404,[7] it was believed in Paris that the succession would fall to the Earl of Douglas, who, besides being brother-in-law[8] to the dead Duke of Rothesay, had

[1] Born 1378, died 1402.—Vol. I., p. 288. For the Tyronensian Abbey of Lindores near Newburgh, where he was buried, see G. S. AITKEN, ABBEYS OF ARBROATH, BALMERINO, AND LINDORES. For the stone coffin, tradionally ascribed to him, see LAING, 102. [2] A son named Robert had also died.—EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxii.; TYTLER, III., 159; MENTEITH, I., 162. [3] SCOTICHRON., II., 504. The contemporary account in PINKERTON, I., 462, 469, is not very consistent. In one passage he is "meane of stature," in another "a man right manly and strong." See his portrait in CHALMERS. [4] Æneas Sylvius, who was afterwards an envoy to his court, describes him as parvo corpore pinguique, oculis clarus, sed torvus, iracundus et vindictæ cupidus.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 158, II, from VATICAN MS., 3, 887. [5] HARD., 364; WYNT., III., 62. He was born at Dunfermline, July, 1394.—CHALMERS, I; EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxii.; not fourteen, as SCOTICHRON., XV., 18, followed by MAJOR, 125a; BURTON, II., 384; MENTEITH, I., 188; or twelve, as POL. VERG., 438; or nine, as BELLENDEN, in HOLINS., 255; HALLE, 27; GRAFTON, 432; BAKER, 234; STOW, 334; TRUSSEL, 86; DE LARREY, I., 799; CARTE, II., 668; HUME, II., 291; SH. TURNER, II., 371. [6] CHALMERS, 32. [7] Vol. I., p. 399. Mr. Fraser seems to have lost sight of this, when arguing that Douglas had no interest in the removal of Rothesay.—MENTEITH, I., 174. [8] Rothesay's wife is usually called Marjory (Vol. I., p. 127), but her name is proved to have been Mary from EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 566, 620; PLUSCARD., I., 339; DRUMMOND, Preface. In DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 348, 354, 362, she is "Mary or Marjory." In 1403, she married Walter Haliburton.—EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxi., and she died in 1421.—*Ibid.*, IV., 343. In 1411 a safe conduct for England is made out for *Elizabeth (sic)*, Duchess of Rothesay.—RYM., VIII., 694; ROT. SCOT., II., 197; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6921. See also STODART, II., 10.

married Margaret,[1] the King's eldest daughter. But Douglas was still a prisoner in England,[2] and though he and Murdach were treated with every courtesy and consideration, yet time was pressing, and King Robert's death might be announced at any moment. The boy James was in charge of his kinsman,[3] Sir David Fleming,[4] of Biggar and Lenzie or (Cumbernauld), who had been one of the custodians[5] of the mysterious "Maumet," and had just returned from negociating with King Henry at Pontefract.[6] Fearing some foul play, Fleming had the boy[7] sent to the castle of St. Andrews,[8] where he would be under the care of Bishop Wardlaw, and could be immediately removed, if circumstances should require it, by mooring a boat close under the walls.

At such a time, it must have been especially galling to the Earl of Douglas to be lolling his life in London, while intriguers at home might supplant him at the last and gather the prize for which he had played so deep. He still drew pay as Keeper of Edinburgh Castle,[9] though the duties had to be performed

[1] ACTS OF PARL., SCOT., I., 220; MENTEITH, I., 157. See inscription in DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 398, from her tomb at Lincluden, near Dumfries, where a new college had just replaced the nunnery, partly because the nuns had broken their vows of chastity, and partly to "make provision for dependents on the family" of Douglas.—GODSCROFT, 114; CARDONNEL, S.V.; SCOTICHRON., II., 430; WALCOTT, 370; BOECE, 337a; BUIK OF CHRON., 59278; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 348. For confusion of Margaret with her sister Egidia, see EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxii. Two other of King Robert's daughters, viz., Mary and Elizabeth, were married to Douglases. —EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxiii.; MENTEITH, I., 175. [2] Page 60. [3] "That cusyng nere wes to the king."—WYNT., IX., 2639; SOUTHEY, II., 17. Fleming's son, Malcolm, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Albany.—EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxxviii.; MENTEITH, I., 191. [4] VESP. F. VII., 89 (82), has remonstrance from David Flemyng de Byger to Henry IV., dated Combyrnalde, January 10th, 1405. He was Lord of Lenzie, or Lenyie, the old name for Cumbernauld.—HUNTER, 480; MACPHERSON, S.V. [5] Vol. I., 268. [6] Vol. II., 62. [7] "By their avise that had of me the cure."—CHALMERS, 32. [8] For view of it in 1790, see GROSE, II., 290. [9] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 591, 619; IV., 19, 43, 81, 115.

by his deputy, Sir William Crawford.[1] Messenger after messenger passed from Scotland into England about catching thieves[2] who had stolen money, or making the pilgrimage to Canterbury,[3] or points of arms,[4] or one thing or another; and, as they usually provided themselves with bags full of "Scot-mailyies,"[5] which had only as much silver in them as an English farthing,[6] the victuallers,[7] taverners, and hostlers[8] in England had reason to remember them, when they found themselves inundated with this billon[9] trash in payment for their harbourage.[10] There was no lack of proposals for the ransom of the distinguished prisoners, and, if the money had been forthcoming on the Scottish side, there would have been every readiness on the part of the Court at Westminster to hasten their release. On August 8th, 1405,[11] Sir William Douglas, of Drumlanrig,[12] in Nithsdale, had permission to visit England. A similar permission was granted on August 27th, to John Stewart, Lord of Lorne, and Sir William Borthwick, both of them practised negociators,[13] accompanied by four

[1] Called Crawford of Haining and Ferme, in EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., lviii., *i.e.*, the Ferm of Rutherglen.—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 347; III., 403, 405. [2] ROT. SCOT., II., 177. [3] *Ibid.*, 200. [4] RYM., VIII., 421. [5] JAMIESON, S.V.; ROT. PARL., II., 318; III., 127, 280, 409, 600, 644; IV., 69; STAT., I., 313; LIB. ALB., I., 233, 575; LIB. CUST., I., 187, 189; DESCHAMPS, IV., 299; KEUTGEN, 15; LEBLANC, XV.; COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., 14, 15. In John of Gaunt's Register (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 206) the Scottish groat was only worth 3d. of English money:—August 6th (no year, but probably 1375). [6] Rather than with a ferthyng him releeve.—HOCCL., DE REG., 47. The kyng may not ponysche hem bi o ferthing worth.—WYCL. (M.), 130, 222. [7] WYCL. (M.), 174. [8] WYCL. (M.), 181; P. PLO., XX., 74; HOLT, 182. "Vicious hostelars, who are often unclean women of their bodies."—ENGL. GARN., VI., 84. For "pandoxator," see PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 31. [9] DU CANGE, S.V.; J. D. ROBERTSON, 109; NUM. CHRON., N.S., XII., 99; 3rd Series, IV., 189, Plate ix.; COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., cxvi., 15; II., Plate ii.; NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Series, III., 383; LEBLANC, XIII. [10] "With a riche hoost he toke his herbegage."—HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 46. Cf. CHAUCER, 4567; GOWER, CONF. AM., 114, 177. [11] ROT. SCOT., II., 175; renewed November 3rd.—RYM., VIII., 421. [12] He was a "base son" of James, second Earl of Douglas, who was killed at Otterburn.—GODSCROFT, 92. He died in 1421.—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 320, 406. [13] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., IV., *passim*. For further permit, see ROT. SCOT., II., 176.

diplomatists. Then came the news of the flight of the Earl of Northumberland, and though he was in Scotland under the sacred trust of hospitality, yet the temptation proved too strong to be resisted, and the negociators, who appear to have stayed at "The Bell" in Carter Lane,[1] offered to deliver him up into King Henry's hands in return for the release of the Earl of Douglas. It was found that the castle of St. Andrews was no place for the English fugitives, and they were courteously invited to remove to Perth,[2] which they did, leaving young Henry Percy[3] behind as a playmate for Prince James. But Fleming[4] having conveyed to them a friendly hint of what was in store, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph made good their escape and crossed into Wales.

Many sympathizers[5] from England had preceded them on pretence of joining the King's forces; the French were still in the country, triumphant from their recent autumn success; the bards were pressing round Owen with renewed predictions of his great destiny; and the moment of final deliverance for Wales seemed at length to be at hand. The Prophet had been worked on the death of Richard II., that lamb[6] with the feet of lead, the head of brass, the fox's heart, and the swine's skin. It had been found that after him should come a mouldwarp[7]

[1] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, App. B. [2] Tyl Sanct Johnstoune syne past he. —WYNT., III., 93. [3] SCOTICHRON., XV., 18, 19. On May 11th, 1415, he was still in the hands of the Scots, at which date he is said to be "deinz age."—KYM., IX., 242. Cf. HARD., 373. He was exchanged for Murdach in the same year.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 160; SCOTICHRON., II., 448; PLUSCARD., 350. [4] ANN., 418; WALS., II., 273; HYPODIGM., 418. Fraser (MENTEITH, I., 188) seems to think that there is no authority for this fact, because none is given in TYTLER, III., 153. [5] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 39, March 17th, 1406. [6] HALLIWELL, SHAKESPEARE, IX., 401, from WALTER SCOTT, quoting Chronicle penes John Clarke of Eldin, now in possession of the Duke of Hamilton. In other versions he is the crowned ass. See B. M. CATALOGUE OF ROMANCES, I., 300, 309, 311, 319, 322. COTTON, FAUSTINA, B. IX., ff. 241 and 242; CLEOPATRA, C. IV., 15; JULIUS, A. V. 3; GALBA, E. IX. See HALL, Edition of MINOT, p. 103. [7] MIR. FOR MAG., 300; APOLOGY, 57; WYCL. (M.), 89, 95, 97, 147. Cf. wâdd, or gwâdd, in PRYS, 134.

cursed of God's mouth, a caitiff and a coward, with "an eldryche skin as a goat," on whom vengeance should fall for "suffering his people to live in great pride without chastising." Then a Dragon[1] should come "out of the North,[2] and war against the mouldwarp upon a stone."[3] The Dragon from the North would be joined by a Wolf from the West, and the two would "bind their tails together." To them would then be linked a "Lion out of Ireland." Many castles would fall on the banks of the Thames, the chief rivers in England would run blood, the great hills would be cloven for dread, and the Thames would be choked with corpses. Henry would flee before the Wolf, the Dragon, and the Lion, and escape, when the sea is dry, in one ship to an "isle in the sea."[4] Thence he should return and give up three-fourths of his kingdom, retaining one-fourth only for himself. Another version[5] allowed him one-third, but even this would not remain with him long, for he was fated to be drowned, and his seed would be "fatherless for evermore." On his death, the land would be divided into three parts, and shared by the Dragon,[6] the Wolf,

[1] Owen had a dragon for his crest (Vol. I., 247; Vol. II., 15, note 8), and on his seals; cf. Gryffyth Llwyd, in PENNANT, I., 336; D. WILLIAMS, App., 117. [2] In Edward the Third's time;—

Merlin said thus with his mowth:
Out of the north into the sowth
Suld cum a bare (boar) over the se,
That suld mak many men to fle.

He was also to make great play with his tail.—MINOT, in POL. SONGS, I., 75 (circ. 1352). See the specimens of the same kind of thing, with quotations from "Merlin Ambrose" and "Sibille," in THE LAST AGE OF THE CHURCH, XXXIII. (written 1356), with TODD'S Notes. VAUGHAN, I., 255, and ALZOG, II., 947, attribute it without question to Wycliffe. In France the Prophet was quoted in proof of the coming downfall of England.—DESCHAMPS, I., 106, 164; II., 34, 58; VII., 244. For Joachim, see *ibid.*, V., 169; GOWER, CONF. AM., 136. [3] "Founded on a stane bese that bataile."—GALBA, E. IX., 230; HALL, p. 104. [4] GALBA, E. IX., 260.

[5] The twa ptes sall he gif oway of that land,
For to save the thrid part in his owin hand.—*Ibid.*, 261.

[6] *Ibid.*, 272, drops out the wolf, and gives all to the dragon and the lion.

and the Lion, and "so shall it be for ever." The land would be called the Land of Conquest, and the "rightful heirs" would be "disherited."

It is clear that this jargon[1] was circulating in the first outbreak of the rising in Wales, probably about the time of the capture and recovery of Conway in 1401. But the Thames was not yet choked with bodies; the Lion of Ireland was still a puzzling item in the programme; the bards were still at sea as to "wat hate the toupe[2] and wat the bare,"[3] and in other respects the "badges[4] scarcely well agreed." Owen, however, was still "o'erruled by prophecies,"[5] the time might come when the mouldwarp would be really forced to fly, and it was well to have everything in train for emergencies. But if there were any trust to be placed in the inspired prediction, he would himself have to play the Wolf from the West, and tie his tail to the Earl of Northumberland as the Dragon from the North. Meantime, in the prevailing fogginess with regard to Ireland, it might be possible for Sir Edmund Mortimer to play the Lion, from the connection of his family with the earldom of Ulster,[6] this interpretation being evidently open to revision as events should dictate. And, indeed, with such a wealth of bards, there was a wide field for choice. According to some, vengeance[7] would soon fall on the proud, wretched, bloated mouldwarp for his sins, and the land would fall to the ass, or the boar, or the dragon, or the lion. According to others, a far grander destiny awaited Owen. He was led to hope that the time had come

[1] GOWER, CONF. AM., 266, 285. [2] LANGTOFT, II., 458. [3] Cf. MERLIN, GEOFF. OF MONMOUTH, VII., 3, p. 137. Superveniet aper commercii qui dispersos greges ad amissa pascua revocabit.—ARCHÆOL., XX., 261; LANGTOFT, I., 270. See Vol. I., p. 19. [4] MIR. FOR MAG., 300. [5] HENRY IV., Part I., IV., 4, 18. [6] Page 43, note 2. In PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 27, the Earl of March is Earl of Ulster, Lord of Clare, Trim, and Connaught. [7] BODL. MS., 1787, in ARCHÆOL., XX., 257. The only certainty here is that the ass is Richard II.

when the Almighty, seeing all the ruin and bloodshed going on around, would stir up the hope of wisdom and courage in Brutus (*i.e.* the Welshman), the king of beasts, who would gather his herds in the desert to the rescue, so that he might spoil the robber and his herds and reign in his stead. Then should there be peace in the land, and Owen should conquer Jerusalem and set free the Red Lion (*i.e.* the Welsh) in all the world.

With all this skimble-skamble stuff still ringing in his ears, Owen went out to meet the Earl of Northumberland. He took with him his son-in-law, Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had now been more than three years in his power, and showed no ambition to play any higher part than that of a humble family dependent. The meeting took place on February 28th, 1406, at the house of David Daron,[1] Dean of Bangor, at Aberdaron, by the sea-shore on the extreme south-west of Carnarvon.

The place was typical of the cause :—the very *ultima Thule* of Welsh land, with the Earl cast out of England by enemies, and out of Scotland by friends, and just able to catch a momentary foothold before taking ship for France. Oaths were taken with all solemnity ; the principals laid their hands on the gospels[2] and swore to be true to each other, and then signed their names to a bond, doubtless drawn up and carefully discussed by the lawyers beforehand, and subsequently known as the Tripartite Convention. The only writer[3] living near the events who mentions the bond places it in the year 1405, and

[1] He was outlawed in 1406, as a partisan of Owen.—MONASTICON, VI., 1298 ; LE NEVE, I., 111 ; LEWIS, s.v. Bangor. According to THOMAS, 106, 149, he was son of Evan ap Dafydd ap Gryffydd, descended from Caradoc ap Iestyn, Prince of Wales. [2] CHRON. GILES, 42. Cf. "Haly Wangelis." —DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 38. [3] CHRON. GILES, 39. He seems to quote from the original, in which England is "Leogria," and the ash trees are "onnene margioum." The earliest official reference to it is in ROT. PARL., III., 612, December 2nd, 1407.

since Hall's time it has been usual to suppose that it was signed before the battle of Shrewsbury;[1] but this is impossible, and, on a general view of all the circumstances, I am convinced that the meeting took place in the spring of 1406.[2]

The opening articles of the agreement are identical with those of the treaty between Owen and the French. The parties bind themselves to act together as "good, true, and trusty friends," but they do not name the person against whom they are to act. Then follows the curious compact:—If by God's disposing, it should appear to the aforesaid lords, *in process of time*, that they are the very persons between whom the Prophet says that the government of Greater Britain shall be divided and shared, then they shall work, each according to his power, that this may be effectually carried into effect.[3] In case they should ever be called upon to act under this inspiring belief, it was considered wise to provide beforehand against a possibility of disagreement over the proposed division of the spoil. To guard against ambiguity in interpreting the meaning of the Prophet, a schedule of boundaries was mapped out for the guidance of the three when the time for the division should arrive. Owen and his heirs were to have all Wales from the Severn to the Mersey. The boundary line would run from the Bristol Channel (then called the Sabrinian Sea),[4] following the course of the Severn as far as Worcester; thence from the north

[1] MIR. FOR MAG., 305; ROBERT WILLIAMS, 171; LLOYD, I., 208; CYMMRODOR, IV., 229; WOODWARD, 570; APPLEYARD, III., 74. ROWLAND WILLIAMS, XV., 206, thinks that the convention was "a mere fable, imagined by popular alarm." Cf. PAULI, V., 24, also TYLER, I., 153; II., 433, who discredits the document because it dates the meeting *after* the battle of Shrewsbury. FONBLANQUE, I., 213, goes back without hesitation to the old mistake, and RAMSAY, I., 58, 86, assigns it both to 1403 and 1405! [2] See also BELTZ, 158. TOUT in DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXI., 433; XXVI., 39, inclines to 1405, but appears to doubt the story altogether. [3] Ad effectum efficaciter perducatur. [4] CHRON. GILES, 41; POLYOLBION, I., 4; GEOF. MON., VII., 3.

gate of Worcester to a point on the road halfway between Bridgnorth and Stourbridge, on the border of the counties of Stafford and Shropshire, marked by a group of ash trees and still called Four Ashes on the Ordnance Survey map;[1] thence it followed "the old road" northwards to the sources of the Trent, thence north-east to the head-waters of the Mersey, and down that river to the sea. This division would include the whole of the counties of Cheshire, Shropshire, Hereford, and Monmouth, together with the western portions of Gloucestershire, Worcester, and Stafford, in addition to the twelve counties now reckoned as the Principality of Wales. The Earl of Northumberland would take the northern portion of England,[2] that is to say, so much as lay to the north of a line drawn from Worcester to the southern boundary of Norfolk; leaving the remainder for Sir Edmund Mortimer[3]—if he could get it. Of the northern section, it is noteworthy that the Earl of Northumberland was not to have the counties of Durham and Cumberland:—the former on account of the claims of its Prince-Bishop, without whose co-operation no portion of the scheme could hope to succeed; the latter as, perhaps, a debateable land, too valueless and precarious to be worth enumeration. On the southern side, however, where definition was most urgently required in the absence of any clear, natural boundary, the frontier was left in a condition of tempting chaos. Northamptonshire and Norfolk were to go to the Earl of Northumberland, but the intervening counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge were to be wrangling-bones, left to be tugged for by the Triumvirs, backed each by his

[1] Sheet lxi., S.E., marked also in KITCHEN'S MAP OF STAFFORDSHIRE, near Enville. [2] According to BOECE, XVI., 339 (followed by GODSCROFT, 119, and HOLINS., 522), the Earl of Douglas was to have had Berwick and the larger part of Northumberland, if the Percies had succeeded at Shrewsbury. [3] Not the Earl of March, as FONBLANQUE, I., 213.

own interpretation of the Prophecy. When the three had settled any ugly disputes that might fairly be expected to arise, they were to combine for the common defence of the country against all enemies except the King of France, as Owen's special confederate and ally.

Such was the substance of the singular scheme which passed for statecraft in those distant days; but, fortunately for England, the time was not favourable for attempting its fulfilment. It was rumoured that the Prince of Wales[1] was approaching with a large force; the French were in a hurry to be gone; and, by the middle of March, 1406,[2] the Earl's supporters from England were creeping back stealthily to their homes, hiding during the day and making what progress they could under the cover of each night. The Earl himself[3] and Lord Bardolph remained in Wales to do a little mischief during the summer. Letters were sent about[4] in the joint names of Northumberland, Mortimer, and Bardolph, to stir the sympathies of Englishmen for the fate of Archbishop Scrope, who died for his efforts to restore "the right line," and Welsh envoys were again sent to Paris, urging help in dethroning the usurper Henry. In the summer of 1406, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph crossed to Brittany,[5] and arrived in Paris before the middle of July,[6] where the Earl begged "piteously" for help,[7] offering to give hostages that he would ever hold himself at the service of the King of France.

[1] REP. DIGN. PEER, III., 795. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 39 (March 17th, 1406), has orders to arrest them. [3] He was certainly in Wales as late as June 7th and 19th, 1406.—ROT. PARL., III., 576, 606. [4] GASC., 229; ANGL. SACR., II., 369. [5] HARD., 364. [6] JURADE, 49. [7] MONSTR., I., 130; WAURIN, II., 102.

CHAPTER LXI.

JAMES OF SCOTLAND.

THE negociations with the Scottish Court were still continued, even though the Earl of Northumberland had escaped the snare. On January 30th, 1406,[1] an order was signed allowing thirteen scions of the best blood of Scotland to pass into England, to remain until the 1st of May, in the hope that arrangements might be made whereby Murdach and Douglas would be released, and the visitors be detained in England as security till the ransom money should be fully paid. The list includes:—the Earl of Douglas' eldest son and heir, Archibald; his brother, James Douglas,[2] then Warden of the Marches; his son-in-law, Sir Simon Glendinning;[3] his kinsman, James,[4] son of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith; his nephew, Sir William Douglas[5] of Nithsdale, and his cousin, Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig; Henry Sinclair,[6] Earl of Orkney, and his brother William; the Duke of Albany's second son, John Stewart[7] of Coul; his relatives, Sir John Seton and Sir William Graham,[8]

[1] RYM., VIII., 429; ROT. SCOT., II., 177. [2] The argument in DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 435, that he was never in England, seems to be based on a mistake. The Traquair charter, to which he is a witness, is dated January 4th, 1406 (*ibid.*, III., 403), not January 5th, 1407. [3] DOUGLAS, BARONAGE, 235; ARMSTRONG, 156. On April 26th, 1407, he was made Baillie of Eskdale for the Earl.—DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 53. In DOUGLAS, PEERAGE, 186, the son-in-law is Sir *John* Glendinning. [4] DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 344. [5] *Ibid.*, III., 404. He is supposed to be the son of that "yhowng joly bachelere," William Douglas of Nithsdale, natural son of Archibald the Grim.—*Ibid.*, I., 358; WYNT., III., 30. [6] He married Egidia, niece to the Earl of Douglas (DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 358; III., 404), and his son William afterwards married Elizabeth (not Margaret, as GODSCROFT, 115; DOUGLAS, PEERAGE, 186), the Earl's daughter.—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 398, 399; III., 400, 404. [7] Page 264. [8] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 61; RYM., VIII., 388, 445; ROT. SCOT., II., 174, 178.

Lord of Kincardine; Walter Haliburton,[1] of Dirleton, who afterwards became his son-in-law; and Alexander, eldest son of the Earl of Crawford. But before they could start on their mission, events had overtaken them, and the release of the two distinguished prisoners had to be again postponed.

The weakness of the Scottish King was daily increasing, and it was decided to remove his young son James out of the country. The motive for this step is one of the riddles which historical research has, thus far, failed to read. In after-days, when the character of the Duke of Albany was estimated at its worst, it was believed that the King had himself sent the lad away to escape from his uncle's cruelty, and that he sent letters with him, addressed to the Kings of France and England, to be used at either court as circumstances should require. One hundred and twenty years after the events, the contents[2] of the letters, with a strong spice of Ste. Barbe[3] Latinity, were given by Hector Boyis, writing in his new University at Aberdeen, but we know that his material was drawn solely from the old chronicle of Bower and its duplicate of Pluscardine;[4] and, being puzzled, as all the world has been, by the singular nature of the transaction, he thought himself justified in filling in the details where the picture seemed to require it. Our

[1] On February 2nd, 1408, the Duke calls him filius noster.—REG. MAG. SIG. SCOT., 232. He had married Isabel, daughter of the Duke of Albany and widow of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Ross.—EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 72; MENTEITH, I., 238. [2] In hunc ferme modum.—BOECE, XVI., 340. The metrical version makes short work of the letter. "It is so langsum for to put in verss."—BUIK CHRON. SCOT., 58985. BELLENDEN (in HOLINS., III., 255), translating it into "the Scottish tong," omits a good deal of the tumidity of the original; but HALLE (27) gives a full translation into English, as if it were a genuine state-paper. LESLEY (257) and GRAFTON (432) deal very shortly with the letter, and BUCHANAN (X., 105) dismisses it in a line:—"In quibus multa de suâ multa de communi hominum fortunâ erant lamentabiliter scripta." The authenticity of the letter, however, in some form has been accepted by all subsequent writers, including LINGARD, III., 437. [3] For Collège Ste. Barbe, see FRANKLIN, II., 353; ALZOG, II., 848. [4] For view of Pluscardine in 1790, see GROSE, II., 278.

safer plan will be to keep closely to the facts as given in the earlier narratives, even though we cannot see a way through all the difficulties of the story. One point, however, may be taken as now fully established, viz., that the Scottish chroniclers,[1] Wyntown and Bower, are wrong in placing the events in 1405, and that the English records are right when they assign them to the earlier months of 1406, though recent writers[2] of both countries have still inclined to the wrong year.

Whoever sent him, the reason given was to get him off to France to learn French ways,[3] and so prepare himself for his future career. Early in February, 1406, he was placed under the charge of Sir David Fleming, and the boy and his guardian, with a strong retinue of Lothian lords, travelled with all speed through East Lothian, till they came to the coast at North Berwick. Here a small boat was ready to take them[4] over to the Bass Rock,[5] where James was lodged safely in the prison-fortress, awaiting the next step in the plan. Fleming then went back to the shore[6] and turned his face homewards, but his recent service to the Earl of Northumberland had roused the hatred of the friends of Douglas, who found their expectations balked, and their leader still a prisoner in English hands. Old family feuds were re-opened, and every household[7] was astir for any deed of blood and vengeance.

[1] RAMSAY, I., 97. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 304; BURTON, II., 384; TYTLER, III., 155; LINGARD, III., 435; BROUGHAM, 58, 370; PAULI, V., 42; GARDINER, 295; SKEAT, 41; KNIGHT, II., 19; CHALMERS, 2; CRAIK, I., 382; WARD, I., 129; MORLEY, VI., 165; RYE, in NORFOLK ARCHÆOLOGY, VII., 279; TIGHE AND DAVIES, I., 277; TOUT, in DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 40. For discrepancies in date, see NICOLAS, ROYAL NAVY, II., 371; PINKERTON, I., 82; due to placing too much confidence in Rymer. [3] ANN., I., 419; WALS., II., 273; SCOTICHRON., II., 439; MONSTR., II., 55. [4] This cannot have been March 12th, as MORLEY, VI., 167. [5] PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, New Series, VIII., 54; SLEZER, Plates 56, 57. [6] Schire Dávy buskit hámwart sone.—WYNT., IX., XXV, 22. [7] Omnes commovebantur ad omnia.—ANN., 418. PLUSCARD. (I., 347) says the reason usually assigned was that Fleming had been one of the principal actors in the capture of Robert II.

James Douglas, the Earl's brother,[1] who had not yet put on his four stone of "talch,"[2] was on his way out from Edinburgh with Alexander Seton (Fleming's nephew), William Sinclair of Herdmanston,[3] Walter Haliburton of Dirleton,[4] and "uthir mony gentilis má." They met Fleming at Longherdmanston Moor, near Haddington, on February 14th, 1406,[5] set upon him and killed him after hard fighting, in which many of his band were made prisoners, though they were subsequently released. On the following day, the body of Fleming was carried into Edinburgh, and buried in front of the altar of St. Nicholas in Holyrood Abbey, "where he had ordained his sepulture,"[6] beneath the glass windows[7] emblazoned with his

[1] SCOTICHRON., II., 43; EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 567, 616, 618, 620, and Vol. IV., *passim.* Not "uncle" (as PINKERTON, I., 81, followed by SIR WALTER SCOTT, I., 240), or "son," as TYTLER, III., 156; ARMSTRONG, 156. The Earl made large grants of land to him, *e.g.*, Balvany, in the barony of Mortlach, in Strathspey; Abercorn, on the Forth; Aberdour, on the north coast of Aberdeenshire, &c., &c.—REG. MAG. SIG., SCOT., 7, 8, 9; EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., lviii.; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 438. He became Earl of Avondale, in Lanarkshire, and subsequently seventh Earl of Douglas in 1440. He died March, 1443, and was buried in the parish church of St. Bride at Douglas. For his tomb, see DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 442; II., 623. [2] "Beand bowellit he had mair nor iiij. stane of talch in his wombe."—AUCHINLECK CHRON., quoted in DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 443. He was afterwards known as the Gross, "because he was a corpulent man of body."—GODSCROFT, 157; DOUGLAS, 186. [3] He had been taken prisoner at Humbledon.—SCOTICHRON., II., 435; HIST. MSS., 10TH REPT., VI., 78. [4] For description, see GROSE, I., 72. [5] SCOTICHRON., XV., 18. Fleming was dead before March 18th, 1406.—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 435. He is referred to as dead in an account dated March 15th, 1405, cum continuatione dierum, in EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 615; but there are certainly instances of inaccuracy to be found in the Rolls, *e.g.*, IV., 20, where the King is spoken of as dead in an account closed apparently on March 17th, 1406, though he did not die till April 4th, 1406. [6] HUNTER, 480. [7] Cf. the will of Nicholas Braybrooke, January, 1399, who leaves ten marks, ad faciendum et vitriandum unam fenestram, in the cloisters at St. Paul's.—ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXI., 184. STAFF. REG., 384, 395, shows 40s. to help re-glaze a window. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 123, March 2nd, 1402, refers to making a great window in the private chapel in Hertford Castle. In 1323, the accounts of Exeter Cathedral have 8s. for twelve pieces de vitro colorato.–OLIVER, BISHOPS, 328. In 1357, 5s.4d. is paid for making a glass window in the chapel at Beaurepaire.—BURROWS, BROCAS, 402. In 1411, Robert Gloucester of London, the king's glazier, receives

arms. His son Malcolm received his castle of Cumbernauld by charter dated April 2nd, 1406,[1] but his murderers "all passit hame agane" unmolested and undisturbed.

The boy James waited weeks[2] on the Bass, while a merchantship was preparing at Leith. A small company had assembled on board, including the Earl of Orkney;[3] Sir Archibald Edmondstone;[4] Alexander Seton,[5] Fleming's young nephew, afterwards Lord of Gordon, and his brother William; a bishop whose name is not known;[6] Sir John Towers of Innerleithen;[7] and a squire named William Giffart,[8] who had been Marshal to Queen Annabella, young James' mother. There were few attendants, but a rich supply of silver vessels, jewels, and other gear[9] to suit the Prince's rank, if ever he should arrive at his destination. And yet, with all this precious freight, they carried[10] no means of

12d. a day in officio vitriarii.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 14. TEST. VET., I., 161, July 20th, 1402, has 100s. left to make a glass window over the high altar at Healing, near Grimsby, with the arms of T. Missenden. At Vadstena in Sweden, the brethren made their own glass windows.—FANT, I., 117. At Poissy in 1400, Christine de Pisan notes that "les voirrieres y sont de belle face."—PISAN, II., 171.

Cf. Both wyndowes and wowes ich wolle amenden and glase,
And do peynten and portreyn.—P. PLO., IV., 65; XVII., 42.

See HOLT, 60.

[1] HUNTER, 484. [2] RAMSAY, I., 97, thinks that the transaction was a secret, and that James was kept "in hiding on the Bass Rock." [3] FONBLANQUE (I., 242) puts young Henry Percy on board also, and supposes that he escaped somehow. [4] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$; EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., lxxviii. [5] SCOTICHRON., XV., 18. [6] Quemdam Episcopum.—ANN., 419. SPEED (632), followed by ECHARD, I., 429, and LEDIARD, I., 64, calls him Bishop of Orkney;—a mere confusion with the Earl. The Orkneys then formed part of the see of Trondhjem in Norway.—WALCOTT, 176. GUTHRIE (II., 422) calls him Bishop of St. Andrews. See also ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETIES' REPORT, 13, 202. [7] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 285; MELROS LIB., II., 466, 479; IV., 578. Sir John Stewart is also named as of the party in ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXV., 400. In 1412, Jean Stuart dit Escot is in the service of Charles, Duke of Orleans.—MICHEL, I., 102, quoting CATALOGUE OF BOOKS OF M. DE COURCELLES, Paris, 1835, p. 3. [8] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 561; RYM., IX., 2; ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., 6, December 10th, 1406, quoted in EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., cci. [9] CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 5220.

[10] Na thare wes fandyn nakyn gere,
Wappynis or Armour maid for were.—WYNT., IX., XXV., 85.

defence or weapons of war. They dropped down the Forth, touched at the Bass, took the Prince on board, and then, "with many farewells to fellow and friend,"[1] they hauled their anchor,[2] drew up sail,[3] and put to sea, knowing that an English fleet of ten armed vessels was hovering about the coast, and that within a few days the treaty would expire,[4] and relying innocently on English honour, which no Scot professed ever to be able to trust. For a time the chief concern was on account of the lad's sea-sickness,[5] and they hugged the Yorkshire coast for shelter. Here they were in the very focus of English plunderers. Not only the ports of Scarborough and Flamborough, but every creek on the Norfolk coast, from Cromer to Wells, had its experts who practised freely on the Scottish and Flemish shipping making for the Humber and the Wash. As they lay off Flamborough Head[6] "upon the waves weltering to and fro," they were pounced upon and made prisoners, on Palm Sunday,[7] March 30th, 1406, by a party of rovers[8] under Sir John Prendergest,[9] an outlaw hailing from the little port of Cley,

[1] CHALMERS, 32; ANGLIA, III., 235. [2] HALLE, 28. Cf. "They hale up anker with the cable."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 430. [3] Cf. "With sail up drawe."—*Ibid.*, 256, 263, 414, 428; "Hale up the saile."—*Ibid.*, 282, 412; "Up goth the saile and forth they went."—*Ibid.*, 308. [4] RAMSAY (I., 97) thinks that the last truce had expired April 19th, 1405. [5] BOECE, XVI., 339. BELLENDEN, in HOLINS., 255, translates: "Because he might not awaie with the air of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head and stomach therewith." See also BUCHANAN, X., 105. RAPIN (TINDAL'S translation), 498, has: "went on shore for refreshment." "Sikeness of the see."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 114. [6] SCOTICHRON., XV., 18. [7] *Ibid.*; not April 4th, as WYNT., IX., XXV., 69. [8] BOECE, XVI., 341. [9] CHRON. GILES, 52; SOUTHEY, II., 48. In 1400, he was at Calais in the service of the Earl of Somerset.—MONSTR., I., 13. In CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY OF BRITISH WORTHIES, II., 22, the captain is called John Joliffe, probably from CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 2, September 2nd, 1406; RYM., VIII., 450; ROT. SCOT., II., 180, which contains complaints of Scots against him for captures at sea. But this is explained by CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 19, which shows that John Joly captured a vessel from Perth and Dundee, with cargo valued at 2,299 nobles (£766 6s. 8d.), and took it to Scarborough after Michaelmas, 1405. In HAKLUYT, I., 182, John Jolly of Blakeney is captain over crews from Scarborough, Blakeney, and Cromer. In NORFOLK ARCHÆOLOGY, VII., 279, the captor of King James is called Robert Bacon of Cromer. See also HERALD AND GENEALOGIST, VII., 71.

in Norfolk,[1] a noted haunt for lob,[2] ling, and pirates.[3] They were taken to London, received "with honesty," and entertained in the Tower at the English King's expense.[4]

When Henry heard the purpose of their journey to France, "to lerne that tonge and eke curtesie,"[5] he laughed aloud. "These unkind Scots!"[6] he said, "Surely they might have sent the lad to me to rear and teach. I can French!"[7] And the jest not only marks his literary bent—for, in an age when French was to stay-at-home Englishmen[8] and Scotchmen[9] an unknown language, he could understand it and speak in it like his birth-tongue[10]—but it also shows the suddenness with which a nation can be made ignorant by Act of Parliament. In the first half of the fourteenth century, the children of English gentlemen were taught to speak French "from the time that they beeth i-rokked in here cradel."[11] French was "the

[1] ANN., 419. Not Wye, as MICHEL, I., 107. [2] STAT., I., 356; ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 11th, 1406; Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{11}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 18 d; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 18. Besides Joliffe, we know the names of the following wreckers at Cley, viz.:—Wytton, Clerk, Herriesson, Mergate, Snelling, Quarshe, Noble, Wyndesore, Crisping, Fish, Pers, Moy, Gulwere, Wyndaler, Parker, Levysson, Dowe, and Glydown.—PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 29 d. [4] Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B, which fixes the year distinctly at 1406 (7 H. IV). [5] CAPGR., 293. [6] ANN., 419; WALS., II., 273; SHAIRP, 244. For ingratus, see HIGDEN, VIII., 25; CHESTER PLAYS, II., 114; P. PLO., B. XIV., 169; XVII., 253; C. XX., 219. For "unkindenesse," see CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 5477. "Unkindeship.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 279, 282, 335. "Unkindely."—*Ibid.*, 166.

It is all one to say unkinde,
As thing which done is ayein kinde.—

Ibid., 276, 288, 382, 393, 409, 431.

[7] Cf. I can no frenche in feith.—P. PLO., B. V., 239. I can no more Franche.—TOWNELEY, 153. Of all languages well I can.—CHESTER PLAYS, II., 132. Our language they can as well as we.—*Ibid.*, II., 137. [8] WYCL. (M.), 302. [9] The Scottish Earl of March in his letter to King Henry (I., 128), says:—Mervaile yhe nocht that I write my lettres in Englishe, fore that is mare clere to myne understandyng than Latyne or Fraunche.—ROY. LET., 1, 24; NAT. MSS. OF SCOTLAND, II., 53.; MENTEITH, I., 171. The Earl of Crawford writes in French, but he had travelled abroad.—LINDSAY, I., 105. [10] HIGDEN, II., 161. [11] *Ibid.*, 159; JUSSERAND, 387. In WRIGHT'S VOLUME OF VOCABULARIES, p. 142, is a treatise, written at the close of the thirteenth century, for teaching French

Volapùk of the polite,"[1] the language of wits[2] and poets, made by God himself for his own honour and praise, so sweet and lovely that it might be the tongue of the angels in heaven,[3] and anyone who wanted to be "i-tolde of" "fonded with great business for to speak" it. In 1362,[4] the use of French in the law courts was forbidden by Act of Parliament, and it was ordered that henceforward all "counts should be counted"[5] in English. Twenty-three years afterwards, an English writer[6] laments that "in all the grammar schools of England, children leaveth French and construeth and learneth an English, and conneth na more French than can hir lift heele."[7] At Oxford, there were no lectures in writing, reading, and speaking French, and the Masters in Grammar were required to give their scholars the meanings of words in French as well as in English, "that the French language might not be altogether left out."[8] In 1394, Jean de Montreuil[9] was in England, and wrote letters to King Richard[10] and his uncles, and several of the more learned Englishmen. He usually wrote

to the children of the English nobility, *i.e.*, Walter de Biblesworth, see JOSEPH MAYER, LIBRARY OF NATL. ANTIQUITIES, I., 142, from ARUNDEL MS., 220; WRIGHT AND HALLIWELL, RELIQUIÆ ANTIQUÆ, I., 134. See also All Souls MS., CLXXXII., in PECKHAM REG., I., l.

[1] DARMSTETTER, in CONTEMP. REV., January, 1893, p. 93. [2] "Certes there been some that speaken their poisye mater in French."—CHAUCER, TEST. OF LOVE, Prologue. For protest against the use of French, see CURSOR MUNDI, 231-248. [3] La parleure en est plus délitable et plus commune à toutes les gens.—SCHWAB, 79, from PAULIN PARIS, IV., 352; P. MEYER, 375, 376, 382. [4] STAT., I., 375; ROT. PARL., II., 273; CAPGRAVE, WORCESTER, 433, Edition HEARNE; DUGDALE, ORIG., 96; DENTON, 5; P. MEYER, 379. Yet in Welshpool, in 1406, it is ordered that none shall plead in the manor courts nisi in Gallicis verbis vel in Anglicis (*i.e.*, excluding Welsh).—MONTGOM. COLL., I., 307. For friars begging in French in 1383, see WYCL., SERM., III., 222. [5] Page 182. LIB. ALB., I., 665. [6] TREVISA, in HIGDEN, II., 191. [7] Cf. "No more than hir wit were in hir heele."—HOCCL., 43. [8] MUNIM. ACAD., 302, 438. [9] MONTREUIL, in MART. COLL., II., 1314; A. THOMAS, 8; RYM., VII., 783; ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLV., 371; PISAN, II., iv. [10] Richard II. read and spoke French fluently.—APPLEYARD, III., 51, quoting FROIS., IV., Chap. lxiv.

in Latin, but when he wanted to be secret he put it into French. The French boasted that their language was "the best understood throughout the whole world";[1] but Henry's diplomatic agents, though the best educated Englishmen of their day, were unable to communicate with Frenchmen[2] except through the medium of Latin; and, in 1396,[3] a Suffolk man who had lived at Orleans and regarded French as the noblest spoken language, except school Latin, had to write specimen dialogues to help Englishmen to chop morsels of French if they should find themselves abroad. Yet French and Spanish were often the channels of King Henry's private correspondence,[4] and when the Danish envoys visited England in 1405, they preached[5] before him in Latin.

King Robert III. did not long survive. Within a week from the day on which his son was captured, he breathed his last in the castle at Rothesay,[6] April 4th, 1406.[7] Some years before, he had begged that they would bury his poor crippled body[8] beneath a dung-heap, and write over him as an epitaph:—"the worst of kings and the wretchedest of men"; but they

[1] "La plus connue par l'universel monde."—CHRISTINE DE PISAN, in THOMASSY, lxxxi. [2] Vol. I., 440. In the reign of Henry V. the craftsmen of London protest that "the Latin and French before these times used, they do not in any wise understand."—HERBERT, I., 106; cf. BLOXAM, 210. The Ordinances of the Grocers, written in French for the Pepperers in 1345, were turned in English in 1418 by the advice of the Fellowship. GROCERS' ARCH., 111; HEATH, 61. HALLAM'S (LIT., I., 52) estimate that at this time "the average instruction of an English gentleman of the first class would comprehend *a considerable familiarity with French* and a slight tincture of Latin," seems incorrect. [3] P. MEYER, 375, 376, 382. [4] RYM., VIII., 390, 683; M. A. E. WOOD, I., 85. [5] ANN., 412. [6] SCOTICHRON., II., 439, 440. WYNT., III., 2719, says Dundonald in Ayrshire, but he seems to be confusing him with Robert II. (*ibid.*, 1095, and III., 338.) [7] PINKERTON, I., 81; RUDDIMAN, NOTES TO BUCHANAN, I., 436; NICOLAS, CHRON. OF HIST., 338; ROT. PARL., III., 569. BOWER, in SCOTICHRON., II., 440, has "iv. Kal. Aprilis," meaning April 4th (there is no need to substitute "die" for "Kal." as RAMSAY, I., 97). PLUSCARD., I., 347. The earliest official mention that I find of his death is in ROT. PARL., III., 605, June 19th, 1406, "qui darrein morust." HARDYNG, 365, places his death in 1408-9. [8] Claudus impotens et decrepitus.—SCOTICHRON, II., 431, 440; LESLEY, 252.

laid him with his fathers before the high altar in the great Cluniac Abbey at Paisley,[1] and the captive James became *de jure* King of Scotland.

In one of the contemporary English accounts the capture is considered to have been accidental,[2] and this is likely enough, seeing that no preparations were made to avert the most obvious of dangers. But when the mischief was done, one would have looked for strenuous efforts to secure some remedy. Four months before (December 14th, 1405), an armed galley, the "Barge de Calace," manned by English scummers, cruising off the coast of Scotland, fell upon a Flemish vessel bound for St. Andrews, with a cargo valued at £1,000. The Englishmen ran in with their prize to the harbour in Holy Island and there distributed the spoil. But the merchants of St. Andrews had friends at court. They appealed to their lord, the Earl of Crawford, who, on January 2nd, 1406,[3] despatched from Dundee a written remonstrance demanding restitution. On the 10th of January,[4] letters in a similar strain were sent by King Robert, the Duke of Albany, Bishop Wardlaw, and Sir David Fleming, and all the great ones of the land protested against this violation of the truce. But now, with the King of Scotland in captivity, the very scantiest efforts were made at a half-hearted protest for his restitution, and nothing was done to bring the titled murderers of Fleming to justice; for pretenders are safest when mewed[5] in a foreign cage, and dead men tell no tales.

[1] DUCKETT, I., 197. [2] Fortuito.—ANN., 419; WALS., II., 273. [3] Enconter la vertu des treulx ja pieça prins.—VESP. F., VII., 118 (103); LINDSAY, I., 105. [4] VESP. F., VII., 22 (26), 89 (82), 116 (102), 117 (102). A translation of the letter of the Duke of Albany is printed in MENTEITH, (I., 187) from NATL. MSS. OF SCOT., II., 55. The letters are undated as far as the year is concerned, but they do not appear to suit 1405, in which year the Earl of Crawford would be just about starting for England (p. 62). Yet his letter is dated at Dundee, January 2nd, and has no reference to a personal interview. He was back in Perth by March 15th, 1405 (EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 613). [5] GOWER, CONF. AM., 158.

The expiring truce was renewed for another year by an arrangement made at Kelso,[1] and commissioners were afterwards sent into England to request the liberation of the captives. But nothing resulted, except extra claims on the Scottish Exchequer for the expenses of the envoys, while friendly intercourse between Falkland and London never ceased. The Bishop of St. Andrews wanted timber from the Baltic for roofing the nave of his cathedral, which had remained unfinished since the fire[2] of 1378; the King of England granted for his goods a full exemption from attack by sea.[3] Two of the Duke of Albany's servants wished to make a pilgrimage[4] to the shrine of St. James, at Compostella, in Galicia; the English King granted them, as far as lay in his power, his protection for their voyage. The Provost[5] and chaplains of the Earl of Douglas' new college at Lincluden, found themselves worried and harassed by the border warfare raging round them; King Henry extended to them his gracious protection, at the request of his "beloved cousin," the Earl. Within a few weeks of the capture of the Prince, a "condite" was issued for the Governor's nephew, the Earl of Mar,[6] who was treated with "numerous courtesies and favours";[7] and the Earl of Crawford[8] and William Sinclair,[9] brother to the Earl of Orkney, had also permits to pass some time in England. In fact, Scottish lords, squires, and chaplains, chiefly in the interest of the Duke of

[1] MENTEITH, I., 204, 205. [2] WYNT., III., 563; WALCOTT, 78, quoting KEITH, 28. [3] ROT. SCOT., II., 178, May 11th, 1406; ROT. VIAG., 11, August 17th, 1407. For similar permit for the Duke of Albany, January 18th, 1406, see ROT. SCOT., II., 176. For "merrien," see DESCHAMPS, I., 312; III., 163. "Merem'."—NORF. ARCHÆOL., I., 351. [4] RYM., VIII., 446; ROT. SCOT., II., 178. [5] ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 5, April 2nd, 1408, shows Alexander Carnys as Provost. Cf. DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 405, 408; RYM., VIII., 635. For his tombstone at Lincluden, see DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 381. [6] RYM., VIII., 437, 450; ROT. SCOT., II., 177, 179, April 6th and September 5th, 1406. [7] VESP. F., VII., 81, translated in MENTEITH, I., 207. [8] ROT. SCOT., II., 178, 181, May 3rd and December 11th, 1406. [9] *Ibid.*, 178, May 8th, 1406.

Albany, were pouring into London as fast as passports[1] could be made out for them.

In June, 1406,[2] a General Council was held at Perth, which declared James to be King of Scotland. For the last twenty-four years, the Duke of Albany had been Chamberlain[3] of Scotland and Lieutenant[4] for the King; henceforward he appears as Warden[5] and Governor of the kingdom of Scotland "by the grace of God," and, till his death, he dealt with the Scots in official documents as his subjects,[6] the captive James, in whose name he professed to act, being often merely "son of the late King."[7] In June, 1409,[8] when King James was nearly of age, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas entered into a bond for mutual support against "all deadly persons,"[9] in which they contemplate the possibility that the Duke might "grow in time to come to the estate of King."[10] But, fortunately for the captive, he was out of their danger; and when, in 1411, a peace was concluded between England and Scotland to last till Easter, 1418, it was expressly stated that no prisoner should be released[11] who had been captured previously

[1] RYM., VIII., 445, 461; ROT. SCOT., II., 178, 179, 181; EXCHEQUER ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxxviii. [2] WYNT., III., 98. Not 1402, as ABERDEEN RECORDS, I., 382. [3] With a fee of £200 per annum.—MENTEITH, I., 146; EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., III., 657, and *passim*. [4] Page 65; MENTEITH, I., 186, 187. [5] So called in a letter dated Perth, June 28th, 1406, in KUNZE, 303. Cf. MENTEITH, I., 192; FRASER, II., 20 (Perth, October 24th, 1407, gubernacionis nostre anno secundo); also REPT. ON FŒD., D. 128; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 159; VIII., 216 (Perth, January, 1407 or 1408). [6] EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., IV., xlvii. For his seal, see MENTEITH, I., 238. [7] PINKERTON, I., 96; RYM., VIII., 484; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 4; ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., October 24th, 1408; EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 102; MENTEITH, I., 196. Though called "regis Scotiæ," in EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., IV., cci. "Le Roy Descoce."—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 304. [8] EXCHEQ. ROLLS SCOT., IV., ccix.; MENTEITH, I. 210; II., 277; DOUGL. BOOK, I., 380; II., 369. [9] "All dedelik persounes." Cf. "all deadlye."—DOUGL. BOOK, I., lxiii.; or "all dedelike."—ROBERTSON, IV., 176. "Deadli mennis wil."—PURVEY, REMONSTR., 12, 22, 38. "A deadly man walking in earth."—APOLOGY, 53. "Erthely dedly wrecche."—WYCL. (M.), 232. [10] MENTEITH (I., 145) thinks that "the phrase was one of mere precaution." [11] Minime frethietur.—RYM., VIII., 738.

to Michaelmas, 1410. No man has received higher praise[1] from his contemporaries than the Duke of Albany for godliness, honesty, soberness, wisdom, tenderness, pity, and chastity; yet, somehow, his name has come down to us as that of an unnatural and cruel monster. This estimate is, I believe, a gross exaggeration, due largely to the inventions of Boyis, popularized and circulated in English dress through the labours of Halle, Grafton, and Holinshead; yet there is obviously some foundation for it, and the detailed story of his policy displays him as a calculating schemer,[2] unable to resist the promptings of ambition, when they pointed to the advancement of himself or his family.

The captive King and his companions were lodged for a time in the Tower of London. The Bishop had escaped,[3] and the Earl of Orkney[4] was allowed to travel about in the retinue of the English Court. There was already a safe-conduct signed for him on March 15th, 1406,[5] allowing him to remain unmolested in England until Midsummer, 1406; and, though this may have been practically cancelled by the fact of his capture, yet he accompanied the English King to Lynn when the Princess Philippa sailed for Denmark; he was with him as an honoured guest at the visit to Bardney Abbey,[6] August 21st, 1406; and by October 7th, 1406,[7] he was back in London. On August 19th, 1407,[8] his brothers, William and John, had permission to come to England for an interview with the King; and, on

[1] See the eulogy in WYNT., III., 98-101, obviously written at his death. See also SCOTICHRON., II., 466. He was created Duke of Albany, April 28th, 1398.—EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxvii. For a thorough-going defence of him, see MENTEITH, I., 131-238; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 366.
[2] In WYNT., III., vii., 669, he is praised for "governyng and gret besynes."
[3] ANN., 419. [4] WYNT., III., xxv., 2700. [5] ROT. SCOT., II., 177. [6] LEL. COL., VI., 300. [7] ROT. SCOT., II., 180. [8] RYM., VIII., 410.

September 13th, 1407,[1] he was allowed to return to Scotland on condition that he presented himself at Durham before the ensuing Christmas, his brother John remaining in the meantime as a hostage in his place. By 1409,[2] he appears to have been finally released. Alexander Seton also returned to his own country, but Giffart and Towers remained in captivity with the Prince, as did also a chaplain whose name appears as "Sire Donkirton."[3] By the close of the year 1406,[4] a strong commission, consisting of Gilbert Greenlaw,[5] Bishop of Aberdeen and Chancellor of Scotland; Robert Cardney, Bishop of Dunkeld; the Earls of Crawford[6] and Mar; and Sir William Graham, came to England to announce the death of King Robert, to discuss as to the liberation of his son, and to treat for peace generally; though, at this very time, four Scottish envoys were in Paris,[7] renewing the league with France.

A welcome batch of original letters having reference to these transactions breaks in upon the general barrenness of our knowledge for this year. From these we gather that Albany's main anxiety lay in the approaching expiration of the truce. It would terminate at Easter, 1407, and his letters are most pressing for its renewal, but of the liberation of the King of Scotland there is not a word. When the envoys were ushered

[1] RYM., VIII., 415. ROT. SCOT., II., 183, shows that he was in London on April 8th, 1407. EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 102, has a payment to him of £20, laboranti pro negociis serenissimi principis filii regis nostri. The payment was made between March 27th, 1408, and May 20th, 1409. See also MENTEITH, I., 194, from CHAMBERLAIN ROLLS, III., 27. [2] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 75, 102, &c. In 1412, he accompanied the Earl of Douglas to France and Flanders.—SCOTICHRON., II., 447. [3] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., cci. [4] RYM., VIII., 461; ROT. SCOT., II., 181, December 11th, 1406. [5] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 440; FRASER, II., 21. [6] MENTEITH, I., 193, from CHAMBERLAIN ROLLS, III., 8, has account rendered by executors of the Earl of Crawford, dated March 16th, 1407, of expenses of embassy (£120). EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 39. [7] *Ibid.*, IV., xlix., February 9th, 1407; MENTEITH, I., 200.

into his presence, King Henry protested[1] openly against the Duke of Albany's assumption of the title of Governor of the kingdom of Scotland. It was agreed, however, that the truce should be prolonged for a year, and three specialists[2] were appointed to see to the wording of the commissions. They consulted the new Chancellor, Archbishop Arundel, and their collective wisdom could get no further than having two sets of instructions drawn, in one of which the negociators would be accredited to treat with the Duke as Governor, and in the other they would ignore his new title, and treat with the "Commissioners of Scotland." This punctiliousness, however, did not prevent King Henry from sending a friendly letter to the Duke, assuring him that he would lay the matter before his council, with every expectation of success. The Duke received the letter, called a council, and replied from Perth on March 2nd, 1407.[3] He is full of thanks and "grateful affection," and urges not only a prolongation of the truce for a year, but a meeting of plenipotentiaries at Haudenstank on Lammas Day (August 1st), to arrange perpetual peace. King Henry received the letter, apparently at Hertford, on March 18th, 1407. On March 22nd,[4] he wrote to the Duke of Albany announcing the names of his Commissioners, who were formally authorized on March 27th, 1407.[5] They were to treat with Robert, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland "as he asserts,"[6] and so the claims of etiquette were saved. Before despatching the letter,

[1] VESP. F., VII., 80, translated in MENTEITH, I., 201. The letter is in French and undated, except for a later addition, viz., March 2nd, 1407, which is certainly a month too late. [2] Viz., the Bishops of Durham and London and the writer of the letter above, who signs himself "Johan," *i.e.*, probably John Wakering, Master of the Rolls. It cannot be the King's son, John, as supposed in the COTTON CATALOGUE, p. 497. [3] VESP. F., VII., 131, with translation in MENTEITH, I., 203. [4] *Ibid.*, VII., 93, with translation in MENTEITH, I., 205. [5] RYM., VIII., 479; ROT. SCOT., II., 183. [6] "Gubernator prætensus."—RYM., VIII., 414; "ut asserit."—*Ibid.*, 609; ROT. SCOT., II., 192.

the correspondence was submitted to the Chancellor, who was down at Canterbury. He strongly urged that if any definite terms were to be made, the Duke must be required to give up "that fool"[1] who was still passing for the dead King Richard. On July 8th, 1407,[2] Prince John was appointed to be at Haudenstank at Lammas, and conclude a peace, if possible, between the two countries. On August 17th, 1407,[3] three English Commissioners were selected to treat with the Scots; in the fall of the same year, the Earl of Mar[4] came to Durham to confer with Prince John; in April, 1409,[5] envoys were appointed to hold a march-day at Haudenstank; and so the truce[6] was continued from year to year.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Douglas had not been asleep. Immediately on the death of King Robert, a messenger from Scotland visited him in England (May 5th, 1406). On November 1st, 1406,[7] passports were issued for several leading Scotsmen to come to London and remain as hostages for him, if required; and, in January, 1407,[8] £233 6s. 8d. had been paid on account of his ransom, though fears[9] were expressed in England lest he should be released on too easy terms. He left London for Scotland on parole on March 15th, 1407,[10] and was to be absent for thirteen weeks,[11] leaving his two sons,

[1] See his letter dated March 23rd, from VESP. F., VII., 98, in ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXIII., 297; Vol. I., p. 269. Cf. ROT. PARL., III., 584; COLLIER, I., 632. In LIB. PLUSCARD, I., 348, he is called rex Ricardus. [2] RYM., VIII., 404. [3] ROT. VIAG., 11. [4] RYM., VIII., 501; ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 7, October 4th, 1407. [5] RYM., VIII., 584; ROT. SCOT., II., 190; ORD. PRIV. CO., I,, 319. [6] DEVON (312), July 16th, 1409, refers to the truce "lately entered into." [7] RYM., VIII., 457, 464, 483; ROT. SCOT., II., 180, 181, 182, 184. Several of them are witnesses to a grant made by the Earl of Douglas while in England, in the early part of 1407.—FRASER, II., 21. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 5 (a), App. A. [9] ROT. PARL., III., 580. [10] RYM., VIII., 478; ROT. SCOT., II., 182. He was in England on February 2nd, 1407,—DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 374; III., 403, where the argument for his presence at Erskine on August 10th, 1405, is misleading. His name does not appear on the original charter at Cavers. [11] DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 46.

Archibald[1] and James, and nine other Scotsmen as hostages in Henry's hands, till the rest of his ransom should be paid. He carried with him a schedule, in which it was arranged that a peace should be made between England and Scotland that should last for sixteen years. On May 24th, 1407,[2] fresh permits were made out, extending his leave till November 1st, 1407; and on April 22nd, 1408,[3] a safe-conduct was issued for him to come into England and return again to Scotland. On June 19th, 1408,[4] an indenture was signed by King Henry, according to which the Earl was to present himself at Durham Castle before the following Easter. Before that date arrived he came again to London,[5] and, soon afterwards, he was "pleynly delivered." He broke his word[6] as to appearing at Durham, and on August 20th, 1409,[7] he was at Edinburgh, congratulating himself on his "escape from his enemies of England"; but, after a little fussing and remonstrance, his offence was condoned, and, in the course of a few years, his ransom was paid[8] and his hostages were released.[9] He had entered into a bond,[10] that he and his followers would be loyal subjects to King Henry and his sons, saving only his allegiance to the captive James; but this proviso was practically annulled by a clause, in which he swore on the gospels "nought to be ageyns" the English King, either at the bidding of King James or any one else. But, in spite of his promises, he crossed to

[1] For his tomb in St. Bride's Church at Douglas see BLORE, XXII.; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 420; II., 622. [2] ROT. SCOT., II., 183, 184; RYM., VIII., 483; EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., lvi. [3] ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 6. For hostages, April 20th, 1408, see *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 5; RYM., VIII., 519. One of them was John Montgomery, Lord of Ardrossan (EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 43), or Ardersen (ROT. SCOT., II., 182), who had formerly had charge of the pseudo-Richard II. (Vol. I., p. 267). John Lokcart had permission to visit him on April 27th, 1408. [4] RYM., VIII., 536; ROT. SCOT., II., 186. [5] *Ibid.*, II., 190, 191. [6] VESP. F., VII., 101, dated Jan. 25th, 1410, translated in MENTEITH, I., 212. [7] DOUGLAS BOOK, III., 405. [8] ROT. SCOT., II., 194; RYM., VIII., 631. [9] ROT. SCOT., II., 205. [10] RYM., VIII., 478.

Paris with the Earl of Orkney in March, 1413,[1] and offered his sword to the French to help drive the English out of Guienne.

In the winter of 1409,[2] there were rumours of proposals for a marriage between Prince John and a daughter of the Duke of Albany, but the project never went beyond the region of *pourparlers*, though negociations still continued for the release of Murdach. For some time past, it had been understood that if Albany had any proposals to make, King Henry would consider them "kindly and graciously."[3] On August 20th, 1407,[4] Murdach had been transferred to Nottingham, where he was visited by a squire[5] and a chaplain from his father in Scotland in the spring of the following year. On July 31st, 1408,[6] passports were issued for his half-brother, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, and three others to come to England, and remain, if required, as hostages in his stead; but these arrangements fell through. Proposals were renewed in 1412 and 1413,[7] one of the hostages being his second son, Sir Walter Stewart,[8] of Lennox, but without effect, and Murdach was not finally

[1] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 364; not 1412, as SCOTICHRON., II., 447. They dined with the Duke of Burgundy in Paris on March 27th, April 24th, and May 11th, 1413.—ITINÉRAIRES, 398, 399. Between May 1st and October 16th, 1412, the Duke of Burgundy gave a gold hanap, valued at 225 francs (about £37 10s.), au fils du conte de Juglas *(sic)* du pays d' Ecosse.—LABORDE, I., 49. [2] VESP. F., VII., 101. [3] *Ibid.*, 114, in MENTEITH, I., 185. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 304. [5] Viz., John Porter and John Busby, Canon of Moray. For permission dated April 8th, 1408, see ROT. VIAG., 6. For other negociations in which they take part, see EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 51, 133, 142, 163; ROT. SCOT., II., 176, 191, 193, 195, 196, 197; RYM., VIII., 708; IX., 48, 125; PRIV. SEAL, 650/6738 (December 12th, 1410), 651/6849 (May 1st, 1411), where Busby has permission to buy and take away three worsted beds with curtains, twelve ells of scarlet, three saddles and harness, forty ells of linen cloth, seven gross of pointz de Roo, besides basins, ewers, candlesticks, &c. See also *ibid.*, 651/6857, May 5th, 1411, printed in ROT. SCOT., II., 196 (April 29th, 1411). [6] RYM., VIII., 544; ROT. SCOT., II., 187. [7] RYM., VIII., 735, 775; ROT. SCOT., II., 200, 202. [8] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., clxxviii.

released until 1415,[1] when he was exchanged for Henry Percy plus £10,000 of ransom, which seems a hard bargain, seeing that for the last portion of his captivity, the bed, blankets, and mattress on which he lay, were all torn,[2] worn, and rotten, and the sheets[3] had not been changed for more than two years.

The Scottish Earl of March had not so long to wait. He must, indeed, have long been ill at ease in England. Difficulties appear to have arisen from the first in connection with his grants in Sherwood Forest; for, though the manor of Clipston was granted to him in June, 1401,[4] when his treason was recent, he does not seem to have been actually in possession by June, 1405.[5] In August, 1404,[6] he and his wife were at Somerton, and represented themselves to be in great distress. He had tried to borrow money on his lands and jewels, but could not raise a penny, so the War Treasurers made him a grant of 200 marks, and his receipt,[7] with a broken seal attached, still exists to show that he got at least £10 of it. At the close of the same year, he had a grant[8] of £400; in 1405, he received more land at Hessle,[9] on the Humber, and other places during the general confiscation; and further sums of money, amounting to £717,[10] in the years 1406 and 1407. But his new position did not sit easy. On his Lincolnshire property[11] he was on bad terms with his tenants; the castle and manor of Somerton[12]

[1] MENTEITH, I., 256; SCOTICHRON., II., 448; PLUSCARD., 350. On November 13th, 1409, he was at Windsor Castle.—DEVON, 314. On October 10th, 1413, he was in the Tower.—*Ibid.*, 324. In January, 1410, the ransom asked was 50,000 marks.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 325; MENTEITH, I., 212. [2] "Tut rot purriz et rumpuiz."—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 338. [3] DENTON, 50; HOLT, 150. [4] Vol. I., page 140. [5] RYM., VIII., 400. [6] ROY. LET., I., 432. [7] Q.R. ARMY, $\frac{56}{20}$ m. 42, 43, dated August 5th, 1404. [8] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1404. [9] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 14, July 4th, 1405. [10] Viz., £408 13s. 4d.—ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., March 26th, 1406; £258 6s. 8d.—*Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., MICH., December, 1406; and £50.—*Ibid.*, PASCH., June 1st, 1407. [11] RYM., VIII., 323, 481; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 17. [12] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 9, July 18th, 1409. For the captivity of the French King John at Somerton in 1359, see ARCHÆOLOG. JOURN., XXXIX., 180.

were going to ruin, and he longed to escape from the plague-stricken spot. The coast-fortress of Cockburnspath,[1] near Dunbar, was still held by his son George, and communication was kept up with it by sea. But feeling in the north of England was inflamed against the Earl of March for his share in Hotspur's fall, and even the King's express orders could not avail to secure the passage of supplies[2] from Berwick either by sea or land. At length, by the beginning of 1408,[3] the Earl was content to make his peace with Albany and Douglas, and returned to his own country. He excused his treason by saying that he did it in order to ruin the Earl of Northumberland,[4] whom he regarded as Scotland's greatest enemy. His Scottish estates were in part restored to him in 1409,[5] and he spent the rest of his life in inglorious retirement, cured of all wish to intrigue again with England. We hear no more of him, except that he was present at an audit at Perth on March 22nd, 1410,[6] and, in the following year,[7] he was one of the Scottish envoys who negociated a truce with England at Haudenstank. He died of "the Quhew"[8] in 1420. On April 2nd, 1410,[9] his

[1] GROSE, I., 93. [2] RYM., VIII., 410; ROT. SCOT., II., 184. The letter in ROY. LET., I., 299 (quoted in Vol. I., page 450), was probably written about 1407. See also WOOD, I., 76; PINKERTON, I., 450; DOUGL. BOOK, IV., 65; NATL. MSS. SCOT., II., LII. [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 25. PRIV. SEAL, 7034, November 14th, 1411, shows that the castle and manor of Somerton were granted on July 3rd, 1408, to Sir Ralph Rocheford, late Sheriff of Lincoln (p. 228). For his account for repairs of Somerton, dated December 3rd, 1409, see FOR. ACCTS., 11 H. IV. He was allowed £40 per annum for repair of "our castle" of Somerton.—PAT., 11 H. IV., I., 23; PRIV. SEAL, 646/6371 (December 6th, 1409); PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 6; FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV.; PRIV. SEAL, 655/7295 (July 28th, 1412). On September 30th, 1410 (or 1411), he appoints John Golde to be Janitor and Warrener at Somerton.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 21; and on October 7th, 1411, he has arms for defence of Somerton.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 61[1]. [4] EUL., III., 414. [5] DOUGLAS PEERAGE, 441; SCOTICHRON., II., 444. REG. MAG. SIG., 241; PLUSCARD., I., 349; BOECE, 341; BELLENDEN, 256; BUIK, III., 495; BUCHANAN, 106. [6] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 132. [7] RYM., VIII., 686, 703; ROT. SCOT., II., 196, 197. [8] SCOTICHRON., II., 460. Not 1416, as DOUGLAS, PEERAGE, 442. [9] PRIV. SEAL, 648/6521.

daughter, Elizabeth Dunbar, petitioned King Henry to protect the town of Mordington,[1] near Berwick. His son Colm,[2] or Columba, had been Dean of the Royal Free Collegiate Church of St. Mary Magdalene, in the castle at Bridgnorth,[3] in 1403; but before the beginning of the year 1410, he had "taken himself off to Scotland as a traitor," leaving dilapidations[4] to granges, stables, roofs, and gutters, which it would take 900 marks to make good. In 1411,[5] he was Dean of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar. He afterwards became Bishop of Moray, and was buried in Elgin Cathedral.

But, during all these changes, the rightful King of Scotland remained "in straight ward and strong prison,"[6] though he was not allowed to stay long in one place. For a time he was kept in the Tower of London, together with Griffith,[7] the son of Owen Glendower, in custody of the Deputy-Constable, Richard Spice. On June 10th, 1407,[8] he was transferred to Queen Joan's castle at Nottingham under the charge of Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor,[9] and was present with King Henry at a trial-by-battle held there on August 12th, 1407.[10] He remained at

[1] Called Morthyngton infra Mariscum in Scotia, in ROT. SCOT., II., 193. The district is called "Merkis."—WALCOTT, 92; or "the Marshe."—DOUGL. BOOK, IV., 202. Cf. JAMIESON, s.v. [2] Or Colmm.—ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., MICH., October 3rd, 1401; DEVON, 288; WYNTOWN, III., 324. [3] WILLIS, ABBEYS, II., 109; MONAST., VI., 1463; EYTON, I., 321. [4] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 3 d, July 18th, 1410, notes dilapidations in the chancel. *Ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 29 (October 19th, 1412), shows 60 marks for repairing lead roof of chapel at Quatford, and 40 marks for two lead gutters, with similar sums for repair of chapels at Claverley and Bobbington. [5] STODART, II., 10; ROT. SCOT., II., 284; WALCOTT, 146; FERRERIUS, 29; KEITH, 84. [6] CHALMERS, 33; ANGLIA, III., 236. [7] Page 172. EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., cxcviii.—cc.; ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., August 14th, 1406. [8] RYM., VIII., 484; DEVON, 305; EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., ccii. ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., November 16th, 1407, has payment to Lord Grey of Codnor for him since June 12th, 1407; also *ibid.*, PASCH., July 7th and 11th, 1408, at 6s. 8d. per day for the King of Scotland, and 3s. 4d. per day for Griffith. [9] He was appointed Keeper of Nottingham Castle and of Sherwood Forest by the Queen on November 2nd, 1406, in place of John Golafre, deceased.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 3. In CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 7, John Golafre is late Escheator of Berks. [10] RYM., VIII., 539; DEVON, 309; NOTT. REC., II., 45.

Nottingham for three or four years.[1] On November 30th, 1412,[2] he was at Archbishop Arundel's palace at Croydon, and there are some awkward letters written by him at Stratford,[3] complaining of the neglect and delays of his "most lufit eme." On the accession of Henry V., he was re-transferred to the Tower of London,[4] but within six months he was removed to Windsor Castle.[5] In the following year he was sent to Pevensey,[6] to the care of Sir John Pelham, but soon afterwards he was again transferred to Windsor,[7] and would have been set at liberty by the Lollards, had Oldcastle's rising succeeded. In 1409 and 1412,[8] negociations had been opened for his return to Scotland, but they were nothing but a meaningless form. By this time he was becoming quite at home in England. The damaging facts about his capture were forgotten, and a tradition had grown up that he had come to England of his own accord to ask for a passport[9] to Jerusalem, and had been detained with excessive friendliness till he passed into France with the invading army of Henry V.

The King of England, indeed, had been as good as his word. He reared him, taught him, and supplied[10] him liberally

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 304; DEVON, 311. CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 18, has order dated March 21st, 1411, for removal of Griffith ap Owen Glendourdy and Owen ap Griffith ap Richard from Nottingham to the Tower. Lord Grey of Codnor was appointed Governor of Windsor, November 1st, 1406. —PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 30; RYM., IX., 44. He receives payment on account of the king of Scotland, in ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., November 16th, 1407; REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., May 23rd, June 14th, July 16th, 1409. On July 11th, 1408, he receives money on behalf of the burgesses of Nottingham.—ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. In March, 1421, King James was at Leicester.—DEVON, 366. [2] DOUGL., PEERAGE, 562; CHALMERS, VI., from DIPLOMATA SCOTIÆ, 66, 67. [3] MENTEITH, I., 284, dated from "Stratford Aw," which is supposed to be Stratford-on-Avon. It may, however, be Stratford Abbey, near London, where Henry IV. sometimes stayed during the last years of his life.—RYM., VIII., 694 (June 12th, 1411), 713 (January 13th, 1412); or possibly Water Stratford, near Buckingham. —WILLIS, 341. [4] RYM., IX., 2. [5] *Ibid.*, 44. [6] Penvai.—SCOTICHRON., XV., 18; CAL. ROT. PAT., 264; COLLINS, V., 497; SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., VI., 273. [7] EXCERPT. HIST., 144. [8] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 102, 142, 163. [9] WAURIN, 332. [10] DEVON, 343, 363, 366, 378, &c.

with money for his dress and pleasures; but, instead of French ways, he had English books and English sports, and he stands out against the dark background of his age as a cultured and accomplished gentleman. It is likely that he had made good way with his studies under Bishop Wardlaw, before he left Scotland. He says himself that he "spent[1] much ink and paper to little effect," and a document,[2] written in his own hand, shows that he was at least a good penman before he was eighteen years of age. He passed these weary years a "silly prisoner,"[3] "locked within cold walls," bewailing his sad fate "the longe dayes and nightis eke," rising from his unresty[4] bed "early as day, despaired of all joy and remedy, for-tired of his thought and woe-begone," caged at his tower-window, where[5] "it did him good to look out and see the world and folk that went foreby." Here, as he "laid[6] his head awry to the cold stone and leaned amazed verily," his eyes a-smart with study, and his "deadly life full of pain and penance," he slowly learned, "by process and labour," the perfect excellence of Knowledge. He pored over his Boece,[7] or Book of Comfort, "the profitable book[8] that is so known," just opened up to English readers in

[1] CHALMERS, 28. [2] *Ibid.*, 23 (facsimile); FRASER, SCOTTS OF BUCCLEUGH, II., 22; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., xxxii.; SHAIRP, 245. It seems unreasonable to complain of the spelling as "extremely imperfect." Compare the very sorry and ragged scrawls of Prince Hal and Richard of York, in NICHOLS, 3 A, and Alderman William Staundon, Mayor of London in 1408, in the entry in GROCERS ARCH., 93, written by him May 8th, 1405. [3] CHALMERS, 54; ANGLIA, III., 237. [4] HOCCL., DE REG., 5. [5] ELLIS, I., 299. [6] CHALMERS, 35, 56, 72, and *passim*. [7] *Ibid.*, 24; CHAUCER, LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN, VIII., 58. "Bois in his booke of Consolacioune."—LYDGATE, 122. "Boece en fait mention en son livre de Consolacion."—PISAN, I., 97.

Si com' Bouesce trait a preuve,
En son bel et notable livre,
Qui consolacion nous livre.—*Ibid.*, II., 297.

Cf. DESCHAMPS, V., 209; VII., 297. [8] Le proufitable livre qui tant est notable.—PISAN in THOMASSY, 114; SCHWAB, 81. For translation into German at Reichenbach in 1402, see RATISBON, 2126; ONSORG, 368. Besides the earlier French prose translation by Jean de Meun, temp. Phil.

their "usual and mother-tongue,"[1] in Chaucer's prose and Walton's verse.[2] With good Hope for his guide, his "busy ghost"[3] passed through the Porter's Gate of Patience to the beauty and order of Minerva's Court, took up her "lore and discipline," and learned with resignation to thank the very castle walls, in the devout belief that all his destiny was fore-ordained[4] "high in the heaven's figure circular." He became the friend and companion of the King's youngest son Humphrey,[5] afterwards Duke of Gloucester. He grew up to reverence Chaucer and Gower, "his maysteris dere."[6] He read his Lydgate;[7] he played the organ[8] and the pipe; he rode, ran,

IV., see one into French by Jean de Langres in 1364 or 1380.—EC. DES CH., 1873, page 32. For translation into French by Charles, Duke of Orleans, in 1422, see LETTENHOVE, FROISSART, II., 343.

[1] CAXTON, I., 151; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXIV., 319; CHESTER PLAYS, I., 219, COLCHESTER REC. REPERTORY, 35. [2] *i.e.*, John Walton, Canon of Osney. —CAMDEN (edition HEARNE), I., cxxxiii. It was finished in 1410. For MS. copies, see HARL. MSS., 43, 44; TRIN. COLL. OXON., 75; BALLIOL, B. 5 (=316 A.); LINCOLN CATHEDRAL, I., 53; REG. MS., 18 A., 13; SLOANE MS., 554; WARTON, II., 34. For specimens, see CAXTON, II., 68; ATHENÆUM, 30/4/92, p. 565. For a copy at Copenhagen, see DEP. KEEP, 46TH REPT., App. II., 64. It was printed at Tavistock in 1525 (not 1529, as GOUGH'S CAMDEN, I., 33; MONAST., II., 492); HEARNE, ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER, II., 78 A.; WOOD, ATHENÆ OXON., I., 48; LOWNDES, I., 229, where he seems to be confused with John de Waltham, Sub-dean of York, 1384; Archdeacon of Richmond, 1385-8; Master of the Rolls, 1388; and Bishop of Salisbury, 1388—1395. See LE NEVE and FOSS, s.v. The edition promised by the E. E. Text Society, seems to be still *in nubibus*. See CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION, 1878, p. I. [3] SKEAT, 47. [4] For protest against Astrology, compare:—

> That if men were good and wise,
> And plesant unto the Godhede,
> They shoulden nought the sterres drede.—
> GOWER, CONF. AM., 348.

[5] WAURIN, 332. [6] CHALMERS, 103; ANGLIA, III., 259. For influence of Chaucer in France, see DESCHAMPS, II., 138, who calls him "Grand translateur! noble Geffroy Chaucier!" In HOCCL., DE REG., 179, he is "the first fynder of our faire langage." For Hoccleve's Lament, see *ibid.*, 71; SKEAT, 14. See also WRIGHT, ANECDOTA LITERARIA, p. 13. [7] LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, XV., cxxix, cxlv. [8] For mediæval organs, see ENGEL, 102. For representation of an organ on a Flemish brass at Mawgan, Cornwall (circ. 1375), see HAINES, I., xvii. For portable organ hung round a lady's neck and worked with a small bellows (fourteenth century),

wrestled, shot with the bow, put the stone and tossed the hammer; and in singing and harping he passed for a "second Orpheus."[1] All these items in his training were duly charged in his ransom money (£40,000).[2] He studied English law and English government, and when at last he returned with an English wife to his own people, they, being "rude,[3] rustical, and without any urbanity," murdered him for trying to "turn[4] new-fangle" their court and country by novelties[5] learned during his stay in England. His sensitive, religious soul poured out in his "Quair"[6]—"a song[7] more sweet than ever a poet's heart gave yet to the English tongue"—his tender admiration for that "fairest,[8] freshest flower," Joan Beaufort, the Earl of Somerset's debonair[9] young daughter, as she walked in the fair[10] and merry weather, one "fresh May morrow,"[11] in the garden below his

see SHAW, DRESSES. For early organs at Abingdon, Ramsay, Canterbury, Winchester, Malmesbury, Queen's College (Oxford), see HILL, 3; ROCK, IV., 44; A. CLARK, 144. For two pairs of organs at the Temple Church, London (1307), see W. S. SIMPSON, GLEANINGS, 161. For cost of erecting a new organ at Ely in 1329, see HIST. MSS., 12TH REPT., IX., 392. For organs at Salamanca (built circ. 1380) and Saragossa (1413), see HILL, 25, 27. For Pope Gerbert's organ at Rheims, where "by strength of hot water the wind breaketh out and filleth the hollowness of the organs, and then by shapely draughters the brazen pipes sendeth out sweet cry and noise of melody," see HIGDEN, VII., 73.

[1] SCOTICHRON., II., 504; MAJOR, 308; D. BUCHANAN, 86. For controversy as to his music, see extract from TASSONI, PENSIERI DIVERSI, X., 23, in REES' CYCLOPÆDIA, S.V., Vols. XVIII., XXXV.; also CABINET PORTR. GALL. OF BRITISH WORTHIES, II., 42. [2] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., CXXX., CCIII. In WYCL., LAT. SERMONS, II., 52, 435, a king's ransom is fixed at £100,000. [3] HALLE, 28; GRAFTON, 433. [4] DRUMMOND, 26; CATHOL., 254; LYDGATE, 245; GOWER, CONF. AM., 269. For "nufangilnes," see LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, 51, 66. [5] DENTON, 72. [6] Written about 1423.—WARD, I., 129; MORLEY, VI., 166-173. For illustrations of it on the walls of Penkill Castle in Ayrshire, by W. B. Scott, see ATHENÆUM, 20/8/87, p. 250; and ACADEMY, 6/12/90, p. 529. For "Bookes and Quayres," see T. SMITH, 197. [7] ROSSETTI, I., 149. [8] Cf. "this faire, fressche, lusty May."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 291, 416. [9] Cf. "meke and debonaire."—HOCCL., DE REG., 122; GOWER, CONF. AM., 362, 378, 379; "debonaire humblesse."–HOCCL., DE REG., 129; "gentil, curteis, and debonaire."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 350, 433; "meke and bonere."—WYCL. (A.), III., 193. [10] GOWER, CONF. AM., 77. [11] *Ibid.*, 297.

prison-tower at Windsor.[1] She returned with him to Scotland as his wife, and "fled in her kirtle, villainously wounded," on that frightful night when they stabbed him in the gong,[2] at the Black Friars in Perth (February 20th, 1437).

[1] W. IRVING, 60-67. [2] Page 256, note 2. CHAUCER, PARSON'S TALE, 366; CAPGRAVE, 78; HIGDEN, VII., 479; VIII., 247; PROMPT. PARV., 203. "Amongis the ordure of the privay."—SHIRLEY, in PINKERTON, I., 468; J. STEVENSON, 56; LINGARD, IV., 29. In CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY, II., 48, complaint is made of the "modern fastidiousness which has shrunk from naming, or even intelligibly describing, the place where James was killed." Cf. "a sewer vault."—MORLEY, VI., 175; "a small chamber."—DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXIX., 135; "a vault underneath."—SHAIRP, 277; "the inner crypt," "the pen," "the black death-gap," "the Pit."—ROSSETTI, I., 165, 171, 172.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT (I.).

THE day after the meeting of the three arch-plotters on the Carnarvon coast, the English Parliament met at Westminster (Monday, March 1st, 1406). The writs had been at first sent out on December 21st, 1405,[1] calling the members to meet at Coventry,[2] on February 15th. Then, on the 1st of January, 1406, the venue had been changed to Gloucester,[3] as the Prince was about to proceed to Wales to "finally conquer"[4] the Welsh, and it was thought that the nearness of all the notables of England might somehow be of service to him in his operations. As late as February 3rd, 1406,[5] arrangements were being made for chartering horses and carts to carry the Chancery rolls to Gloucester, and carpenters[6] were at work upon the necessary alterations of the buildings, when all at once there was another change, and the meeting-place was shifted again.

The reasons are not far to seek. In November[7] of the previous year, it was reported that the French were about to invade the Cornish coast, and levies were called out accordingly. A messenger had been sent across from London to find out their intentions. He returned in great haste to announce that a French fleet,[8] under the rover Charles de Savoisi, had sailed from Boulogne and was already in the Thames, and that wine-

[1] COTTON, 449; REPT. DIGN. PEER., III., 793; PARL. HIST., II., 90. [2] RETURN PARL., I., 268. [3] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 30; COTTON, 450. [4] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 795. [5] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 18 d. [6] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st, 1407. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 30 d. [8] DEVON, 302; ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 27th, 1406; *Ibid.*, PASCH., June 26th, 1406.

ships and trading vessels from Gascony were daily being captured in the river. The "pestilential plague"[1] was all about the capital, and the King, in his nervous anxiety to escape infection,[2] was moving rapidly from place to place. He went down to Queen Joan's castle at Leeds,[3] near Maidstone. Thence he passed over to the new castle of Queenborough,[4] in Sheppey, where he took ship to cross the river to Leigh, on the Essex coast, intending to pass on to the castle of his mother-in-law, at Pleshy.[5] He was meditating a journey beyond sea, and orders[6] were already out to man a warship (the Trinité de la Tour) and a barge (the Godegrace), with crews of eighty and sixty men respectively, to escort him over. Knowing the danger from the French, some vessels under the command of Thomas, Lord Camoys of Broadwater,[7] in Sussex, were now ready to protect him in his passage across the river. But, when they were in mid-stream, the French bore down upon them, captured four English vessels, killed 500 men,[8] and took 300 prisoners, including Sir Thomas Rempston. The King escaped with difficulty, and landed on the marshes of Leigh.

It was afterwards suspected that Lord Camoys was himself responsible for the surprise. He had been previously employed in bringing across Queen Joan[9] from Brittany in 1403, and as

[1] HALLE, 26. I have not been able to trace the original on which he based his story. NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 394, says that "it is not corroborated by any known fact." HALLE is, of course, followed literatim by GRAFTON, 431; also by HOLINS., II., 533; DENTON, I., 89, 103. [2] The first precaution in such a case was "laissier le lieu où est la maladie."—DESCHAMPS, VI., 100; VII., 40. Cf. Et faictes departement Du lieu où elle (l'epidémie) est fichié.—*Ibid.*, IV., 169. [3] For writs dated at Leeds, April 6th, 10th, 1401, see Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{68}{3}$, $\frac{95}{29}$, App. B., F. [4] Built by William of Wickham, and named after Queen Philippa.—HASTED, II., 656. [5] The supposition that he was crossing to Norfolk, seems to be a mistake of RAPIN, III., 401; followed by LEDIARD, 64. [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 13 d, February 9th, 1406. [7] For his possessions in Sussex in 1411, see SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLLECTIONS, X., 133. [8] ST. DENYS, III., 464; JUV., 400; MARTIN, 126. [9] DEVON, 292.

a negociator with the Duchess of Burgundy in 1404,[1] and, in March, 1406,[2] he was again sent into Picardy on a diplomatic mission. He had married Hotspur's widow, Elizabeth Mortimer,[3] aunt to the young Earl of March, and if by this stroke of luck he could have landed the English King in a trap at the very mouth of the Thames, there might have been a chance for the Tripartite Convention yet. But threatened men die hard, and Henry was not fated to drop into the lap of traitors. Lord Camoys was subsequently arrested and brought to trial before the Earl of Kent,[4] but after enquiry he was acquitted, October 31st, 1406. On December 22nd, 1406,[5] he was present in the Parliament at Westminster. On January 16th, 1408,[6] he was commissioned to inquire as to a charge of breaking into the parish church at Boxgrove; his name also appears on a commission of the peace for Surrey, on July 1st, 1411,[7] and for Hampshire, November 29th, 1412;[8] in January, 1411,[9] he was Constable of the royal castle of Porchester,[10] to which he had been appointed in 1399;[11] and he led the left wing at Agincourt. He built the bridge over the Western Rother, at Trotton, near Midhurst, and the little church in the same

[1] Page 79. RYMER, VIII., 375. [2] *Ibidem*, 432. [3] She was born at Usk, February 12th, 1371, and baptized and confirmed when she was four days old, according to the prevailing custom.—MONAST., VI., 354. [4] "As High Steward of the realm."—HALLE, 26 a. But on March 1st, 1406, Prince Thomas was "Seneschall d'Angleterre."—RYM., VIII., 431; also 1412.—BLACK BOOK OF ADMIRALTY. I., 387. The Earl of Kent died September 15th, 1408. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 582; RYM., VIII., 463. [6] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 19 d. In INQ. AD QUOD DAMNUM, 1408 (9 H. IV.), p. 358, he owns the manor of Heyshot. In CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 31, November 20th, 1408; also *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., 39, October 10th, 1409, the Escheator in Sussex (Robert Oxenbrigge), has taken lands belonging to him at Heyshot certis de causis. They were taken over on June 25th, 1408, and in 1410, they were still in the King's hands.—FOR. ACCOUNTS, 11 H. IV. [7] PAT., 12 H. IV., 26 d. [8] *Ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 19 d. For his claim to a manor, and his action against the Warden of New College at Oxford in 1410, see YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., HIL., pp. 52 a, 53 a, showing that he was in London in January, 1410. [9] CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 31. [10] For account of Porchester, see CLARK, II., 388. [11] WOODWARD, III., 330.

village, where he lies buried with his wife, the "gentle Kate,"[1] beneath a splendid brass[2] still perfectly preserved.

The nearness of the French struck alarm into the hearts of the London merchants. They would not hear of the King and the council moving off to Gloucester at such a crisis, and on February 9th,[3] fresh writs were made out countermanding all former ones, and calling the Parliament to meet at Westminster[4] on March 1st, 1406.

The composition of the Upper House shows considerable change. Besides the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York (who was now again at liberty), the list includes the names of seven earls (viz.: Somerset, Kent, Devonshire, Arundel, Suffolk, Westmoreland, and Warwick) and thirty-two barons. From the former the Earl of Northumberland has disappeaared, and the name of the Earl of Kent, who had just attained his majority, is inserted in his place. Among the barons the names of Bardolph, Dacre, and Fitzwalter,[5] lately Sub-Admiral for the South and West, are dropped out, and four new names of young lords appear now for the first time. These are Henry,[6] Lord Beaumont, from Folkingham, in Lincolnshire; John Nevil,[7] Lord Latimer, from Danby Castle, by the Esk, in Cleveland, a half-brother of the Earl of Westmoreland, now twenty-four years

[1] HENRY IV., Part I., II., iii., 109. [2] He died March 28th, 1420.—DALLAWAY, I., Part II., 224; DICT. NAT. BIOG., VIII., 307; FONBLANQUE, I., 204. HAINES, I. XXVI., gives the artist's mark, "*N*" For Camoys' arms on the tomb of Henry IV. at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 53. [3] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 29; REPT. DIGN. PEER., III., 797. ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 9th, 1406, has payments to messengers to Archbishop of Canterbury and other Lords to be with the King. Cf. *ibid.*, March 26th, 1406. [4] En lour maison accustumez deinz l'Abbeie de Westm.—ROT. PARL., III., 568. [5] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 8, July 23rd, 1406. INQ. P. MORT., III., 312, does not prove that he died in 1408, as supposed in ORD. PRIV. CO., I. 329. [6] A special messenger was sent to summon him before the King in Chancery.—DEVON, 302; ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., March 26th, 1406. [7] BANKS, II., 299; BARONIES IN FEE, I., 276; ORD, 330. For his will, dated at Poppleton, December 8th, 1430, see TEST. EBOR., II., 7.

of age; Richard, Lord Lestrange, of Knockin Castle, near Oswestry; and Robert,[1] Lord of Poynings, on the Sussex Downs. In the interval between the issue of the Gloucester writs and the actual meeting of the Parliament, Stephen Scrope, Lord of Masham died (January 25th, 1406).[2] He seems to have died at Turnham, near Selby. His body was conveyed by water up the Ouse to York, and was buried by the side of his younger brother, the late Archbishop, before the steps of St. Stephen's altar, in the new choir of the Minster. In his place a writ was issued to Gilbert Talbot, Lord of Irchenfield,[3] Blackmere,[4] and the great castle of Goodrich,[5] on the Wye. He was only just out of his minority, and was constantly complaining that he was manifoldwise[6] in debt. Accompanied by seventeen squires and eighty archers[7] he had served with the Prince at Shrewsbury in 1403, and during the last four years he had greatly distinguished himself by his services[8] against the Welsh. On the clerical side, the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph are absent from the list, and the see of Rochester is still regarded as vacant. In other respects the writs to bishops exhibit no change.

[1] He was born November 3rd, 1380.—SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., XV., 9, 16. For his rents and manors in Sussex, see *ibid.*, X., 140. In the writs for Parliament of 1404, Thomas *(sic)* Ponynges appears in REPT. DIGN. PEER.; but the name is not in COTTON, 436. [2] SCROPE AND GROSVENOR ROLL, II., 139; COTTON, 450. For his will, dated January 7th, 1406, see TEST. EBOR., III., 32. PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 43 (March 11th, 1406), has license to Margaret his wife, and Henry his son, to succeed him. See also CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 23, 25, for order (dated January 23rd, 1406,) for shipping from Bristol and Ilfracombe to convey Henry Scrope to Wales with 20 men-at-arms and 40 archers, together with their horses and harness. [3] DUGDALE, I., 302, 328; BANKS, II., 557; BARONIES IN FEE, I., 427; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 43. It is described as "near the Forest of Dean."—DEVON, 251. "In the Valley of the Wye."—LEL. ITIN., V., 8. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 18 d, November 29th, 1412, Gilbert Talbot, of Irchenfield, is on the commission of the peace for the county of Salop, [4] EYTON, X., 27. [5] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 19 d; STRONG, 100. [6] Multipliciter indebitatus.—ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., December 3rd, 1405, March 26th, 1406; PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 21; PROMPT. PARV., 325; CATHOL., 227. [7] Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{8}{36}$, App. F. [8] Page 19, note 5.

In the writs to cities, boroughs, and counties, nothing was said about excluding lawyers, and a large muster of representatives was the result. The names of 240 members appear on the returns, 72 from the counties, and 168 from 83 boroughs, none but London sending more than two. Few names of any eminence appear on the list. Sir John Pelham was one of the knights of the shire for Sussex, Sir John Arundel for Cornwall, Sir Ivo Fitzwarren[1] for Dorset, Elming Leget for Essex, Thomas Chaucer for Oxford, and for Shropshire Davy Holbache,[2] who afterwards founded the Free Grammar School at Oswestry. The other names present nothing of note, except that Reading sent up a tailor (John Hunt) as one of its representatives, and Nottingham a draper (Thomas Fox), which names appear with some distinction among the crowd of knights and landed gentles. In the following year (1407) we have also a "dyster" and a "plomer" from Northampton, but as yet the trading members[3] are rare.

This Parliament is memorable for the great length of its sittings. The duration of Parliaments at this time can be tested by the payments made to members for their attendance;

[1] In PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 4 (September 4th, 1408), John, Earl of Somerset, is to have manors, &c., which Sir Ivo Fitzwarren has about Terrington. For his church patronage in North Devon, see STAFF. REG., 103, 187. [2] He was also in the Parliaments of 1407, 1410, 1414, and he sat for the borough of Shrewsbury in 1413 and 1417.—RETURN PARL., I., 269, 290; though the identity is doubted. On November 22nd, 1409, he was a Commissioner, together with the Earl of Arundel, to enquire as to money to be applied as pontage and murage at Shrewsbury.—PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 17; *ibid.*, 2, 11 d. He was steward or baillie of the manor of Oswestry, and escheator of Shropshire in 1410 (RECEIPT ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., October 16th, 1410); *ibid.*, February 23rd, 1411, refers to him as *nuper* Esch. See SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 81, 238; VII., 370; ROT. PARL., III., 585 a, 586 b, 577 b; ARCHÆOL. CAMBRENS., 4th Series, IV., 255; BYEGONES, December, 1883, p. 333; PENNANT., I., 393. On Nov. 29th, 1412, he was on the commission of the peace for Salop.—PAT., 14 H. IV., 18 d. For his pedigree, see LLOYD, IV., 93. [3] In 1384, a spicer was returned for Devizes.—RETURN PARL., I., 221; and "mercator" is not unfrequent for Bristol, *e.g.*, 1407, 1411, 1413, 1415.

and whereas the length of other parliaments in this reign stands at 51, 50, 57, 67, 44, and 54 days respectively, the number of days during which this Parliament lasted (exclusive altogether of adjournments), amounts to 158.[1] It was twice adjourned. The meetings were continued from March 1st to April 3rd. There was then an adjournment[2] for Easter, and the members returned to their homes. They met again on April 26th, and sat till June 19th. Then there was an adjournment for four months. They returned to Westminster on October 13th, and were not finally dismissed till December 22nd.

On Monday, March 1st, 1406, all assembled in the Painted Chamber of the Palace at Westminster. The King was present, and the Chancellor, Dean Langley, preached[3] some fatherly platitudes from the Old Scriptures, about the value of taking plenty of advice, and being sure to follow it when you have serious business in hand. Then come the old familiar difficulties: the Welsh, the French, the Irish, and the Scots, and it would seem as if no new advice could possibly be looked for, which could lay such stubborn ghosts.

The Commons chose as their Speaker a rich young Cambridgeshire knight, Sir John Tiptot,[4] from Burwell, near Newmarket, who had been sent up in this and the previous Parliament as one of the representatives from the county of Huntingdon. He had been previously in the service of Henry

[1] PRYNNE, II., 479, for Middlesex, where only one day was allowed for travelling. Those members who came the greatest distances, *e.g.*, from Northumberland, Cumberland, and Cornwall, were allowed for 201 days. [2] PRYNNE (II., 476, 482) thinks that this adjournment was for "above a year." [3] For practice of taking a text of Scripture before delivering an official harangue, see BAYE, I., 100, 108, 151, 158. [4] Spelt Typtot in his autograph in NICHOLS, 3 A. from VESP. F., VII., f. 52. On his wife's monument at Enfield, it is Typtoft.—GOUGH, III., 136. On the writs, Tiptot or Tybetot. Cf. "Sir John Tubbetot, of Cambridgeshyre."—ROT. PARL., IV., 60. For grants to him, see PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 23, 29; ROT. PARL., III., 591; MANNING, 39. He appears as one of the first Knights of the Bath, in HOLINS., 511.

when Earl of Derby, receiving wages[1] at the rate of 7½d. per day, and was now accepted by the King after officially protesting his youth[2] and "want of sense."

For three weeks the Commons debated, and it was clear that they had met under feelings of great exasperation. No record of their discussion now remains, but we know that they often spoke of the royal person "otherwise than they ought,"[3] and that their words were reported to the King's ears, much to his "displeasance."[4] Peace[5] was what the English people wanted when they put him on the throne, but there had been nothing but ceaseless war, which "cast their wealth far behind."[6] The large grants were all spent, and nothing was done to secure peace for trade, or quietness for the country. The insecurity of the seas, and the risk in reaching the salterns on the west coast of France, had caused a great rise in the price of salt,[7] which was sold in London this year for 20d. the bushel.[8] The harvest also was light, and envoys had to cross to France, begging permission to buy corn, but by an ordinance of the French council,[9] all such permission was refused. Another siege was threatening at Calais. Ireland was swallowing still larger sums than ever before, and, with all this excessive cost,[10] there was less approach than ever to order and security. The Marches of Scotland called for more and more expense, while the great lords who had toiled and laboured to bring Wales to

[1] Duc. Lanc. Rec., xxviii., 3, 6., App. A. [2] Rot. Parl., iii., 568. [3] Autrement qu' ils ne deussent.—*Ibid.*, 569; Cotton, 452. [4] Rot. Parl., iii., 573. [5] Pol. Songs, ii., 7.

[6] Werre withein our self is most harmefulle
And perilous, and moste is ageyn kinde.
Therewith this londe hath wrestlede many a pulle;
The smert is suche it may not out of mynde,
For it hathe cast our welthe fer behynde,
And ferther wole but the werres stynte.—Hoccl., De Reg., 188.

[7] Gasc., xxx. [8] Bermondsey Ann., 484. [9] St. Denys, iii., 351; Juv., 438. [10] Rot. Parl., iii., 577.

subjection were so poor that they could do no more. Poverty was everywhere. Merchants were ruined, and coast and midland alike were drained to find archers and men-at-arms for this incessant warfare. With the French actually in the Thames, the London traders would put up with it no longer. Nothing was now said of War Treasurers, though they certainly continued to exist,[1] at least in name. If the King could not protect them, they would do it for themselves. They would have no Parliament meeting at Coventry or Gloucester. The meetings must be held at Westminster, where they could make their voices heard and their wishes felt. They demanded[2] an account of all public moneys, and got the curt reply that "Kings don't give account." "Then their officers must," they said; but none of the officials could, and the collectors of customs could get nothing in, and so a truce was called. A "treaty"[3] or "agreement"[4] was drawn up between the King and his council on the one side, and the "Merchants of England" on the other. The merchants, seamen, and shipowners were to put their ships, barges, and balingers at the disposal of the country from the 1st of May following, armed with 2,000 fighting men to protect the sea. For this purpose they demanded to have control of the whole of the tonnage and poundage, as well as a fourth part of the subsidy voted in the Coventry Parliament, due from February 2nd, 1406, onwards, together with £4,000 to recoup themselves for past losses, appointing their own collectors and controllers at the various ports for the purpose. They insisted that all prizes taken should be theirs, and should be dealt with by themselves; that if the King sent out orders to man a separate fleet of his

[1] Page 114; RYM., VIII., 431, March 1st, 1406. [2] EUL., III., 409. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 569. It seems in some way to have been misunderstood as a charter to a trading society of merchants, an interpretation which it will not at all bear.—HALL, CUSTOMS, I., 45. [4] RYM., VIII., 438, 439.

own, they should have due warning and reasonable time before being called upon to assemble; that they should not be held responsible for damage done to the shipping of friendly nations by vessels not belonging to their fleet; that, if a final peace were concluded, they should have at least three months more of the subsidy and taxation secured to them to cover their necessary expenses; and that the King's proclamations should be sent to the various ports, empowering their representatives to act and threatening with punishment all who should resist them.

On Tuesday, March 23rd, the Speaker made his customary plea on behalf of the Commons, adding a special request, that if they should commit any of their demands to writing during the course of Parliament, they might be allowed to reconsider or alter them in any way that they thought fit, provided it were done before the session closed. The first request that he delivered in their name as the result of three weeks' deliberation was, that they might have "good governance abounding;" especially they cried out for greater security of the seas, for assistance to Guienne, which was known to be in great peril, and also for protection against the Welsh. For the latter purpose they prayed (April 3rd, 1406) that the Prince of Wales should be thanked for his past great services, but that he should be required to reside permanently on the border, and that his powers should be vested in a Commission; that henceforward lands or castles taken from the Welsh should not be granted away till at least three months had elapsed from the date of their capture, so that their real value might be ascertained, and that those who received them might be compelled to reside in Wales and help to defend them. Again and again the Commons urged that Frenchmen and Bretons should be expelled from the

country, but no heed was paid to their demand. At length, on the 3rd of April, the King agreed that this should be done "with all possible haste." As to the treaty with the Merchants, the whole of their demands were practically conceded, subject only to the modification that 1,000 fighting men were to be maintained instead of 2,000 during the winter months, and that any leading captives[1] who might be taken should be the King's perquisite. As to the subsidy and its collection, they were to have all they asked for, except that one of the customers at each port was to be nominated by the King and the other by the Merchants. But when they asked for £4,000 for their past losses, the reply was quite short:—"No whereof!"[2]

The King's commission was accordingly issued for two officers to be nominated by the Merchants, one for the North and one for the South. They were to have all the powers of Admirals, to see that the various demands were complied with; and on the side of the Commons, the Speaker and five of the county members were appointed to confer with the council as to carrying out the details of the arrangement. The five members were:—Sir Hugh Luttrell,[3] one of the representatives from Devonshire; Sir Roger Leche,[4] from Derbyshire; Sir Thomas Skelton, from Hampshire; Sir John Dallingridge,[5] from Sussex; and Lawrence Drew,[6] a squire from Berkshire.

[1] Not "having due consideration of the king's chieftains, if he shall any appoint," as COTTON, 452. [2] Il n'y ad de quoy.—ROT. PARL., III., 570. Cf. Sil nait de quoy.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 206; N'y a de quoy de faire.—*Ibid.*, II., 95, 98; Silz n' ont de quoy lors sont très misérable.—DESCHAMPS.—VI., 170. "Thei shulden kepe pore pilgryms for tyme that thei hadden whereof.—WYCL. (M.), 413. [3] Page 91, note 5. [4] Page 229, note 8. [5] Son of Sir Edward Dallingridge, who built Bodiam Castle.—SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., XII., 221. For mutilated effigy, see *ibid.*, IX., 287; also for his brass in the church at Fletching.—*Ibid.*, II., 309. He fought at St. Inglevert, April 23rd, 1390.—PICHON, 74. In June, 1402, he accompanied the Princess Blanche to Cologne.—Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{95}{30}$, App. F, where his name is Dalingrug. In his deposition in SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, I., 164, it is Dalyngrigg. In SUBSIDY ROLL, 11 H. IV., it is

But five weeks had run out since the Parliament had opened, and no progress at all had been made with the money grants, which were the subject nearest the King's heart. It was now within a week of the Pase-Day[1] houselling,[2] when "every Christian,[3] for his soul's welfare, desires to be amongst his own people, in his own house and his own parish-church, to kneel at God's-board,[4] and to honour the feast;" so, as there was no possibility of effectually finishing the public business, the Parliament was adjourned for three weeks. The King went to Eltham,[5] and the members dispersed to their several homes.

During the recess, steps were at once taken to carry into effect the expressed wishes of the Commons. The Prince had been made Lieutenant of all Wales, both North and South, and of the Marches adjoining, for three months, dating from February 1st, 1406.[6] He was to have 1,100 men-at-arms and 3,800 archers from the musters of the border counties, but all this was but a paper arrangement so long as the funds were *nil.*

Dalyngregge.—SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., X., 141. In ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., Sir John Dalyngrugge receives £8 6s. 8d. for robes and wages in the king's household. PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 18, 31 (November 22nd, 1406), has grants to him in Warwickshire and Gloucestershire. In PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 16 (October 30th, 1408), he is *defunctus.* [6] In REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH. (June 14th, 1407), he is a collector of the subsidy at Southampton.

[1] AUNGIER, 422. For "Paske-woke," see P. PLO., XIII., 122; WYCL. (A.), I., 25, 83. [2] MIRROR OF OUR LADY, 39; AUNGIER, 266.; PROMPT. PARV., 250. "To huyre holliche the masse and to be housled after."—P. PLO., XXII., 3. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 571, 623. "For to eschew slander they will be shriven once a year (once a month was the usual custom.—P. PLO., XXII., 390), and comuned of their proper priests."—ENGL. GARN., VI., 117. Cf. WYCLIFFE, LAT. SERM., 164, 165; DE BLASPH., 112, 159. GERSON, II., 437, 441; MYROURE, 173; LOSERTH, 61; ROCK, IV., 120. On Easter-Day, 1388, a gallon of wine was consumed at Little St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, circa communionem parochiæ.—HIST. MSS., 1ST REPT., 80. WYCL. (M.), 329, 330, calls it "a rotten law late made of Antichrist." [4] SHARPE, II., 572. [5] For documents, dated Eltham, April 12th, 13th, 17th, 18th, 20th, 1406, see PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 29; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, mm. 32, 33; RYM., VIII., 439; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 10, 15, where CARTE (II., 191) wrongly gives February 12th. [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 2 d, 6, 14, January 29th, February 2nd and 12th, 1406.

On April 5th,[1] his commission was extended till November 11th; the usual arrangements were made for receiving the submission of any of the Welsh rebels who showed a readiness to sue for pardon, and all fines or forfeited possessions coming in from this source were to be strictly used[2] for prosecuting the war. Messengers were despatched to abbots, priors, and others who might be likely to have money to lend, and orders were given to the collectors of the clerical taxes to bring in what money they could to pay the Welsh troops. By this means, as much as £4,022 1s. 8d. was put together and handed to the Prince at Tutbury, on the 18th of May, 1406,[3] and we might have thought that he would proceed to his post forthwith. But it is certain that he did not, for we know that he was present at Westminster on June 7th, 1406,[4] and in the beginning of August, he spent some days at Lynn,[5] at the time of his sister Philippa's departure for Denmark, while Lord Grey of Codnor was also absent from his command at the most critical fighting season, for we find him at Westminster on June 2nd, 1406.[6] On the 27th of September, 1406,[7] the Prince's commission was extended till the end of the year, and on December 26th,[8] it was renewed for a year longer, Lord Grey of Codnor and Sir Thomas Beaufort being attached to him in subordinate positions. But the fortunes of Owen were obviously declining. His eldest son and his chancellor were prisoners in London. The French would not move, and the name of the Earl of Northumberland was a hindrance rather than a help. The castles that he had taken had proved useless gains, and one by one they fell back into English hands,

[1] RYM., VIII., 436; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 36, 39. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 287. [3] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 604. He was also present at a council held December 8th, 1406.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 295; and at St. Mary-le-Bow, January 30th, 1407.—RYM., VIII., 464. [5] CAPGRAVE, 292. [6] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 11 d. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 7. [8] *Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 1, 3.

while all his musters yielded before the dash and spirit of the young Englishmen who were making their name at his expense. In North Wales, many who had joined him after the battle of Shrewsbury were coming[1] in to the royal castles begging for pardon. The Welsh in Anglesea submitted, and commissioners were appointed to adjust the amount of their fines. In a document dated at Beaumaris, November 9th, 1406,[2] the names of 2,112 persons in Anglesea are entered who were fined in sums varying from 2s. up to £8 3s. 4d., the whole yielding £537 7s. 0d., to the needy treasury of the Prince at Chester. Others, who would not submit, were declared outlaws, and among them appear the names of Bishop Bifort[3] and Dean Daron. Submissions were also coming in fast in Glamorganshire[4] and Monmouth, and on March 3rd, 1407,[5] orders were sent that all who had deserted their lands in South Wales, must return to them without delay.

On April 6th, 1406,[6] orders were sent to the mayors or bailiffs of London, York, Newcastle, Bristol, Ipswich, Hull, Grimsby, Southampton, Lynn, Dover, the Cinq-Ports, and all the principal trading towns of England, on or near the coast, calling upon them at once to assemble the aldermen, merchants, and others in their towns, for the purpose of appointing collectors and controllers in accordance with the terms of "the Treaty." The new arrangements were to take effect from the 1st of May, and were to be continued until Michaelmas, 1407. Before the end of April, the Merchants recommended a Yorkshireman, Nicholas Blackburn, of Richmond,[7] one of the

[1] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 15. [2] PENNANT, I., 382. [3] THOMAS, 149, 150. [4] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 9, 11, 16, 19. [5] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 29. [6] RYM., VIII., 437; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 2; WELFORD, 241. The order was repeated to several of them, August 16th, 1406.—RYM., VIII., 449. [7] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 6. PRIV. SEAL, 650/6730, refers to one Nicholas Blackburn, of Slakthwayt (? Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield), who was charged with stealing a horse with saddle and bridle, together with a hopeland (4s.) and three yards of canvas (1s.), at Erncayssi *(sic)*, Whitsuntide, 1408.

customers at Hull,[1] and afterwards twice Mayor of York,[2] to be Admiral from the Thames northwards, and Richard Clitherowe,[3] a Kentish squire,[4] from Betshanger and Goldstone (or Goldstanton), near Sandwich, to be Admiral for the South and West. Clitherowe was one of the representatives[5] of the county of Kent, both in this Parliament and the next. In August, 1400, he had acted as a commissioner at Newcastle[6] for the delivery of victuals supplied to the King's army at the invasion of Scotland. He was a member[7] of the council, and a collector of customs at Newcastle-on-Tyne,[8] and had been at different times sheriff of Kent, escheator of Nottinghamshire,[9] escheator of Northumberland,[10] collector at Ipswich,[11] and acting treasurer[12] at Calais. He was married to one of the daughters of Sir John Oldcastle, the Herefordshire Lollard. The appointments were fully confirmed by the King's commission dated April 28th, 1406.[13] The new officers were to have the full

[1] REC. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., November 13th, 1405; *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., MICH., November 12th, 1406; 9 H. IV., *passim*; 11 H. IV., MICH., November 21st, 1409; Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{9}\frac{8}{8}$ App. B. [2] REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., February 6th 1413, refers to him as late Mayor and Escheator of York. The dates in DRAKE, 362, are confused. [3] DEVON, 340; ROT. PARL., III., 572, 602, 610; PAT., 8 H. IV., I., 30, 37, October 4th and 6th, 1406. He is buried in the chancel at Ash Church.—HASTED, I., lxxxv.; III., 677, 692; IV., 148; PHILIPOTT, 51, 76. For his seal, marked S. Ric. Cletherowe Admiralli Occidentalis Angliæ, see CATALOGUE OF SEALS, BRIT. MUS., 137. For his arms in the cloisters at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 105. [4] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 6, May 14th, 1406, records that R. Cliderowe, esquire, is going across sea. [5] PRYNNE, IV., 479, 486; RETURN OF NAMES, I., 269, 272. [6] Q.R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{7}\frac{5}{5}$, $\frac{5}{8}\frac{5}{5}$, App. G, from which it is is evident that Richard Clitherowe, of London, is not the same as Richard Clitherowe, of Newcastle (cf. Vol. I., page 134). [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 246. [8] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., March 26th, 1406; PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV.; REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 14th, 1406; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH., November 13th, 1409; ISSUE ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., November 29th, 1409; REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., November 21st, 1410. PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 6, refers to Richard Cliderowe, senr., as Collector at Sandwich. See also ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 26th, 1408. [9] *i.e.*, from August 16th, 1403, to July 27th, 1405.—CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 32 d. [10] In REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., February 10th, 1412, he is *late* Escheator in Northumberland. [11] REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., November 22nd, 1409. [12] Page 114, note 1. [13] RYM., VIII., 439; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 35; SPELMAN, GLOSS., 16.

powers of Admirals to hold courts, punish offenders, impress ships and sailors, and appoint deputies and subordinates, from whom all officials were to take their orders, till September 29th, 1407. But looking to the irritation in the country, and the impossibility of obtaining grants on the old easy terms, the King's advisers were preparing to open a new line of policy with France, and envoys had already started, whose operations will be hereafter described.

The King spent part of the recess at Eltham, and on April 20th,[1] he removed to Greenwich. On Thursday, April 22nd,[2] he entered his barge on the rising tide and was rowed leisurely up the river. The next day was St. George's Day, and on the Sunday following (April 25th)[3] the Companions and Officers of the Garter assembled with their trains of attendants in St. George's livery,[4] to celebrate the feast at Windsor in accordance with the Statutes of the Order.[5] News had come in of the capture of the King of Scots, and all should have gone merrily. But, amidst the music and gallantry,[6] the scarlet gowns,[7] the crimson hoods, the blue kirtles furred with miniver and the glitter of gold Cyprus cloth,[8] Care took her place beneath the royal canopy at chapter, mass, and feast. The next day (Monday, April 26th) the Commons would meet again at Westminster, and the King proposed to be there by the Tuesday. But his health was fast giving way, and when the day

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, m. 24. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 37. [3] ROT. PARL. III., 571. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, mm. 24, 127, has an entry dated April 25th, apud manerium infra parcum de Wyndsore. [4] Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{1}$, App. B.; HOCCL., MIN. PO., 42. [5] ASHMOLE, 415. [6] For full details of the ceremony, see *ibid.*, 437. [7] Q.R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{11}$, App. B. [8] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., April 22nd, 1407; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., PASCH., April 25th, 1408, has £103 for woollen cloth for garters against St. George's Day last past. For 260 garters of tartryn and taffeta embroidered on livery of St. George in 1400, see Q.R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{1}$, App. B. For 4,300 and 6,000 garters (1403 and 1406), see L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., XI., 14; XII., 1, App. C.

arrived he was seized with sudden pains in the leg, which prevented him from mounting his horse. His physicians absolutely forbade him to travel on that day, and on the next morning he sent forward a letter [1] to the council, stating that he hoped, nevertheless, to get on that night to Staines, and then to drop down the river, reaching Westminster, by God's help, in about three or four days. But when midday came, he was in such "dis-ease" [2] that he could not be moved, so he sent forward the Duke of York to be his representative at the re-assembling of the Houses. Morning after morning throughout that week, the Commons met at eight o'clock, but no business could be done. At length, after four adjournments, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, and many lords and bishops were in their places on Friday, April 30th,[3] and business was allowed to begin again.

Two matters were now most pressing for despatch. In Guienne, no less than ninety-six castles and towns had fallen within the past year, and a deputation was in England, headed by Guilhem Amaniu de Madaillan,[4] Lord of Lesparre [5] and Rauzan, late mayor [6] or governor of Bordeaux, and other

[1] ORD. PRIV., CO., I., 290. [2] "disaisez."—*Ibid.*, 291. For "disese," see ROT. PARL., IV., 60; RYM., VIII., 387; GOWER, CONF. AM., 96, 98, 99, 125, 147, 148, 154, 181, 215, 250, 311, 398, 440; CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 5036. "Dissese."—COV. MYST., 128, 225; RICHARD RED., 2, 71; WYCL. (M.), 61, 179. "Dyseasse."—TOWNELEY, 111. "Desesse."—COV. MYST., 223; APOLOGY, 26. "Deseyce."—*Ibid.*, 42. "Dysesud."—LAY FOLKS MASS BOOK, 35, 279. "Dyssesyd."—COV. MYST., 229; GOWER, CONF. AM., 68, 136, 178, 379, 400, 418, 422, 427, 435, 444. "Distroubled and diseased."—MIRROR OF OUR LADY, 73; STATE TRIALS, I., 3. For "misease," see WYCL. (M)), 380, 385; P. PLO., IX., 233; XVI., 84. "Mesaisance."—PISAN, II., 223. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 571. [4] RYM., VIII., 440, 445; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 24; ROT. VASC., 7, 8, 1; 10, 8 (= Amanebus); DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 247; BLAEU, VIII., 489. In CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 310, he is called Guillem Amann de Madelham. ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., October 3rd, 1407, has payment of £100 to Lord de Lesparre de Vascon. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 291; JURADE, 45, 49, shows that he was still in England as late as July 19th, 1406, waiting at Sandwich for a fair wind to return. [6] *Ibid.*, 33, 179, 180, 298.

loyalists[1] from Gascony, to lay their case before the King, and make a last despairing appeal for help; and, according to agreement, the Lady Philippa should leave England to be married to King Eric of Denmark, at the beginning of May. Neither of these subjects could brook delay, and nothing had yet been done to meet them. All England was ringing with the news that the royal officers had been superseded, and that the King had been forced to confess his inability to protect the coasts from attack by sea, and emissaries[2] of the Earl of Northumberland were actively engaged in spreading a manifesto setting forth that it was for this very cause that Archbishop Scrope had lost his head. Nevertheless, the Commons were not to be diverted from their work. They pressed again for the removal of the foreigners about the household of the Queen. They drew up a schedule of forty-four names, and insisted upon their immediate expulsion from the country. On the 8th of May[3] they insisted on their demand; the King gave his assent, and all those whose names were on the list were required to leave Southampton by the 15th; but when it was represented that this would not leave them time to pay[4] up their debts, the date was extended to the 24th. On looking over the schedule of names, it is obvious that not one of them has any political significance whatever. The queen's two young daughters, Blanche and Marguerite,[5] were sent back to Brittany; Antoine Ricze,[6] his wife Pernel,[7] and his

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 18th, 1406, has payment for messengers to Armynyk Duras, at Bristol, to come to London before returning to Gascony. PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 14 (August 26th, 1406), shows that he was not to leave England without special permission. [2] GASC., 229; ANGL., SACR., II., 369. [3] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 16 d. [4] CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 315. [5] ST. DENYS, III., 464; ANN., 419; EUL., III., 400, where the wrong year (1404) is given.—See Vol. I., 411. The eldest, Marie, was married to John, Count of Alençon (contracted June 26th, 1396).—GRUEL, 3, 9; MEYER, 218; L'ART DE VER, II., 887, 907; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 344. [6] Spelt Ricz, in PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 28. See Vol. I., p. 261; II., 287. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 28.

namesake, Christopher, had to go; so had the newly married Perot Grewer[1] and his wife, and Joan Sante,[2] probably sister to Marie, the queen's chief damsel.[3] These might, perhaps, by possibility be twisted into something in someway dangerous to the country; but what is to be said of the rest:—Abraham, Daniel, Macheco, Robinet, Petite Meridéne, &c., together with cooks, varlets, and launders,[4] all specified by name? Surely the might of England's Parliament should not stoop to this! The dowry would have been a worthy subject for open attack, but, instead of this, the continued payment[5] was recommended in full, and even the most recent gifts[6] to the queen and princes were securely confirmed, while the royal seal was prostituted in proclaiming outlawry on washerwomen and cooks. These were on no account to be allowed to remain, but in the case of foreign traders[7] and old folks, the council had a large discretion reserved. Lombard[8] and other merchants were required to give up cyphers and unintelligible signs in their business transactions, it being believed that they were thereby handing information to the enemies of the country. In all this we trace the workings of panic:—blind, blundering blows struck by an undisciplined democracy, under the irritation of great national distress.

A month later the crisis had somewhat yielded. Great numbers of aliens had not left, though they remained at the peril of their lives, for a conspiracy was forming to attack them.

[1] Page 41. [2] In PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 2, and ROT. VASC., 3 H. V., 5, Bernard de Sant, chaplain to the Queen, has the hospital of Urdiarp, in Soule, in Aquitaine. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 42, has a grant to her of £20 per annum by the Queen at Berkhampstead, May 20th, 1405. For "damesele," see P. PLO., XI., 138. [4] MUNIM. ACAD., 346. For the laundry, see P. PLO., XVII., 330. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 577. On February 3rd, 1406, Queen Joan had received £1,666 13s. 4d.; on February 27th, £1,000 more; March 26th, £666 13s. 4d.; June 26th, £666 13s. 4d.—ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., *passim*. See also page 282. [6] ROT. PARL., III., 579. [7] *Ibid.*, 578. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 289.

Fresh proclamations were issued against them on June 13th[1] and July 1st,[2] but, on the latter date, the rigorous lines of the first order were much modified. Exceptions were allowed in the case of all who had become naturalized, or who held benefices before the Parliament opened, all knights, squires, and their servants, and all old and infirm persons, while the time for leaving was extended to the 8th of July. But no exceptions[3] whatever would be allowed in the case of foreigners who had entered England since the meeting of the Parliament. Accordingly, the records[4] of the month abound in long lists of tawyers, brewers, chapmen, furbours, skinners, armourers, and other "mere aliens"[5] with foreign names :—Hanses, Peters, Dietrichs, Hermanns, from Dordrecht, Brittany, Brabant, Cologne, Flanders, Gueldres, Westphalia, Milan, and Holland, who obtain permission to remain in England and pursue their old callings for life, on payment of fines ranging from a paltry 1s. 8d. or 2s. from some poor cobbler or cloth-painter in Tower Street, up to the wealthy goldsmith or tailor of Billingsgate who could pay his £6 or £10,[6] the fines so raised being assigned for the payment[7] of expenses of the King's household.

On May 22nd,[8] the King's weakness had so far increased that he practically transferred the whole work of government to a council of seventeen,[9] consisting of Archbishop Arundel, Bishops Beaufort and Stafford, the Duke of York, the Earl of Somerset, the Lords de Roos, Burnell,[10] Lovel, and Willoughby, the Chancellor (Langley), the Treasurer (Lord Furnival), the

[1] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 11 d. [2] *Ibid.*, 7. [3] *Ibid.*, 15 d., May 14th, 1406. [4] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 4, July 9th, 1406. [5] *Ibid.*, 2, 31. [6] REC. ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH. [7] ROT. PARL., III., 588. [8] *Ibid.*, 572. The precedent was revived in 1437.—ORD. PRIV. CO., V., 71. [9] Not sixteen, as GNEIST, CONST., II., 20; PARL., 194. In JURADE, 49, the number was reported at Bordeaux as twelve, *i.e.* omitting the five great officers of state. [10] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 10, May 9th, 1407, refers to Joyce, wife of the *late* Hugh, Lord Burnell.

Keeper of the Privy Seal (Bishop Bubwith), the Steward (Prince Thomas),[1] and the Chamberlain (Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor),[2] together with Sir Hugh Waterton,[3] Sir John Cheyne,[4] and Sir Arnold Savage.[5] All bills and letters that had previously been issued by royal officers on the King's authority had now to be sanctioned and approved by the new council. The King was thus "personally removed" *(desportez en sa roiale persone)* from the occupation of government, but, looking to the composition of the new ministry, we may believe that he had every confidence in their devotion to his interest, while he withdrew from public cares to spend his days in sickness and retirement, and leave others to hunger for his empty chair. All that he reserved expressly to himself was the right of pardoning offenders and of presenting to benefices or offices as they became vacant.

Two days afterwards, Monday, May 24th, the Speaker asked to be informed whether the new council would undertake the task of governing the country for the future. "Decidedly," said the Archbishop, "if there is enough of funds *(sufficiantée de Biens)*, not otherwise;" for, among other things, the members of the council themselves had to be "guerdoned for their

[1] In PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 20, 22 (January 16th, 1406), he is Seneschal and Admiral of England. [2] In PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 17 (Jan. 19th, 1406), he is Camerarius noster. See ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st, 1407. [3] *Ibid.*, July 18th, 1407, has payment to him of £100 as a member of the council for year ending Dec. 22nd, 1406. [4] RYM., VIII., 479. [5] ISSUE ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., December 2nd, 1404, records payment to him of £33 6s. 8d., as "appointed in the last Parliament at Westminster to be one of the King's council till next Parliament." On May 10th, 1405, he is called "one of our Great Council."—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 13. For his possessions in Kent, see INQ. P. MORT., III., 334. In CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 18 d, he is Lord of the Manor of Shorne, near Stroud.—HASTED, I., 508. He died November 29th, 1410, and is buried in the church at Bobbing.—*Ibid.*, II., 636; SAVAGES OF THE ARDS, 71. PRIV. SEAL, 652/6944, July 10th, 1411, refers to him as dead.

labour."[1] To mark, without question, the change that was coming, the Lords spiritual and temporal were assembled on June 7th, 1406.[2] The King was present with the Prince of Wales[3] and his three brothers, and a solemn declaration[4] was drawn up and signed, asserting the King's wish that the succession to the throne should vest in his son Henry and his male heirs, and, failing these, in his other sons, Thomas, John, and Humphrey, and their heirs male, each in order of birth.

Having thus revolutionized the administration of government, it might be thought that a pliant parliament would grant liberal supplies, and go quietly home. But the members' work was far from done. They fixed their eyes on the "outrageous and excessive expenses"[5] of the royal household, and insisted that they should be immediately reformed. Hay, corn, meat, and other necessaries continued to be seized, the dealers in which could get no payment but "sticks, tallies, and bills,"[6] and a few days before (June 9th, 1406), an order had been issued to take £20 for the King's household out of the confiscated property of Archbishop Scrope, which had been found at his

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 577. *e.g.*, Savage received £40, October 3rd, 1405, portion of salary of £100 per annum, paid since his appointment on the council, September 29th, 1402.—ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., August 14th, 1406. Waterton, £100, November 13th, 1405; Doreward, £40, October 27th, 1405.—*Ibid.*, MICH. Archbishop Arundel, £156 16s. 3½d. for twelve months attendance up to December 22nd, 1406.—*Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., PASCH., May 2nd and 9th, 1407. The Duke of York, £200 per annum. —*Ibid.*, June 12th, 1407. The Bishop of Winchester, Henry Beaufort, £200 per annum, since his appointment December 22nd, 1405.—ISSUE ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., May 11th, 1411; *Ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., December 10th, 1412. The Bishop of Durham has 200 marks per annum. —*Ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., February 13th, 1412. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 23; *Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 1, 4. [3] Page 420; ROT. PARL., III., 604; KAL. AND INV., II., 84. [4] STUBBS (III., 58), appears to see some evidence of intrigue between the Archbishop and the Beauforts, but I cannot follow him. RAMSAY, I., 99, thinks the matter was due to "doubts created by Scrope's manifestoes." [5] ROT. PARL., III., 579. [6] *Ibid.*, 592. And paien not therfore but white stickis.—WYCL. (M.), 233, 519.

lodgings at Westminster, and £20 from the rectory of Hurstpierpoint, where the parson, John Wells,[1] had been outlawed for some felony. The Parliament insisted that men of some substance should be about the King, and not rascaldry,[2] who were worth nothing at all at a pinch. They would have a return made before Michaelmas of grants, such as lordships, manors, lands, tenements, alien priories, wardships, marriages, &c., so that their real value might be ascertained and a proper rent be paid by the present holders, and, after all this ado, they simply allowed another 1s. in the £ upon transactions carried on by foreign merchants, within the year following next Midsummer Day.[3] But, as the Venetian[4] and Hanse traders were expressly exempt and the rest were supposed only to deal in "nifles and trifles,"[5] the yield must have been small, and when the Parliament met after the summer adjournment, the extra tax was abolished altogether. The Merchants of England were to have their fourth of the subsidy, and the King might have his half-mark after their claim was satisfied, provided that the rest were really used for the defence of the country under the authority of the new governing council. Further than this they would not go. The weather[6] was very hot; they must get in their hay and their corn; there was no prospect of any more business being done at present;

[1] RYM., VIII., 442; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 28. His induction is dated November 2nd, 1402; his successor was appointed September 4th, 1408.—SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., XI., 75. [2] "Raskaile."—ROT. PARL., III., 577. "Good gentles without the rascaldry."—HARD., iii. "Yee broken meynee, ye wrecchid raiscaill."—ANGLIA, V., 34. "Of rascaile that rorid with ribbis so lene."—RICH. RED., II,, 119, 129. "The veriest rascall."—MIR. FOR MAG., 293. "Rascayle," or "sympyl people,"=*popellus* or *plebs* in PROMPT. PARV. In CARTE, II., 667, it is "a set of rascals." STUBBS, III., 54, followed by RAMSAY, I., 99, calls them "a rascally crew," which does not seem to convey the meaning. [3] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., June 7th, 1406. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 595; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 23. [5] POL. SONGS, II., 172. [6] ROT. PARL., III., 579.

and so, on June 19th, the Parliament was prorogued, and the members were dismissed a second time to their homes.

Day after day brought pressing news from Wales. In the dioceses[1] of Bangor and St. Asaph, many of the clergy, including abbots, priors, deans, rectors, vicars, and parish priests were making common cause with the rebels, inciting them by sermons and in confession, and riding at the head of plundering bands. The Prince of Wales was urged to repair at once to his post. The Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph were doing their utmost to revive the flagging insurrection, and, shortly before the adjournment, the lords temporal and spiritual were called upon to give their opinion as to the events of the previous year. The Constable, Prince John, was present, and made his report as head of the court of Chivalry. The whole of the events of May and June, 1405, were submitted in detail, with copies of the treasonable letters[2] which had been forwarded from Berwick. The two chief conspirators had been deprived[3] of their titles, and the Lords now decided that they should be summoned to appear before the King by the 8th of July. If they came, they would be guaranteed a fair hearing; if not, they were to be pronounced traitors by authority of Parliament. Proclamations to the sheriffs to this effect were issued on June 19th, 1406.[4] A similar expression of opinion was invited as to the events at Bishopthorpe and York, but the Lords were cautious, and postponed their reply till after the adjournment.

[1] CONC., III., 304. [2] Page 259. [3] They are spoken of as Henry Percy, *late* Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Bardolph, *late* Lord Bardolph.—ROT. PARL., III., 604. [4] RYM., VIII., 442; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 8 d. PAT., 7 H. IV.. 1, 9 d, has an order dated June 5th, 1406, requiring Prince John and the Earl of Westmoreland to arrest rebels, but this is probably a mistake for 1405.

On Whitsunday, May 30th,[1] the King and Queen and their children heard mass at Durham Place,[2] Chancellor Langley's new hostel on the Thames, near Dowgate. The King was still there on June 11th and 12th,[3] and July 3rd, and when the 8th of July[4] arrived, he was at Hertford. Of course, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph did not appear, and, after repeated summons, they were ultimately[5] adjudged to be traitors, their property was forfeit, and they were sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded at the King's pleasure—when caught.

The Convocation of the southern clergy had met in the Chapter House at St. Paul's. They had originally been summoned for April 26th, 1406.[6] They then adjourned till May 10th, and after "various prorogations and divers disputations," they agreed to pay their subsidy and tenth, and were dismissed June 16th, 1406.[7] The northern Convocation met at York on July 12th, 1406,[8] and voted their subsidy, their tenth, and their "noble" on August 18th. Creditors were quite ready to secure the produce of both yields as soon as they were voted. Collectors[9] were appointed with all despatch, and on August 3rd,[10] orders were sent out to them to bring in the proceeds to the council by the 15th or the 22nd of the month, according to the distance they had to travel. A great council was called to meet at Westminster on July 8th,[11] and the customers and controllers were summoned from all parts to be

[1] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 355, from HARL. MS., 319, 39 b. [2] Page 308. HUGHSON, IV., 209. It was built by Bishop Hadfield, circ. 1382.—STOW, CHRON., 294. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 578; PRIV. SEAL, 7193. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 294. In a letter written in London, July 19th, 1406, the King, Queen, and Princes are reported to be in good health.—JURADE, 49. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 607, December 4th, 1406. [6] CONC., III., 284. [7] DEP. KEEP. 2ND REPT., II., 183. [8] CONC., III., 303. [9] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., June 7th, 1406. [10] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 799; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 4. [11] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., June 7th, 1406.

in attendance. On June 28th,[1] commissioners were appointed to enquire into the accounts of sheriffs, escheators, alnagers, customers, controllers, and other officers of finance, and to take evidence on oath. The Sheriff[2] of Northumberland, Sir John Clavering, urged, as usual,[3] that he could not get in his rents and fees because of the devastations of the rebels and the Scots, but the Treasurer refused to admit the plea, though a reduction[4] of one-third was allowed in collecting the tonnage and poundage.

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 7 d. [2] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 10, June 14th, 1406. [3] See pages 59, 116; also Vol. I., 192. [4] REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 14th, 1406.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Lady Philippa.

Four years had run out since the Lady Philippa had been contracted in marriage to Eric,[1] King of Denmark. The document expressing the terms of the contract had been put into a little box,[2] and stowed away in a chest in the Exchequer, docketed with a pair of clipping[3] hands, as a symbol of plighted troth. Looking to the lapse of time and the various possibilities[4] of the case, it is remarkable that these hands had not come unclasped again. Communications, however, had been kept up, and arrangements continued during the interval, and, at last, the time had come for carrying the contract into effect. The archives at Copenhagen have been recently searched for papers relating to the history of England, but they appear to contain nothing bearing upon these negociations, except a duplicate of a passport for Archdeacon Pether Lykke,[5] dated May 3rd, 1401.[6] From such fragments as have floated down on the English side, we know that the Archdeacon continued[7] to be

[1] Variously called Eric I.—Moréri, viii., 445; Eric X.—Anderson, 419; Eric XIII., of Sweden.—Anderson, 427; Myroure of Oure Ladye, xiii.; M. A. E. Green, iii., 346; and Lagardie Collection of MS. at Löberöd in Sweden, ii., 23-26, in Dep. Keep. 43rd Rept., 32, App. ii. In Detmar, ii., 7, he is "Hertich Erik van pomeren de upghenomen was van margareten." [2] Kal. and Inv., ii., 65, June 26th, 1402; Dep. Keep, 45th Report, 314. [3] Earliest English Wills, 102. "Kissyng and clippyng."—Wycl. (M.), 218; P. Plo., xx., 156; xxi., 464; Chaucer, Merchants' Tale, 10287; H. Hall, Exchеq., 57; Gower, Conf. Am., 207, 211, 240, 277, 284, 303, 399; "biclippe," "bicliptide."—Wycl. (M.), 462. [4] Vol. I., p. 449. [5] Langebek, vi., 513. In Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{85}{32}$, App. f, he is called Master Peter Luk. In Brunius, 162, he is Peder Lycke; M. A. E. Green (iii., 351) calls him Luck. [6] Already printed in Rot. Scot., ii., 158. The Danish copy has no year attached, but it is certainly wrong to assign it to the reign of Henry VI. Dep. Keep., 45th Rept., App. ii., p. 4). [7] Roy. Let., i., 411.

employed till the contract was complete. But now that Henry had taken his place securely among the sovereigns of Europe, he was not so eager to arrange profitless matches for his children in a poor and distant land, amongst a people sunk[1] in sloth and lechery.[2] Such, at least, was the English estimate of the degenerate descendants of their Scandinavian forebears. Accordingly, the proposal to marry the heir of England's throne to a Danish wife was tacitly dropped. Indeed, from the first there had been much haziness as to the exact terms of the proposal. The Prince, we may remember,[3] had agreed to betroth[4] himself to Catherine, the sister of Eric, but, when the accredited envoy, Sir William Bourchier, reached Scandinavia two months later, he proceeded to treat with someone whose name appears on the records[5] as Isabella *(sic)*, Queen of Denmark, for marrying the Prince to a daughter of Philippa *(sic)*, Queen of Denmark. But, whatever the lady's name might be, nothing[6] came of the match, and Catherine married King Rupert's second son Hans, Duke of Sulzbach (August 15th, 1407).[7]

[1] Gens scortis et otio dedita.—ANN., 413. [2] WYCL. (A.), I., 70. [3] For Danish envoys in London, March, 1401, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{3}$, App. B. [4] Vol. I., p. 258, May 8th, 1402. For his previous contract to Marie, daughter of Duke John IV. of Brittany, in 1395, see Vol. I., p. 260; LOBINEAU, II., 791-793; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 43. COSNEAU (478) mistakes him for his father, Henry IV. For marriage of the Duke's sister, Joan, with Ralph Basset, Lord of Drayton, who died in 1389, see TEST. VET., I., 126, where his will is given. Joan died November 8th, 1403, and is buried at Lavendon, near Olney.—*Ibid.*, I., 157. [5] FOR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., has Bourchier's expenses from June 29th, 1402, to January 15th, 1403. See also DEVON, 311, from ISSUE ROLL, May 17th, 1409; RYM., VIII., 265, 447; TYLER, I., 254; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 349. The entry is probably a mere clerical error. For specimens of other mistakes, see App. W. [6] SOLLY-FLOOD, 87. [7] MALLET, 381; LANGEBEK, III., 277; NICHOLS, 13; MART., COLL., IV., 133-140; RTA, VI., 15; CHMEL, 144; SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 522, 591, 657; II., 512, 562; HÖFLER, 321. Not 1410, as MESSENIUS, III., 42, followed by M. A. E. GREEN, III., 362. "Item min herre habe noch einen son herzog Hannsen mit namen."—RTA., IV., 441; V., 198, 493, 543, 665. He was to start from Heidelberg August 1st, 1407, and travel viâ Cologne and Hamburg. See the curious state-paper, where 100,000 florins were to be asked as dower, with the expectation of getting only half the amount.

When Philippa was betrothed to Eric in May, 1402, she was only eight years old. She was King Henry's seventh child, born at Leicester, July 4th, 1394,[1] and her mother had died in giving her birth. Her sister, Blanche, was then two years old, and the two little things were taken to Bytham Castle,[2] near Corby, in Lincolnshire, under the charge of a nurse named Maud. Here their father visited them in July, 1395, and some clothes were brought down from London to smarten them up to meet him. A few months later, they were taken up to London to spend their Christmas with him. In 1397,[3] they were with their brother Humphrey at Eaton Tregoes on the Wye, near Ross, and were moved about between Bytham, Hertford, and Tutbury, under the charge of Kate Puncherdon and Mary Rodes, who did their heads[4] and managed for them now that their mother was gone; and we know how much was paid for their black gowns with the white sleeves, their chaplets of crimson and white taffeta and red tartrin, and how they were dressed in damask baudekin[5] of white silk and red Cyprus for Christmastide. When their father went into exile, they were left in the care of Hugh Waterton, at Eaton Tregoes, with their brother Humphrey, where a chaplain was to say mass daily with them for their mother's soul. A clerk named Thomas Rothwell[6] was to instruct the little Humphrey, and Kate Puncherdon bought their shoes and got black suits for them from London when their grandfather died. The Wardrobe Accounts[7] for the same year (1399), show that the two girls required no less than 18,529

[1] NICHOLS, 9; MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 283; WALS., II., 214; not 1393, as M. A. E. GREEN, III., 343. [2] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 4, App. A; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 308. [3] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 5, App. A. [4] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 311, hopes that "rasura" is "only a figurative expression for hair-dressing." [5] Named originally from Bagdad. —S. W. BECK, 13. [6] TYLER, I., 16; HOLT, 54. [7] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 11, 12, App. C.

miniver wombs, 4,540 weasels backs, and 1,531 ermine beasts to find them in pellure[1] for their dresses and shoes, though this may include the liveries of the mistress, the four damsels, the four chambermaids, and the Master in Philosophy, who lived with them and formed their household. In 1402, Blanche left England to be married, and the sisters never met again. Then came Philippa's own engagement to King Eric, and, in the following winter, she was present at her father's marriage with Queen Joan, entries in the record[2] showing that two new whirls with their harness were purchased, an old chair[3] and saddle were repaired, and horses hired to convey her and her retinue to Winchester for the wedding; and that, on her way down, she and her brothers, John and Humphrey, stayed at the house of John Francis at Newbury, and, on their way back, at the house of Margaret Guildford at Guildford (February 12th, 1403).

In the following summer, when her father was summoned to the field against the Percies at Shrewsbury, the Lady de Mohun sent her chair for her to travel from Windsor to London. Thence she rode with her new mother, Queen Joan, along the great pilgrim-road by Dartford, Sittingbourne, and Boughton, to Canterbury,[4] where she offered her noble at the "blissful martyr's"[5] shrine. She was at this time under the charge of Dame Kate, wife of Sir Hugh Waterton; and the records[6]

[1] WYCL. (M.), 12, 92, 121, 127, 148. Compare :—

Un qui n'a maison ni cuisine,
Portera martres ou fayne (foines.—P. PARIS, 258.)
Comme fera le fils d'un duc.—BONET, APPARITION, 28.

[2] L. T. R. ENROL. WARD. ACCTS., 11, 14, App. C. [3] Not "couch," as M. A. E. GREEN, III., 352. For "chare" (chariot), see GOWER, CONF. AM., 76, 187, 190, 232, 264, 351, 355, 369. For "Satan's chaar" (=wayn, or carte), see WYCL. (M.), 259, 262. [4] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{68}{4}$, App. B. Queen Joan's halts at Dartford, Sittingbourne, Shiningwell [? Shinglewell, near Ifield (HASTED, I., 461)], Newington, Boughton, and Wickham, probably refer to this journey. [5] CHAUCER, PROL., 772. [6] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCOUNTS, App. C.; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{95}{33}$, App. F.

contain items for making, furring, and lining her gowns according to the time of year, and for gearing a saddle with gilt harness for her palfrey. From this date we have no further notice of her; but a small roll,[1] kept by her chariot-varlet, records the number of her coursers,[2] trotters,[3] and bastards at various places, such as Berkhampstead, Southwark, Eltham, and Watford; the names of the horses, *e.g.*, "Sorrell Warwick,"[4] "Grisell Clifford," and "Lyard Bewley,"[5] being probably an indication of the names of the donors.

In the spring of 1404,[6] Archdeacon Lykke was in England pressing for the marriage on behalf of Eric, but the council could only postpone consideration "for certain reasons and colours that shall be communicated." It is certain, indeed, that the match was not popular in England. Poor as the country was, 4,000 nobles[7] were about to pass out of it to help to pay the retrospective dowry of the Lady Blanche, for which the "reasonable aid" of 20s. for every knight's fee[8] was only now coming in[9] from abbots, priors, dukes, lords, and great ladies, after five years of delay. Dunning reminders[10] from King Rupert were constantly to hand to enable him to pay up for his quarrel with Wenzel, and the Rolls[11] are dotted thick

[1] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{31}$, App. F. [2] For "coursiers," see DESCHAMPS, V., 95, 121. [3] SHARPE, II., 50; HOLT, 171; "trotier."—DESCHAMPS, V., 102. [4] For "Sorelle" as the name of a horse, see P. MEYER, 386, 399. [5] P. PLO., XX., 64, 331; HOLT, 173. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 222. [7] DEP. KEEP., 45TH REPT., 315, has Rupert's receipt, dated September 17th, 1406. ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1406. [8] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 34 d. [9] PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV., Essex. Norwich.—RYM., VIII., 460; REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., November 12th, 1410; and February 23rd, 1411, for Prior of Bath. Also DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 5-7, App. A, showing £4 6s. 8d. in 1407, £3 5s. 7d. (1408), £6 13s. 4d. (1409), £4 6s. 10d. (1411). [10] MART., COLL., IV., 105, 123; *ibid.*, ANEC., I., 1709-1711; RYM., VIII., 528. CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 12, shows that Bartholomew van Neevenburgh, "servant to our brother King of the Romans," was then in London. For Rupert's financial difficulties after his return from Italy in 1402, see RTA., V., 15, 358, 650; HÖFLER, RUPRECHT., 299. [11] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 27th, 1406, and *passim.*

with payments of arrears to silkwomen,[1] carpenters, furriers, and other patient creditors who had been waiting till the Exchequer could settle their claims for outfits long overdue. Moreover, the best minds in England were beginning to revolt against the practice of wedding young children to unseen mates, and Lydgate[2] and Hoccleve[3] both voice the rising protest in poems written very near the time when these negociations were afoot.

It was whispered that the English King had some special motive in this Danish match, and that Archdeacon Lykke[4] was to have a commission for pressing the case. He was certainly a favourite with Henry, who gave him a large silver-gilt image[5] of an archbishop holding in his hand a pyx enclosing some relics certified to be pieces of St. John of Beverley, St. Sigfrid of York,[6] the Apostle of Sweden, and other English saints. The omen did not wait long for its fulfilment, for in 1409,[7] the

[1] For the silkwomen and throwsters of London, see HERBERT, I., 104, 231. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 112, has £360 paid for articles to Margt. Strawston, silkwoman, of London; also £125 13s. 8d. (May 4th, 1403), &c., &c. For Cecily Silkwyff, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1-4, App. 4.

[2] And other next I saugh there in gret rage,
That thei were maried in her tendir age,
Withoute fredom of electioun,
Wher love hath seld domynacioune.—
LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, p. 8 (written circ. 1403).

[3] I dar not medle of lordes mariages,
How thei hem knytte her makes unsene;
But as for me it seemethe suche usages
Not worthe a strawe—for also mote I thene
Reportethe not so siker jugges ben
As man to see the womman's person,
In whiche choice lete man hymself alone.—
HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 60 (circ. 1410).
Weddyng at home in this land holesome were,
So that man hym weddede duely;
To see the flesshe first it may nothyng clere,
And hym avyse how hym thynkethe therby,
Or he be knytte.—*Ibidem*, 61.

[4] Not "Hicke," as FRENCH ROLL, 7 H. IV., 15; RYMER, VIII., 425.
[5] LANGEBEK, VIII., 449, where "Philippus" most probably means Henry IV. [6] FANT, II., 344-376; RAINE, YORK, 170. For his tomb at Wexio, see ALBAN BUTLER, I., 239. [7] LANGEBEK, VI., 632; VII., 197.

Archdeacon became Bishop of Ribe, and ten years later, Archbishop of Lund; and when he died, in 1436, he left the reliquary[1] to be kept amongst the treasures of his cathedral there.

The marriage scheme, meanwhile, was not allowed to drop. Lykke returned and had an interview with King Eric about August 15th, 1404.[2] Bishop Young, of Bangor, sailed from England with a notary, Thomas Prys, and stayed some time in Norway and Sweden "composing certain instruments."[3] On November 18th, 1404,[4] six envoys were assembled at Jönköping, on Lake Wetter, ready to cross to England on Eric's behalf, and urge the fulfilment of the marriage-contract. They had waited in vain for a fair wind since Michaelmas, and now, with the winter coming on, it seemed impossible to get across before the end of February, 1405. Their names were:—Eysteinn, Bishop of Anslo;[5] Aubern, Provost of the new Postulakirkja at Bergen; Archdeacon Lykke; Thure Benktson,[6] and two[7] other knights; and, when the Baltic was open in the following spring, they sailed across to London, where they were lodged[8] with John Scrivener in Fleet Street. They proved themselves to be accomplished gentlemen, and agreeably surprised the English with whom they came in contact. The Bishop,[9] especially,

[1] For reliquaries, see ROCK, III., 356. [2] ROY. LET., I., 409. [3] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 20th, 1406. [4] ROY. LET., I., 406-411; SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 382; not 1405, as M. A. E. GREEN, III., 352. [5] Or Opslo, now a suburb of Christiania.—CLUVIER, 232. Called Episcopus Solucensis, Absolensis, Asloensis, or Osloensis, in LANGEBEK, VI., 618; NIEM, LIB. CANC., 32. Cf. the "Mariknyght of Aslowe."—FROST, App. [6] So named in his will, dated at Wadstena, March 14th, 1405.—SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 428; LANGEBEK, I., 397; IV., 622; V., 497, 533. Or "Benctzsohn."—WAZSTEN., DIAR., 150; or "Thuro Benedicti Bielke."—FANT, I., 31, 60, 96; III., 128. Cf. CHRON. MAJ., 61; OLAF PETRI, in FANT, I., II., 282; also PETRI LAURENT., 107. In OLAI ERIC, 125, he is senator legifer Uplandiæ. [7] In ANN., 412, the writer, who had talked freely with the Bishop, says there were five knights. [8] For their expenses, £358 16s. 11½d., see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$. App. B. [9] ANN., 412; WALS., II., 271.

quite charmed the monks at St. Alban's by his familiarity with the history of their patron saint, and the intelligent questions that he put as to the facts of the Protomartyr's life. He was complimented by being asked to preach before the King in Latin, and was generally a decided favourite. The envoys pressed their suit with great earnestness. Their king, they said, asked for no dowry in money. He only wanted a young English wife, and would make her queen of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. King Henry consulted with the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he was well enough to leave York; he put the matter before the Council; he treated the envoys with great respect, and gave them reason to hope that they might look for a favourable reply. "Certain public instruments" were drafted by Master Henry Waire,[1] and, on November 26th, 1405,[2] Philippa was proxy-wed[3] to Eric at Westminster. On December 8th, 1405,[4] she was proclaimed Queen of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, in the presence of the envoys, and assumed the title[5] forthwith. Promises were made that all should be ready for her crossing by the beginning of May, 1406.[6] On March 8th, 1406,[7] all ships of sixty tons burden at Lynn were ordered to be requisitioned for the passage, and on June 12th, 1406,[8] Queen Margaret was at Randers on the Cattegat, looking for her arrival every day.

But no "reasonable aid" could be claimed this time for the outfit, as Philippa was not the eldest girl, and the King's illness,

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., January 21st, 1406, records his payment, 66s. 8d., which M. A. E. GREEN, III., 351, thinks "a very moderate bill." [2] Page 308, note 2. "Nova nescio, nisi quod noviter fit Regina Dacie filia domini nostri regis Angliæ, cum qua vicesimo sexto die Novembr., apd. Westm. contraxit matrimonium procuratorio nomine rex terræ prædictæ."—LETTER OF G. STONE in HARL. MS., 431, 130 (111). [3] Per medias personas.—RYM., VIII., 447; OLAI ERIC, 125. [4] ANN., 417; WALS., II., 272; HYPODIG., 417. [5] RYM., VIII., 443, 446; SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 569, 575; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 294; DEVON, 304. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 291. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 2 d; ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., June 26th, 1406. [8] HR., V., 247; SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 739.

combined with lack of funds, necessitated a further delay. At length, however, the preparations were seriously taken in hand. On May 13th,[1] letters under the Great Seal were despatched to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights and others, urging them to advance money to the King "for certain arduous and pressing matters." Commissioners were appointed on June 28th,[2] to borrow from the leading citizens of London, Newcastle, Norwich, Bristol, and York, and wherever else advances were to be had. The prospects were good, and money came in freely. Bishop Beaufort[3] lent £600, Archbishop Arundel £400, the Duke of York £536, John Hende £3,000,[4] and Richard Whittington £6,421 7s. 7d.[5] The Florentine merchants[6] found 1,000 marks, the Genoese 400, and 1,000 marks[7] were taken from the revenues of the vacant bishopric of Durham; so that, on July 28th, 1406, a total of £16,605 1s. 1d. was entered on the Receipt Roll of the Exchequer, though the whole of the previous entries since Easter amounted to only £2,512 10s. 6½d.

On June 22nd,[8] an order was issued to charter ten ships and four balingers[9] in London, Newcastle,[10] or the coast towns of Norfolk for the crossing. William Loveney[11] was appointed

[1] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 18. [3] RYM., VIII., 448; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 7, August 9th, 10th, 12th, 1406. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 108. DUC. LANC. REC., XXV., A. 40, has grant to him of lands in Moggerhanger (Beds.) and South Milne (Leicestershire).—9 H. IV. [5] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 3; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 16. [6] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 3. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 15, June 30th, 1406. For another list of lenders, see RYM., VIII., 488. [8] FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., has John Elyngeham's account for getting the ships, and Loveney's account for fitting them. [9] A lighter class of war-vessels, see JAL, s.v. Baleinier; CATHOL., s.v. Balyngar. [10] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 10. [11] RYM., VIII., 466; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 2, July 22nd, 1406; ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., June 26th, 1406. Not Soveney, as M. A. E. GREEN, III., 357; nor Loveday, as DEVON, 276. He was Keeper of the Great Wardrobe till April 8th, 1408, when Richard Clifford, junior, was appointed to succeed him at a salary of £100 per annum, and 12d. per day.—ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH.; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 30. Loveney's account ends May 1st, 1408,

Treasurer for the expenses, Richard Ramsay[1] was to control the accounts, and Richard Clifford the younger[2] (not the Bishop), who had managed the purchases for Blanche's trousseau, was now to be Wardrober[3] for Philippa. His register[4] is still preserved, and would, if printed, prove dainty reading for the curious in mediæval[5] dress, when the slim waist,[6] long small fingers,[7] and sunny gold-wire hair[8] were the accepted ideal of girlish beauty. Robes, hoods, mantles, surcotes,[9] copegowns,[10] kirtles, trains of white satin and crimson

with an adverse balance of £4,783 13s. 1½d.—L.T.R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCOUNTS, 12, 2, App. c.; Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{11}$, App. B. In CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 9, June 21st, 1411, William Loveney is escheator in Essex. See also ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 184, 185.

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 13. [2] DEVON, 283, 303; EUL., III., lxiv. He was succeeded April 1st, 1412, as Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, by Thomas Ringwood, whose appointment dates from March 8th, 1412.—L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, App. c. On February 8th, 1411, Clifford was appointed to a prebend at Westminster.–PRIV. SEAL, 650/6765. For his seal with spread eagle, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{95}{35}$, App. F. [3] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., July 28th, 1406; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 2, August 3rd, 1406. [4] FOREIGN ACCTS., 10 H. IV.; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{95}{32}$, App. F. [5] For ladies dress in 1400, see PISAN, II., 207; LYDGATE, TEMPLE, 12; PERCY SOC., 27; DESCHAMPS, VI., 79, 238. [6] CONTEMP. REV., January 1893, p. 104. [7] And whan she taketh her werk on honde
Of weving, or of embrouderie,
Than can I nought but muse and prie
Upon her fingers longe and small.—
GOWER, CONF. AM., 189.

[8] And how her yelwe hair was tressed,
And her attire so wel adressed.—*Ibid.*, 399.
Hire yelwe here was broided in a tresse
Behind hire back, a yerde long I gesse.—
CHAUCER, KNIGHT'S TALE, 1051.
Hire brighte heer was kempt untressed al.—*Ibid.*, 2291.
Rynsid hir tressis like the goldin wyre.—
KING'S QUAIR, in LYDGATE, TEMPLE, cxxxii.
Whos sonnysh here brighter than gold were.—
LYDGATE, TEMPLE, p. 11, line 171, with Note p. 89.

[9] BLOXAM, 156; PISAN, II., 234. [10] Compare:—
In kirtles and in copés riche
They weren clothed alle aliche.—
GOWER, CONF. AM., 191, 269.

velvet, collars stiff with pearls,[1] and sleeves[2] broidered[3] with oak and maple leaves and white flowers-of-delight and purfled[4] with ermine and white fur; whole pieces of scarlet,[5] sanguine, greyrusset,[6] bluet and blanket,[7] with all the novelries[8] in Irish frieze furred with grays, blue bawdekin[9] worked with gold swans and falcons, red Racamat,[10] blue Cyprus,[11] satin, tartrin[12] and Tripoli[13] sendal;[14] ells upon ells of tapets[15] from the woollen

[1] And many a perled garnement
Embrouded was ayein the day.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 83.
Cf. "To be gaie and costelewe of array of clothis and keuerchers and perlis and ribanys or siche vanytes."—WYCL. (M.), 205. [2] For poke sleeves, cf.
And but if the slevis slide on ye erthe,
Thei wol be wrothe as ye wynde.—RICH. REDELES, III., 152.
See also ST. DENYS, III., 272; HYMNS TO THE VIRGIN, p. X., E. E. T. S. (1867); FAIRHOLT, 176; MORLEY, VI., 126. For attack on "low-bodies," a fashion introduced in 1429, see GASC., 144. William Staunton saw a number of dressy people in the Purgatory (p. 169), "summe with no jagges on hir clothis than hole cloth, summe with long pokes on hire sleves, and women with gownes trayleng bihinde hem a moche space."—T. WRIGHT, PURGATORY, 145. Cf. GERSON, V., 608. [3] For the king's brouderer, see PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 35. For English embroidery, see RAYNAL, II., 451. For fifteenth century woven designs, see FISCHBACH, *passim*. [4] HOLT, 80.

[5] Un marchand al robe vermeille,
Portera d'escarlaste fine,
Sa femme vestu comme Royne.—BONET, APPARITION, 28.
Where ben my gownes of scarlet,
Sangweyn, murrey, and blewes sadde and light,
Grenes also, and the faire violet?—HOCCL., DE REG., 26.

[6] PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 18; P. PLO., XVII., 298, 342. [7] Quinze serges de blanket.—P. MEYER, 383. [8] WYCL. (M.), 50, 94, and *passim*. [9] FAIRHOLT, 172; PLANCHÉ, 30; HOLT, 73. [10] DUCHANGE, S.V. Racamas; also Rakemask.—ARCHÆOL., L., 504, 517; drap d'or ragmas.—RYM., VIII., 295; racamat d'or de Lucques.—ITINÉRAIRES, 566; rakemas de soie.—LABORDE, I., li. [11] For fyn drap d'ore de Cipre, see WILLS OF KINGS, 179; ITINÉRAIRES, 567, 569. For drap d'or de Chipre vert, see BAYE, II., lxix. [12] "A silk fabric."—S. W. BECK, 343; STAFF. REG., 422. "An inferior kind of satin."—HOLT, 73. [13] Sindon de tripl'. ROGERS (I., 570, 580) translates it "silk"; but see PROMPT. PARV., S.V., and CATHOL., 329, from which it would appear to be a very fine linen or muslin.—ARCHÆOL., LII., 207; HOLT, 73. In DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 1, App. A, cindon de tripl' costs 3s. 6d. per ell.—M. A. E. GREEN, III., 309. [14] For "selke and sendel," see P. PLO., IX.; cendal vermeil or azur.—BAYE, II., lxx.; or violet.—LIB. CUST., 706; PLANCHÉ, I., 88; S. W. BECK, 61. "The courtines were of sendall thinne."—GOWER, CONF. AM., 73. [15] Pages 247, 308. For tapis de laine, see PISAN, II., 94, 307.

looms of Arras,[1] Rheims,[2] and Chalons;[3] webs of fustian and sheetings[4] from Brabant, East- and Westphalia,[5] and Champagne; silk chaplets, beaver caps garnished with silk buttons and tassels, wool, thread, riband, and cord by the pound weight, leather cushions, bags, budges, trussable coffers, pruskists,[6] iron folding-chairs, stores of boots, shoes, and pinsons[7] of the newest mode; saddles[8] with gold harness and silver spangs;[9] a tent painted with angels holding the arms of England; four knives in a sheath with jet handles tricked with silver and gold, a silver

[1] For Arras worked with historical and allegorical subjects (*e.g.*, St. Anne, the Seven Sages, the Twelve Peers, &c.), delivered to the Queen of France in 1402, see ECOLE DES CH., XXXVII., 397; XLVIII., 59, 396; L., 171; DOUET D'ARCQ, II., 300. In 1415, the Duke of York left to his wife his "tapestry of garters, fetterlocks, and falcons."—ARCHÆOL., XXIX., 34, from TEST. VET. The tapestry presented to Timur by the Spanish envoys in 1403 was specially admired at Samarcand for its delicacy of workmanship and delineation.—CHERYF-ED-DYN, IV., 178. See also DEHAISNES, II., 791, 844, 846, 907; ITINÉRAIRES, 547, 567; CORP. CHRIST. GILD, 238; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{33}$, App. F. [2] Tel' de Reyns. For "Rains" (*i.e.*, Rheims), see FROIS., II., 415, and *passim*; also MONSTR., IV., 336, 398, &c.; DESCHAMPS, III., 313; V., 223, 316; ITINÉRAIRES, 571; COMPTES DE L'HOTEL, 150; HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, TRÉSOR, 77; RAYNAL, II., 450, 505. Not "Rennes," as TYRWHITT, GLOSS., II., 613; BELL, CHAUCER, VI., 144; ARCHÆOL., L., 506; LII., 200; LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., V., 430; SHARPE, I., 438, 479; II., xiv., xxxvi., 155; S. W. BECK, 273; HOLT, 64, 74, 81. For serica Remensia, see MEYER, 214; ST. DENYS, II., 566. KAL. AND INV., III., 366, has lintheaux de raynes fyn et bastard raynes. Cf. lincheaux de Reyns.—WILLS OF KINGS, 181; SURREY ARCH. COLL., II., 171; toille de Rayns.—DEHAISNES, II., 843, 845; panni linei Reynes.—CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 32; GIBBONS, ELY REC., 194, 195; drap de Reins.—P. MEYER, 383, 384; telæ de Reynes, telæ de Champanie.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 4, App. A; panno lineo de Champeyn.—*Ibid.*, 5. [3] "With shetes and with chalons faire yspredde."—CHAUCER, REVE'S TALE, 4138. [4] For lintheam' tel' Henenaud', see GIBBONS, ELY REC., 195. [5] *i.e.*, Saxony east and west of the Weser.—L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCOUNTS, XI., 12, App. C. [6] Page 7. DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 5 a, App. A. For "kist," see GOWER, CONF. AM., 244, 421.

[7] MUN. ACAD., 450.
Et petit pié deguise nouvelete
Doulcetement chauciez.—PISAN, II., 207.

[8]
Frains dorez selles couvertes
Avoyent blanches et vertes
Et de diverses couleurs.—*Ibid.*, 239.

[9] "Full of quaking spangis brycht as gold."—ANGLIA, III., 238; KING'S QUAIR, II., 27; PROMPT. PARV., 313, 467; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{1}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B.

almsdish[1] embossed with seven leopards, beds of gold cloth worked with flowers, or of white satin broidered with the King's arms, and packed in bear-hide cloth-sacks, together with coverlets and dossers[2] of blue carde,[3] celers[4] garnished with silk fringe, and mattresses covered with buckram and tartrin; a whirl,[5] painted inside and out, upholstered with red satin, and fitted with draught-reins, collars, dorsers, and cruppers from the chariotmakers.[6] The inventory[7] of her plate is also still on record, and shows two candlers,[8] a paxboard,[9] a pair of cruets, a bell, twelve spoons, and two saucers, besides pots, hanaps, skillets,[10] spiceplates, and basins, all of silver. All these entries stand priced in the account with business-like exactness. The purchases at the skinners, clothiers, saddlers, vinters, and vestmentmakers, were on a royal scale, and on the 6th[11] and 14th of August, 1406, the entries on the Exchequer Roll on this account amount to £4,182 13s. 10d.

The chiefs of the escort were:—Bishop Bowet,[12] of Bath and Wells; Richard,[13] brother to the Duke of York, who had required an extra grant of money to get himself ready for the voyage; Sir Henry Scrope, who had just succeeded his father

[1] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}^{8}$, App. B. [2] SHARPE, I., 547, 670; II., xxxiii.; HIST. MSS., IXTH REPT., I., 137. [3] SHARPE, II., 37. [4] *Ibid.*, II., 348. For "proud beddis-testeris and curtaines," see WYCL. (M.), 434. [5] DEVON, 276. [6] ISSUE ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., December 10th, 1412. For lady's carriage (fourteenth century) from the LUTTRELL PSALTER, see JUSSERAND, 97; GARDINER, 273. [7] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{5}$, App. F. [8] PROMPT. PARV., 60; CATHOL., 52. [9] ARCHÆOL., XX., 534; XLVI., 266; LEE, 254, s.v. osculatorium; SHARPE, I., 660; II., 272, 469; LAY FOLKS MASS BOOK, 48, 295; PROMPT. PARV., 388, s.v. paxbrede; ROCK, IV., 165, and Frontispiece. [10] LIB. CUST., 723; COTGRAVE, s.v. Escuelle; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}^{8}$, App. B. [11] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH. [12] RYM., VIII., 447; SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 578; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 2; ANN., 420; WALS., II., 274. [13] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 294. Called Richard de York, in CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 17 d, and FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 18. For his handwriting, see ORIG. LET., Series II., I., 48; NICHOLS, 3 A, who refers to his portrait on glass in Canterbury Cathedral, in HARL. MS., 5805, f. 323. For his seal, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{4}$, App. F.

as Lord of Masham ;[1] Sir Henry Fitzhugh,[2] and Master Richard Courtenay,[3] who afterwards became Bishop of Norwich. A King's minstrel, and a varlet of the Queen's kitchen, had already gone forward to be ready "against her arrival,"[4] and a large number[5] of lords, ladies, knights, squires, clerks, chaplains, varlets,[6] and butchers were appointed to accompany her :—all, from the bishop downwards, clad in livery[7] of scarlet and green. There were six knights, viz. :—Walter Hungerford (her chamberlain), Peter Buckton (the steward of her household) and his son John, John Monington, John Bodeville, and another ; the ladies Bromwich, Ann Lisle, and Kate Waterton, and eight damsels, including Kate Puncherdon and Mary Scales, who had gone across with Blanche to Heidelberg four years before ; there were three squires, eight clerks of the spicery and other such offices, an usher, eight minstrels, fifteen pages of the chamber, including the donzel Thomas Molington, Lord of Wem,[8] and eighty grooms and varlets. Two guns and 40lbs. of powder were put on board, together with a stock of stones,[9] bungs, malls, tampons,[10] touches,[11] firepans, bellows, pavises, bows and arrows ; for the voyage was long, and the seas were dangerous. They carried also thirty barrels of beer[12] (which cost £48), three butts of Romney[13] and Malmsey and sweet

[1] Issue Roll, 10 H. IV., Mich., February 4th, 1409. [2] Pat., 14 H. IV., 23 ; Priv. Seal, 656/7346. [3] Chron. R. II.–H. VI., 34 ; Lel., Coll., I., 486 ; Blomefield, II., 374. Not Edmund Courtenay, Bishop of Worcester, as Godstowe, 240. [4] Fr. Roll, 7 H. IV., 8, April 15th, 20th, 1406. [5] Generosorum magnâ multitudine.—Chron. Giles, 49. [6] Pat., 7 H. IV., 2, 3 ; Fr. Roll, 7 H. IV., 2 ; Rymer, VIII., 450. [7] Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{95}{32}$, $\frac{95}{34}$, $\frac{95}{35}$, App. F. [8] By his marriage with Elizabeth le Botyler.—Eyton, IX., 178. [9] Rym., VIII., 447 ; Silfverstolpe, I., 576 ; M. A. E. Green, III., 353 ; Ellis, Orig. Let., II., i., 67. [10] See Cotgrave, s.v. [11] Duc. Lanc. Rec., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A, shows £4 paid in 1403, for six cannon cum 2 ferris vocat. touches. [12] Issue Roll, 8 H. IV., Mich., October 29th, 1406. [13] Strong Greek wines.—Issue Roll, 7 H. IV., Pasch., August 14th, 1406. In Duc. Lanc. Rec., XXVIII., 3, 5 c, App. A (1394), a rundlet of Romney costs 20s., and a butt of Tiro, 108s.

Spanish Lepe,[1] together with "divers silver and gilt vessels." The last velvets[2] and wildware[3] had been bought at Whittington's, the last wax and spice at the Chicheles; the Treasury supplied £465 6s. 8d.[4] in cash and the commission was finally signed on July 28th, 1406.

After a short stay at Hertford,[5] the King and Queen with the princes, Henry, Thomas, and Humphrey, set out on July 19th,[6] to accompany the bride to Lynn. We trace them at Barley[7] (July 20th), Babraham[8] (July 21st), thence by Newmarket[9] to Bury St. Edmunds, where they heard mass on July 24th. They then turned north to Thetford,[10] where Philippa rested while the King and Queen made a *détour* by Wymondam and Norwich to Walsingham.[11] On August 4th,[12] King Henry was at Castle Rising, and, a day or two afterwards, he entered Lynn,[13] where he was joined by Murdach Stewart, the Earls of Douglas and Orkney, and quite a crowd[14] of notables.

Great preparations[15] were made for his reception at Lynn. The royal party stayed nine days[16] in the town, and young John Capgrave,[17] Lynn's most distinguished son, then a studious lad

[1] Page 247, note 5; PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 19. [2] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., August 14th, 1406. [3] NOTT. REC., II., 20; KUNZE, 183. Not "pearls," as DEVON, 303, where pl. stands for pellibus. For "ffurris of ffoyne and other ffelleware," see RICH. RED., III., 150. [4] DEVON, 304. [5] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 1, July 18th, 1406; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, July 19th, 1406. [6] FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. [7] Not "Berkeley," as CUSSANS, I., 10. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, m. 27; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 355. [9] Not "Newark," as M. A. E. GREEN. [10] ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETIES' REPORT, XIII., 201. [11] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, mm. 38, 69, has entries dated Walsingham, August 1st, 2nd, 1406. [12] *Ibid.*, Part 3, m. 38. [13] For entries dated Lynn, August 7th, 10th, 11th, 1406, see CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 1; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, m. 47; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 13, 5, App. C; though PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 25, and DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 4 (b), App. A, have entries dated at Pontefract, August 11th, 1406, which should probably be 1405; see page 279, note 10, and page 297, note 2. [14] LEL., COL., VI., 301. [15] The Merchant Gild advanced £58 15s. 10d. to help defray the cost.—HIST. MSS., 11TH REPT., App. III., 229. [16] CAPGRAVE, 292. [17] MORLEY, VI., 146; CAPGRAVE, KATH., V., 17.

of twelve,[1] saw them as they passed along the streets. Richard of York was the last to arrive. He left London on August 7th,[2] and, soon[3] after he reached Lynn, the little squadron put to sea, Philippa being berthed in one of the King's ships, the "Holy Ghost of the Tower,"[4] whose captain was named John Gold. The "Holy Ghost" was fit up with a pavilion[5] of carde, and above and below the hatches were two cabins of waxed canvas and red worsted hung with cloth of gold. The new Admiral of the Merchants, Nicholas Blackburn,[6] was in command of the ships, seconded by the veteran John Brandon,[7] of Lynn, who had had a large experience as a corsair in the North Sea.

The voyage was not without its discomfort, but the party landed at length in safety at Helsingborg,[8] on the eastern side of the Sound. They found the bridegroom[9] a good-looking, active, lusty young fellow, twenty-four years of age,[10] with not much manners about him, though in his own way he gave them a hearty welcome. Unfortunately, we have no record of their impressions of Queen Margaret, the old Amazon,[11] as they called her. She was now approaching[12] her end, and it was

[1] CAPGRAVE, DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 109, where he calls Philippa the *only* daughter. [2] FOREIGN ROLL, 7 H. IV. [3] *i.e.*, after August 21st.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{34}$, App. F, though M. A. E. GREEN, III., 356, gives August 11th as the day of sailing. [4] FOR. ACCTS., 13, has £10 for her repair; also Q. R. WARDRORE, $\frac{9}{35}$, App. F, where her "master" is John Maihwe. [5] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{32}$, App. F. [6] DEVON, 309; ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., June 11th, 1408. [7] Vol. I., 132. [8] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 357. [9] ANN., 420. In OLAI ERIC, 123, he is lascivus et vanus, ad hæreticam pravitatem facile inclinatus. He was hated by the Swedes. Cf. Plurimas nobilium uxores immodicâ raptus libidine violavit. FANT, III., 129. The chronicle DE ORIGINE GENTIS DANORUM, to 1288, printed in 1603, and ascribed to him by LINDENBROG and GRUTER, is probably due to Eric VI. of Denmark (Menved), who died in 1319.—HR., I., x. M. A. E. GREEN, III., 371, calls it a "forgery." [10] LANGEBEK, I., 397; FANT, I., 58. [11] Reading "Amazonia" for "Amaronia," in ANN., 412. See M. A. E. GREEN, III., 345. [12] She died on board ship, at 60 years of age, while crossing from Flensborg, October 27th, 1412.—MALLET, I., 381; POSILJE, 332; OLAI ERIC, 123; GEIJER, 62; FANT, I., 31, 47, 60, 66, 132, 230; MESSENIUS, III., 43. The date is October 29th in LANGEBEK,

believed in England that in her younger days she had donned armour and gone into the thick of battle like a man. Among her own Danes[1] she was a saint, but the Swedes consigned her to the deepest hell. The English found the country altogether impoverished,[2] no crops grown, and everything imported. Disbanded soldiers roamed about, two and three together, quartering themselves on the peasants, and devouring all they had. "*Wo-men*,"[3] the people called them, for the visits of these wasters[4] brought nothing but woe.

The marriage was celebrated with royal pomp[5] on October 26th, 1406,[6] by Archbishop Jappe Geritzson,[7] in the cathedral at Lund,[8] and the coronation followed hard after. Queen Margaret[9] was at the wedding, and the High Master of the German Order had been invited,[10] but he had been laid up[11] with the stone for the last two years, and was obliged to excuse himself from personal attendance. Margaret wrote to

I., 398; IV., 622; V., 407; November 4th, in CORNER, 1199; November 27th, in L'ART DE VER., II., 93. She was buried at Roeskilde.—FANT, III., 210, 305.

[1] OLAI ERIC, 121. [2] See extract from letter of the Chapter of Linköping, 1391, in GEIJER, 61. For the poverty of Sweden, see HIRSCH, DANZIG, 150. [3] Hos *wo men* appellant incolæ quia per tales oppressiones faciunt sibi væ.—ANN., 420. [4] P. PLO., IX., 139. [5] For the pipers and bassooners, see CHRON. RYTHM. MAJUS, in FANT, I., Part 2, p. 61; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 359. [6] LANGEBEK, I., 193, 320, 397; V., 533; VI., 232; VII., 234; OLAI ERIC, 123. Crispini post cras noster princeps fit Erick mas.—FANT, III., 130, 145. In FANT, I., 31, it is circ. fest. Omnium Animarum. MONSTR., I., 403, calls Eric Henry, and places the marriage in 1408. In ALLGEM. DEUTSCHE BIOGR., VI., 207, the date is 1410. [7] LANGEBEK, VI., 632; VII., 261. *i.e.*, Jacobus Gerhardi, or Jakob Gertsen.—WEEKE, 80. Called Gjertsson, or Gertsson, in BRUNIUS, 144, 147; or Gerdtson Grubbe, in CORYLANDER, 51. For his will dated Lund, April 17th, 1410, in which he leaves to Philippa a sapphire ring and a gilt horn called "gripsklo," see SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 288. [8] EUL., III., lxiv. "Lynden."—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{25}{32}$, App. F. "In a toune called Londoun."—CHRON. R. II.–H. VI., 34; FAB., 383; LEL., COL., I., 486; MYROURE OF OURE LADYE, XIII. [9] She was still at Lund on November 6th, 1406.—HR., V., 267. [10] For letter from Queen Margaret to him, dated June 12th, 1406, and his reply July 4th, 1406, see HR., V., 247, 249. [11] "An dem steyne unde ander krangheit."—POSILJE, 285.

him again on November 6th, 1406,[1] offering that, if he would fix a day for a meeting at Helsingborg between Easter and Whitsuntide in the following year, the King of England would send envoys to endeavour to help them to settle their quarrel about Gothland; and when English negociators were treating with the High Master in 1407, they offered their services[2] in bringing about a peaceful settlement. By Christmas, 1406,[3] most of Philippa's escort had returned to England. In 1408,[4] King Eric was made a Knight of the Garter, and Philippa,[5] likewise, received robes as a Lady Companion. In 1409,[6] when Alexander V. was elected Pope, it was the English representatives that conveyed the news to Eric from Pisa in the absence[7] of any official representatives of his own at the Council; and some Swedish castles[8] were committed to the charge of English captains by Queen Margaret before her death in 1412. But henceforward the course of Danish and English history runs upon lines apart.

Philippa was only twelve years old when she sailed from Lynn, and in her new home she tasted "both joy and some sorrow among."[9] An English Franciscan, known as Friar John,[10] remained with her as her confessor, and his russet gown is charged in her account. She had a full stock of chapel furniture[11] and vestments with her from England, such

[1] HR., v., 267. [2] RYM., VIII., 467, 492, 495; HR., v., 331; HIST. MSS., 5TH REPT., 443. [3] ANN., 420, says Advent, *i.e.*, November 28th; but FOR. ACCTS., 7 H. IV., shows that Bishop Bowet did not get back till December 24th, though Lord Scrope arrived in Hull, and Richard of York in London, on December 4th. Richard Clifford returned to Scarborough by January 31st, 1407.—FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. [4] NICOLAS, KNIGHTHOOD, I., 49; II., liv.; BELTZ, liv., clvi.; DEVON, 389. For his arms in the cloisters at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 144, where he is wrongly called John. [5] NICOLAS, KNIGHTHOOD, I., 51; II., lxxx.; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 367. [6] RTA., VI., 695; LENFANT, 347; SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 111. [7] RTA., VI., 475. [8] OLAI ERIC, 122. [9] HALLE, 26a; GRAFTON, 432; HOLINS., II., 532. [10] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{32}\frac{5}{2}$, App. F. [11] *Ibid.*, $\frac{9}{33}\frac{5}{5}$, App. F.

as superaltar, frontal, counter-frontal, curtains, towels, corporas, cope, chasuble, albs, stoles, amices, maniples, tunicles, lectern-cloth, chalice, cruets, alms-dish, and a pew. She grew up to be a wise and virtuous wife,[1] but her husband, Eric, proved a brutal libertine.[2] When he was absent on journeys or pilgrimages,[3] or laid aside with sickness, she acted for him,[4] all difficulties being referred to her, and submitted to her judgment for decision. Certain "old chronicles"[5] seem to have believed that she brought with her an immense fortune; some said a gold medal or ingot worth several thousand florins; others said 100,000 rose-nobles.[6] But the only way to regard these fables is to read them as a parable, for kind hearts are more than ingots, and wisdom than many rose-nobles. It is true that in the year after the marriage,[7] Queen Margaret was able to buy back the island of Gothland,[8] and to pay for it with 10,000 English nobles,[9] but the money had to be raised from the peasantry by fearful shifts. Every horses rump[10] was taxed, the living paid for the dead, and those who had paid for those who had not.

The head of Philippa's household, on her first arrival, had been Catherine Hagtornsen, a grand-daughter[11] of the saintly Brigit, and we may well believe that she was early imbued with a reverence for the "old matron"[12] whose fame had spread

[1] CAPGRAVE, DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 109. [2] LANGEBEK, V., 534. LANNOY (13) was at table with him at Vordingsborg at Whitsuntide, 1413 or 1414. [3] For his visit to Jerusalem in disguise in 1423, see M. A. E. GREEN, III., 372. [4] LANGEBEK, I., 327; VI., 236, 513; VII., 436. [5] MALLET, 381. [6] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 359, supposes these to have been coined from the "ingot," "since the coinage of England could not without loss be sent into Denmark and Sweden." [7] LANGEBEK, I., 398. [8] Page 70. For churches in Gothland, see ATHENÆUM, 11/10/90, p. 488. For an account of Wisby, see ROY. INST. BRIT. ARCHITECTS TRANSACTIONS, II., 66. [9] Nine thousand English nobles had been paid before Sep. 20th, 1408.—HR., V., 408; SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 60, 68; POSILJE, 286, 292; MESSENIUS, III., 41. [10] For the "rumpeskatt," see OLAI ERIC, 120, 129. [11] Not niece, as M. A. E. GREEN, III., 361. She died November 11th, 1407.—MESSENIUS, III., 40, 41. [12] MYROURE, lix.

throughout the Christian world.[1] Many were the stories of her wondrous life:—how she had floated in the air,[2] had prayed till her knees were as hard as a camel's,[3] and had done all manner of miracles, from curing headache[4] and toothache, or reviving a child who had fallen into a water-butt,[5] right away up to raising the dead. In order to conciliate Swedish sentiment, Philippa visited the Brigittine convent at Wadstena,[6] on the shores of Lake Wetter, on January 12th, 1415.[7] She was there shown the relics in presence of the brethren, with whom she spoke, commending herself affectionately to their prayers. She then begged to be admitted as an extern sister, as Queen Margaret had been, and received letters of fraternity,[8] securing to her a share in the spiritual offices of the community. In 1421,[9] she contracted for a daily mass to be said there for herself, her husband, and her parents; and the brethren remarked that she was much more liberal than Eric.[10] She dedicated an altar to St. Anne in the convent church, and was present at the consecration of it by the Archbishop of Upsala, December 27th, 1426;[11] and in the Diary of the monastery, which is still preserved, she is called "the mother and most faithful protectress of our whole order."[12] In 1423-4,[13] she conducted the war against the Hansers out of her own dowry. In 1428,[14] she girded on a sword and defended Copenhagen from the Holsteiners. In the following year,[15] when her husband was away, she ordered a Danish fleet of 75 vessels to attack Stralsund; but the attempt proved disastrous, and, when Eric

[1] MYROURE, xlvii. [2] ACTA SANCT., October 8th, 436, 492, 514. [3] MYROURE, lii. [4] ACTA SANCT., 536, 555. [5] FANT, I., 126. [6] DU CHAILLU, II., 340. [7] FANT, I., 116, 134; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 366; NICHOLS, II. [8] "Thei maken wyves and othir wymmen hure systris by lettris of fraternite and othere japes."—WYCL. (M.), 12; DE APOSTASIA, 36. [9] FANT, I., 142. [10] *Ibid.*, I., 143. [11] *Ibid.*, I., 146. [12] *Ibid.*, I., 149; CHRON. MAJ., 64. [13] ALLGEM. DEUTSCHE BIOGR., VI., 207. [14] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 379. [15] About Ascension-tide, May 5th.—CORNER, 1291.

returned and heard of the repulse, he railed at her, and, as some say, savagely kicked her in his rage. She retired to the convent at Wadstena, where she died in the night of January 6th, 1430,[1] and was buried[2] before sunrise on the following morning, in the chapel of St. Anne. Her husband gave 3,000 nobles[3] to the convent in remorse, and founded three canonries in memory of her at Calmar.[4] Eight years after her death he was driven from his throne, and died in exile in 1459. Philippa's body lies at Wadstena, beneath a flat slab[5] worked with a crucifix and the arms of England. The inscription was restored by King John III., nearly 200 years after her death. The arm[6] of St. Canute, which she gave to the nuns in 1422, has disappeared for ever; but her Book of Hours,[7] that had belonged to her mother, Mary de Bohun, is still among the treasures of the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

The convent at Wadstena was begun in 1369,[8] and had not yet been finished. It was visited by some of the Englishmen who crossed with Philippa, and it was through their means that the Brigittines secured a settlement[9] on the banks of the Thames. The community consisted of sixty nuns,[10] including the Abbess (who was the sovereign Head[11] and Lady of the monastery), Prioress, Treasuress, Chamberess, Cellaress, Chantress, Sextoness, Firmaress, and Keeper[12] of the garden, the

[1] LANGEBEK, I., 141, 194, 327; V., 497; VI., 237; MESSENIUS, III., 53; MALLET, 401; DUNHAM, III., 14. Not 1421, as PETRI LAURENT., 108. [2] LANGEBEK, VI., 233; FANT, I., 31, 66, 96, 149. [3] For his previous gifts, see SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 264. [4] FANT, III., 212. [5] See it figured in ARCHÆOL., ÆL., II., 169, from collection of Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen. See also DU CHAILLU, II., 338. [6] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 371. [7] DEP. KEEP., 46TH REPT., App. II., 64. The contemporary copy of WALTON'S TRANSLATION OF BOECE, at Copenhagen, appears to have no connection with her. Compare:—

Et quant à Dieu elle vit chascun jour messe,
Ses heures dit de la Vierge Marie.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 14.

[8] ACTA SANCT., October 8th, 447, 476; MYROURE, xlix. [9] Pages 360, 363. [10] MYROURE, xxii.-xxxii.; AUNGIER, 284, 292, 306, 397. [11] *Ibid.*, 399. [12] *Ibid.*, 383.

buttery, the freitour,[1] and the serving-house. These all lived in strict seclusion, according to the rule of St. Saviour and the Constitutions of Saint Brigit.[2] Within the same enclosure,[3] but in a separate house communicating with the nunnery by a wheel or revolving grid,[4] lived thirteen priests, who heard the nuns' confessions and administered[5] to them the sacraments, together with four gospellers, and eight focaries[6] to wait upon the priests, either in the church or at table, tend their fire, shave them, clean, dig, delve, and sow their garden, ring the bells, and keep all things honest and sweet.[7] Nine times a day the nuns attended[8] their chapel services, praying to St. Brigit to lead[9] them to refreshing out of the lake of wretchedness. They practised long fasts and straight silence,[10] during which they could communicate only by means of a code of signals.[11] If they meant fish, they wagged their hand sidelings like a fish's tail; for flesh, they raised the skin of the left hand with the fingers of the right; for eggs, they moved the right forefinger upon the left thumb as if they were pilling it; and, when they held their nose with the right fist and rubbed it, that meant mustard. At nine o'clock[12] every morning, they said the *De Profundis* by the side of an open grave, to arm them with mind of their death; and every Friday they "took[13] a bodily

[1] AUNGIER, 304. [2] She died in 1373 (or 1372.—AUNGIER, 18), and was canonized October 7th, 1391.—NAUCLERUS, 1017; ACTA SANCT., October 8th, 460, 468; FANT, I., 105; III., 218-244. [3] AUNGIER, 283. [4] *Ibid.*, 394. In FANT, I., 126, there is a record how a madman killed an old woman, apud crates ferreas in ecclesia. She was a devota mulier, probably a soror ab extra. The DIARIUM records (1418) completion of murus transversalis in ecclesia.—FANT, I., 139. [5] It is a mistake to suppose that they had two separate chapels, one above the other.—MYROURE, xxi.; CAPGRAVE, 308. [6] AUNGIER, 85, 403; WEEVER, 527. [7] AUNGIER, 280, 366. [8] HOSPINIAN, 280-286; FOSBROOK, 128. [9] MYROURE, 135. [10] AUNGIER, 296, 301, 318. For order dated April 20th, 1408, that silence between hours is not to be too strict, see FANT, I., 147. [11] EXCERPT. HIST., 414-419; MYROURE, xxxiii.; AUNGIER, 405. For code of Cluniacs, see MARTENE, MON. RIT., 882. [12] MYROURE, 15, 142, 166, 341; AUNGIER, 328; NICOLAS, CHRON. OF HIST., 184. [13] AUNGIER, 260, 330, 340, 397.

discipline," and flogged each other "moderately sharp" across the bare shoulders. A third of each day was spent working in the garden, the kitchen, the dairy, or the wash-house,[1] or practising as song-sisters under the Chantress, or taking their turn with the Chamberess, shaping,[2] sewing, making or repairing garments and bedding for the needs of all the inmates, both male and female. They took their turn by weeks as servitors,[3] when they had to bring in each sister's prebend[4] honestly before their breasts, remove the dishes, platters, pots and trenchers, and keep the garnapes[5] cléan. At night,[6] they slept on planks laid with straw, but if they rowted or made an unrestful noise in their sleep, they had to be purveyed to another place.[7] They had their infirmary for times of sickness,[8] their parlour for convalescence, and separate rooms for any who might be frenzied or leprous, and the Firmaress had to be a strong woman, not too weak to lift them, and not too "squaymes" to wash them. They had to be silent in the church, the freitour, the library, the lavatory, the cloister, the chafing-house, and the dorture. They might not lean on their arms or elbows at table, or hold their hands under their chins, or crack nuts with their teeth instead of opening them softly with knives or "knypettes."[9] They might not stretch out their legs too far when sitting, nor lay one knee over another, but must cover[10] their feet honestly under their clothes and not sit tiddling them. They were to be content with vileness[11] and abjection, not light of laughter or ever stirred[12] to highness and unsadness. Japing words[13] were not allowed; but, inasmuch as they were frail and madé out of the slime[14] of the earth, if the

[1] FANT, I., 115. [2] MYROURE, xxv., xxxiii.; AUNGIER, 253, 393. [3] *Ibid.*, 377, 380, 385. [4] Page 26, note 1. [5] That they set on their pots and crusels.—AUNGIER, 383, 385. [6] FANT, I., 117. [7] AUNGIER, 383. [8] Such as the vomit or the flux.—*Ibid.*, 394. [9] *Ibid.*, 377. [10] *Ibid.*, 299. [11] *Ibid.*, 318. [12] *Ibid.*, 400. [13] *Ibid.*, 385. [14] *Ibid.*, 400.

Abbess should smile[1] upon one of them by way of recreation, they might laugh back soberly. They might not spit over the stalls in church, or the tables in the freitour, or in the lavatory, or on the dorture stairs.[2] For all such breaches of religion, and scores of similar trifles, such as spilling their ale at table, or taking[3] too largely of the pittance, they had to take[4] a discipline with the rod on the bare back. But woe to the nun who had anything of her own and hid it from the Abbess! If found out by the "searcher,"[5] who had a good eye[6] about, she was corrected[7] as a "proprietary"; that is to say, she had to take her bread and small ale sitting[8] on the floor in the middle of the freitour, and be shut out for two days from the chapel,[9] waiting in the yard outside, and prostrating herself on the ground at the feet of her fellow-sisters as they filed out from the service. For repeated offences she might be flogged[10] with two rods in the presence of all the nuns till the Abbess cried, "It sufficeth!"[11] and afterwards be locked up in chains:—lest[12] one scabbed sheep should taint the flock.

The Revelations of St. Brigit had already bred lively contentions abroad, and the spirits were being keenly tried amongst the theologians of Paris[13] and Oxford.[14] Some called her a vessel of grace[15] and a new light given to Holy Church in this last world, others said that her "revelations" were only dreams,[16] and saw in them nothing but a new heresy. Her reputation stood high for saving those who prayed to her when in danger at sea,[17] and the discomfort of the voyage from Lynn

[1] AUNGIER, 299, 318. [2] *Ibid.*, 320, 377, 385, 388. [3] *Ibid.*, 382. [4] *Ibid.*, 342. [5] MYROURE, xxxiv., 154. [6] AUNGIER, 390. [7] *Ibid.*, 400. [8] *Ibid.*, 260, 268. [9] *Ibid.*, 343, 391; MYROURE, xxv., 193. [10] AUNGIER, 255; MYROURE, xxxv. [11] AUNGIER, 265. [12] *Ibid.*, 262. [13] GERSON, I., 38; HARDT, IV., 40; LENFANT, CONSTANCE, 67. [14] BALE, I., 508; II., 188. [15] MYROURE, 163, 164. [16] AUNGIER, 258. [17] ACTA SANCT., Oct. 8th, 479, 530, 544, 549, 559. On January 14th, 1406, a newly-created Bishop (Robert) on his way to Scotland, after weathering a storm in the Baltic, walked to Wadstena, doing the last mile without his shoes, and up to his knees in snow.

may have determined Sir Henry Fitzhugh,[1] one of Philippa's escort, to pay a visit to Wadstena. Accompanied by his chaplain, Dan Peter, and a knight, Sir Halneth Maleverer,[2] from Allerton, near Knaresborough, he arrived at the monastery about the end of November, 1406. The chapter was assembled, and it was announced that Fitzhugh was wishful to found a Brigittine convent in England, and wanted two of the brethren to cross with him and superintend the building. On November 28th, 1406,[3] a charter was signed, in which he engaged to give them his manor of Hinton-Upperhall,[4] near Cambridge.[5] The brethren received the news with keen delight. They sent over Dan Hemming, their curate, and another of their number to England to make arrangements on the spot. Hemming returned in the following year, and died at Ribe, in Jutland, November 1st, 1407.[6] On December 8th, 1408, two more of the brethren crossed, viz.:—John Peterson[7] and Deacon Katillus, the former of whom certainly stayed in England for eight years, and it was from this beginning that the great nunnery[8] of the Daughters of Sion[9] arose soon after on the banks of the Thames, whose revenues at the Dissolution, a little more than a century later, amounted to close upon £2,000 a year.[10] But

[1] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 360. [2] For pedigree of Maleverer or Maulever, see FOSTER, YORKS., 64; HARL. SOC., XVI., 200; THORESBY, 191. Sir Halkneth was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1420, see FULLER'S WORTHIES, II., 527, 532. He was present at a clandestine marriage celebrated without banns at Kirkby Ravenswath, in 1408.—TEST. EBOR., III., 319. In 1413, Sir Henry Vavasour bequeaths to him (domino Alatheo Maleverer), a horse called "Pawe."—*Ibid.*, I., 361. [3] MYROURE, xiii., quoting the DIARY (Benzelius), page 35, where Fitzhugh is called Rawinzart or Rawenswather, *i.e.*, Ravenswath or Ravensworth, see page 221. In FANT, I., 123, he is Rawinzwatt. [4] ROT. PARL., V., 552; FANT, I.. 194; LYSONS, MAGN. BRIT., II., 212; ARCHÆOL., XVII., 326. [5] Not Canterbury, as SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 595. [6] FANT., I., 124. [7] Peterson died at Wadstena in 1418.—*Ibid.*, 125, 139. [8] Fitzhugh was a witness to the Foundation Charter (2 H. IV.).—MONAST., VI., 543. [9] MYROURE, lx., 1, 6. [10] £1,944 11s. 4½d.—MONAST., VI., 540; AUNGIER, 445; TANNER, NOTITIA, MIDDLESEX, XI.; NEWCOURT, I., 752. In 1492, the income was £1,616 8s. 5½d.—LYSONS, ENVIRONS, III., 86; AUNGIER, 72.

the experiment of hermaphrodite[1] houses was looked upon as risky, and from time to time the Popes interfered,[2] with orders that the brothers should be separated from living so near to the sisters. If Cromwell's visitors[3] were rightly informed, the results were not encouraging in England.

[1] FULLER, CHURCH HISTORY, III., 286. [2] A contigua cohabitatione sororum. See order of 1422, in FANT, I., 143, 147. [3] WEEVER, 527; overlooked in MYROURE, xix., xxxv.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT (II.).

AFTER leaving Lynn, King Henry paid a short visit to his estates in his native county of Lincolnshire.[1] On Friday, August 20th, 1406,[2] he slept at Horncastle, and, on the next day, he arrived at the great Abbey at Bardney. He had with him his sons Thomas and Humphrey, Sir Murdach Stewart, and the two Scottish Earls. As the cavalcade approached in the autumn evening, Abbot Woxbrigg and the monks filed out in silence,[3] two and two, to meet them by the lower gate. Dismounting from his horse, the King dropped on his knees and kissed the crucifix. He was then strenkled with holy water, censed by the clergy, and led by the chanting throng into the church. Here, at the high altar, he kissed the bones of St. Oswald and other holy relics, and, after a short service, he passed through the cloisters to the Abbot's chamber, where he rested for the night. The next morning he attended mass in the church, which was draped with scarlet. After breakfast, he received callers, and among them his friend, Bishop Repingdon, who rode over from Lincoln at nine o'clock with a mounted retinue. Afterwards, he again passed into the church, "saw our library," and read in divers books as long as he would. All these living touches were jotted down by one of the monks at the foot of a manuscript containing the miracles of St. Oswald, and flash out like sparks in the general darkness of

[1] For the honor or soke of Bolingbroke, see CARTÆ REGUM, II., 231; DEP. KEEP., 45TH REPT. (1885), p. 40. [2] LEL., COL., VI., 300; MONAST., I., 625. [3] Tamen cum silentio eant.—MARTENE, MON. RIT., 855.

the chronicles. From Bardney the King passed to Lincoln[1] (August 24th, 25th, 1406), and thence to Leicester,[2] where we trace him from August 29th to September 6th. On September 8th, he was at Northampton[3] and Huntingdon,[4] and the same day he reached Pishobury.[5] On September 13th,[6] he was at St. Alban's, and he witnessed a tournament in West Smithfield, on September 15th,[7] between the Earl of Kent and the Earl of Mar. The Scottish Earl was treated by the King with "numerous courtesies and favours,"[8] but in the lists the Englishman[9] scored a double victory, both horsed and afoot. On September 30th, 1406,[10] we find him at Worksop, but on October 10th,[11] he was at Merton ready for the meeting of Parliament.

On Wednesday, October 13th, 1406,[12] the Parliament should have reassembled at Westminster, but, when the names were called over in the Painted Chamber, it was found that the bulk of the Commons had not arrived. This may have been a slight retaliation for the delays caused by the King at Windsor

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, mm. 26, 38, 128. [2] RYM., VIII., 450. For documents dated at Leicester, August 29th, September 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, see PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 2, 3, 9; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 6, 9; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, mm. 25, 37 (where the entry dated Leicester, August 24th, 1406, must be a mistake for 29th). [3] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, m. 74. [4] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 3. [5] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 10 d; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 1, 3, September 8th and 9th, 1406. [6] FRENCH ROLL, 7 H. IV., 1, 8, 22. [7] RYM., VIII., 437, 449, 450; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 2; ROT. SCOT., II., 179. ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st and July 15th, 1407, has payment for the "scalfold" for recent games at Smithfield. [8] The letter from the Duke of Albany to Henry IV., in VESP., F. VII., 81, translated in MENTEITH, I., 207, should probably be dated 1406. It is written at Perth, November 4th, and refers to the recent return of the Earl of Mar. It seems to refer to the Earl of Douglas as still a prisoner in England, though he was in Scotland in November, 1407. [9] CHRON. GILES, 43; GREY FRIARS' CHRON., 10; WYNT., III., 2829-2892; LEL., COL., I., 485; CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., page 30, where the date, 1405, is wrong. ROT. SCOT., II., 180 (October 10th, 1406), has permission to Earl of Mar to remove his armour again from London to Newcastle. [10] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, 99. [11] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 13, 5, App. C., 429. [12] ROT. PARL., III., 579, has October 15th, in error; also PRYNNE, II., 480; COTTON, 455.

after the Easter adjournment, but it was probably due to the great inconvenience felt by members in travelling up long distances from the country at a time when harvesting operations required their presence specially at their homes. The day was the festival of the translation of St. Edward the Confessor, and the King attended a solemn service in the Abbey. Adjournments were ordered from day to day, and the Houses did not meet in sufficient numbers till Monday, October 18th.

The expectations of the country as to the security of trade had not been fulfilled. One of the Admirals was away in Denmark, and the towns, both inland[1] and on the coast,[2] were in no hurry to pay their portions of the subsidy. It is true that, besides some captures which were afterwards declared to be illegal,[3] the new officers had seized fifteen vessels[4] laden with wine and wax. The wax was sold cheap, and dealers were grateful, but none of the wine found its way to the market. The crews wanted it all for themselves, and the public reaped no benefit at all. The seas were not more secure, and there were not wanting many traders, especially aliens, who petitioned that the custody ought to return to the regular hands. Moreover, the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans were just starting for their great attacks upon Calais and Bordeaux, and it was time for all sensible Englishmen to close their ranks against the common enemy.

As early as September 14th,[5] notice had been conveyed to the collectors at the customs ports, that the compact with the merchants would soon terminate, and on October 20th,[6] the

[1] For Nottingham, where £200 was claimed by the new Admiral, see NOTT. REC., II., 34. [2] RYM., VIII., 449. [3] *e.g.*, CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 15, 28, butter, "estrychevolle," and a barrel of steel *(calibis)*, belonging to John Rede of Brunswick. [4] ANN., 419; WALS, II., 273. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 602. [6] RYM., VIII., 455; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 35. ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., October 19th, 1406, has payment to messengers.

Council issued an order, positively forbidding them to hand over any portion of the subsidy to the "merchants," on the plea that they had failed to carry out efficiently their part of the contract of April 6th.

The English envoys, who had crossed to Paris at Easter, had endeavoured to arrange for a marriage between the Prince of Wales and one of the French King's daughters; but they appear to have found themselves faced by the objection that, by the enactment of June 7th, the succession to the English throne would pass from the family of the Prince of Wales to his brothers, in case he should have no son. To meet this difficulty, the Parliament ordered (December 22nd, 1406,)[1] that the act of June 7th should be cancelled in so far as it restricted the succession to *male* heirs, so that any daughters of the Prince of Wales would have the right of succession in case no male children should be born. An indemnity[2] was granted for all acts committed in suppressing the rebellion in the North, and the King's assent was given to thirty-one propositions,[3] which were to be kept inviolate till the next Parliament should meet, a committee, in which twelve of the knights of shires[4] were included, being appointed to be present and certify that the details were exactly entered on the Roll.

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 580-583; PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 4; RYM., VIII., 462; STAT., II., 151; CHRON. GILES, 50. RAPIN (III., 398), followed by HUME, II., 294; MACKINTOSH, I., 343; PARL. HIST., II., 97, supposes the act to refer to the exclusion of the Earl of March. GUTHRIE (II., 425) has a thrust at Rapin as an "ignorant pretending writer," but has no better suggestion to make than that "there was some juggle in the case." LINGARD, III., 453, followed by PAULI, V., 67, thinks that the females were included to cover the claim to the crown of France. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 585; STAT., II., 158; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 287. [3] HALLAM, MID. AGES, III., 141, thinks we have here "a noble fabric of constitutional liberty, hardly, perhaps, inferior to the Petition of Right. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 585. For recommendations of the Lords of Parliament, see rough draft, with many erasures, in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 283-287.

The principal articles were as follows:—

Certain members of the council, who should be paid for their services, were to be present always with the King to report his intentions to the rest.

No warrants or grants were to issue from the Chancery but such as would pass of law and right.

Neither the King nor Queen should interfere directly in disputes, but all such questions should be remitted for the consideration of the council.

Sheriffs, escheators, and other officers should be appointed according to statutory requirements, and not by personal application to the King.

The King should give up two days in each week (viz.: Wednesday and Friday) to public business and receiving petitions, but always in the presence of his councillors in residence, who should have the right of discussing all such matters, and submitting them to their colleagues for final determination, questions of law being referred to the courts for decision by the ordinary judges.

In order to secure a real representation of the counties in Parliament, the sheriffs[1] were to be bound to notify publicly the day and place of elections, at least fifteen days before they were to take place.

Amongst the petitions presented in this Parliament, is one in which complaint is made that the clergy[2] are attempting to exact from labourers a tithe of all the stone and slate which they got from the quarries by arrangement with the lords of the soil. There seems to have been no uniformity[3] of practice with regard to this question, but as the clergy got the tenth part[4] of

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 588, 601; STAT., II., 156; REEVES, II., 490.
[2] ROT. PARL., III., 591. [3] *Ibid.*, 540. [4] J. C. BLOMFIELD, II., 100, 197, 198, 200; STAFF. REG., 126, 228, 349; RIPON MEM., III., 134, 227, 255, 295; G. OLIVER, MONAST., 280; T. BURTON, HEMINGBURGH, 387;

the fruit of every parishioner's dairy, field, mill, garden, croft, and orchard, such as his corn, cheese, butter, hay, honey, wool, hemp, flax, timber, brushwood, faggots, leeks, onions, thistles, pigs, calves, lambs, poultry, geese and everything that renews in the year, without themselves doing anything towards its production, they might argue likewise for a tithe of the stone and slate that a poor man could delve and lead from the quarry to build a roof over his head. The King decided that custom should rule. If the "tende"[1] had been paid before, it must be paid now; if not, not. But the tiller,[2] the ditcher,[3] and the delver could barely exist with his poor cot and land. In 1388,[4] the money payment to farm-servants, who lived free[5] of expense at their employer's house, was fixed by the statute of Cambridge. No woman working in the dairy or the field was allowed to take more than 6s.[6] a year, without any allowance for clothing, courtesy, or other reward. The same was the limit for the

ARNOLD, 45; YORK MANUAL, 119; ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 370. Cf.:—

Nought speke I ageyn dismes uttirly,
In some cas they ben goode and necessarie;
And when they gone to incustumably,
The peple it makethe to grucche and warie;
And yf they be dispended in contrarie,
Of that they grauntede of the peple were,
The more grucchen they the coste to bere.—

HOCCL., DE REG., 159.

And ther ben othere difficultees heere, what thing men shulden tithe, as wode, or erbis, or other fruyt, wher laboreris shulden tithe ther hire, and hooris and usureris tithe ther wynning.—WYCL. (M.), 433.

[1] WILLS AND INV., 78; WELFORD, 244.

[2] The tilyer withe his pore cote and lande,
That may unnethes gete his sustenaunce.—

HOCCL., DE REG., 159.

[3] P. PLO., IX., 114; XXII., 364. [4] STAT., II., 57; MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 195. [5] In 1396, a gardener has 12d. per week and his *despenses*. He dines on bacon and greens, and eggs avec les coques, l'aubum (white) et moailles (yolk).—P. MEYER, 395. For scale of allowances at Launton temp. Ed. I., see DENTON, 221, 317. [6] In the statute of 1445, a woman's wage must not exceed 10s. per annum, together with 4s. for clothing, in addition to her meat and drink, and there is a corresponding advance in all other classes of work.—STAT., II., 338.

hog-herd,[1] 6s. 8d. for the cowherd, 10s. for the shepherd and the carter; while a child who had started any class of farmwork before he was twelve years of age, was bound, according to the prevailing theory,[2] to continue at that work all his days. But statutes cannot pitchfork nature out, and the children of the uplandish[3] churls of England preferred the cockney[4] bravery[5] and freedom of the town varlet, to the long labour[6] and light winning[7] of their father's drudgery.

In the towns, when work was not undertaken by contract, outdoor wages[8] ruled 5d. and 6d. per day for reeders,[9] layers[10]

[1] WYCL. (M.), 149. [2] Trade, letters, farming, chivalry, &c., were considered to be gifts of God;—once born into them men cannot change. Ils ne le savent pas, ce n'est pas leur nature.—GAMEZ, 123; DENTON, 39, 220, 314. Compare:—

En ce monde n'a nul plus grant peril,
Que d'eslever un povre homme en estat.—DESCHAMPS, IV., 122.

[3] ROT. PARL., II., 277. TREVISA (in HIGDEN, II., 159) translates *rurales homines* by "uplondysche mannes." See PROMPT. PARV., S.V. "uplondysche," and "chorlysche."—LIB. CUST., 306, 772. [4] PROMPT. PARV., 86, 281; CATHOL., 71; ACADEMY, 10/5/90, p. 320. [5] L'orgoill de vesture et aultres males custumes qe' servauntz usent en ycell.—ROT. PARL., III., 602. Cf. Povre varlet sont souvent appellés
Gentil homme; ce font leur garnement.—DESCHAMPS, V., 244.
Be clenly clad after thy estate.—LYDGATE, 67.
A gowne of thre yerdys loke thou make comparison
Unto alle degres dayly that passe thin estate.—COV. MYST., 242.
Wele I wote as nyce fresshe and gay,
Some of hem ben as borelle folkes be,
And that unsittyng is to her degree.
Hem ought to be mirrours of sadnesse,
And weyve jollitee and wantonesse.—HOCCL., DE REG., 52.
If between you and your men no difference
Be in aray, the lesse is your reverence.—*Ibid.*, 17.
Lerede and lewde alle stonden eliche.—*Ibid.*, 76.

See also DENTON, 44. [6] P. PLO., C. X., 207; DENTON, 214. [7] WYCL. (A.), I., 8, 10, &c. [8] RIPON MEM., III., 130, &c. In one case a woman receives 3d. per day for carrying lime. DENTON (218) only allows 3d. per day for men. In G. OLIVER, 280, a man's wage for chopping firewood is 4d. per day at Ottery St. Mary. For wages at repair of Porchester Castle in 1321, see CLARK, II., 399. At Bicester, in 1412, a mason has 22d. for seven-and-a-half days.—BLOMFIELD, II., 169. In 1409, carpenters got 6½d. per day.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{13}$. In the accounts of the King's Hall at Cambridge, thatchers and carpenters each receive 1d. per day in 1344; but this was before the Black Death. At Queen's College, Oxford, in 1386, Roger the reeder has 4s. 6d. for three weeks.—HIST. MSS., 2ND

ridgers, daubers, roughsetters, plumbers,[1] slaters, sawyers, and pitmakers,[2] with an extra allowance of ½d. per day for nuncheons[3] or noonmeat and ale.[4] Yelming or laying the straw for the thatcher[5] was woman's work, the yeemster[6] making about 4d. a day, while the woman who carried lime[7] received 3d. In every trade the woman's wage was still much below the man's, and, even in such specially appropriate work as broidering,[8] when a woman earned 4¼d., 5¼d., and 6¼d. per day, a man's wage in the same trade was as high as 9¼d. and 10¼d. for the same time. Nevertheless, the women were rapidly gaining on the men, or, as Hoccleve[9] phrased it, the rib was getting too strong for the slime.

REPT., 140. In building the library at Exeter College, Oxford; in 1383, 12d. is paid to two carpenters for one day; 3s. to a stonecutter for one week; 2s. to a stonecutter for four days, &c.—BOASE, EXON., 177. [9] Tegulatores tectorum vocat. reders.—FOR. ACCTS., 11 H. IV.; DENTON, 139. [10] PROMPT. PARV., 294.

[1] For leading roofs, see BOASE, EXON., 179. [2] SHARPE, II., 316. [3] Cf. nunsyns, none-sigs, noncynchys.—BOASE, EXON., x.; PROMPT. PARV., s.v. nonschenchis; HIST. MSS., 9TH REPT., I., 138. Cf. "underne,"—GOWER, CONF. AM., 260. [4] Pro pot' fabrorum, potationibus operariorum.—BOASE, EXON., 179, 180. [5] For "Thakstare," see PROMPT. PARV., 490; CATHOL., 380; "Thacker."—JAMIESON, IV., 534. [6] *e.g.*, in 1408, 4d. uni mulieri que laboravit circa stramina; 5½d. pro yelming ejusdem straminis; 20d. duabus yemestres; cumulatrici, Anglicè a ylmer; pro 5 bigatibus straminis.—BOASE, EXON., viii. [7] RIPON MEM., III., 130. [8] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{13}$ (1409). [9] For changed position of women temp. H. IV., Cf.:—

And wo in winter-tyme with wakynge a-nyghtes,
To ryse to the ruel to rock the cradel,
Both to karde and to kembe, to clouten and to wasche,
To rubbe and to rely russhes to pilie,
That reuthe is to rede other in ryme shewe
The wo of these women that wonyth in cotes.—P. PLO., X., 78.

With:—

They (*i.e.*, women) wolden waite to be equipolent,
And somewhat more unto her husbondis,
And some men seyne such usage in this londe is,
And yit no wonder is as seemethe me,
Whan I me bethought have alle aboute,
Thoughe that wommen desyren sovereyntee,
And her husbondes make to hem loute;
They made were of a rybbe, it is no doute,
Whiche more strong is and substancialle
Than slyme of erthe, and clenner therwithalle.—
HOCCL., DE REG., 183.

In some skilled trades, as the lorimers,[1] the apprentice was bound for ten years; in others, as the brasiers and pewterers, for eight; but, as a rule, the prenticehood[2] was completed in seven years. The lad must be able,[3] *i.e.*, he must not be halt, lame, or one-eyed. He must be free-born,[4] and clean from leprosy. After he had paid his 30s. premium,[5] he was bound[6] not to reveal the secrets of the craft; to be loyal to his master; not to frequent taverns or stews, or haunt dice[7] and other hasardry;[8] to behave himself well towards all the women in his master's house, and not to marry without permission. For any breach of these rules he was liable to be fined, or, in extreme cases, to have his term doubled. The master, on the other hand, undertook to teach him[9] all branches of the trade; to take him into his house and find him in bed, board, victuals, woollen and linen clothing, shoes, and all necessaries according to his age. But the steady drain[10] of workers of all kinds into the towns caused a scarcity of labour in the fields, and it was now re-enacted[11] that no one should be bound apprentice in a town under penalty of a year's imprisonment, unless it could be shown to the satisfaction of two justices of the peace, that his father owned lands or rents amounting to 20s. a year, or meebles[12] to the total value of £40.[13]

[1] LIB. CUST., 78. [2] GROCERS' ARCHIVES, 119; FIFTY WILLS, 12; CHAUCER, COOK'S TALE, 4398. [3] GROCERS' ARCHIVES, 180; LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 106. [4] "That he no bond-man prentis take."—T. SMITH, cxxxix.; FURNIVALL, MANNERS AND MEALS, xlviii. [5] In a will dated 1411, 40 marks are left for a lad to be taught inter apprenticios.—DUCAREL, App. 75. [6] For indentures dated 1414, see SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., VIII., 411; also 1451, ROGERS, III., 738. [7] CHAUCER, COOK'S TALE, 4390. For ambes ace and sis cink, see MAN OF LAWES' TALE, 4544. Dicing was a favourite diversion with great gentlemen.—ITINÉRAIRES, 593.

Et toutes voies selon Dieu,
Est tres bon de fuir le gieu.—

DESCHAMPS, IV., 286; V., 142, 159; VII., 251-265, 314, 324. [8] CHAUCER, PARDONER'S TALE, 12524, 12533. [9] WYCL. (M.), 185, 238. [10] JUSSERAND, 261. [11] Vol. I., 299; ROT. PARL., III., 501, 601; STAT., II., 157; GNEIST, CONST., II., 100. [12] "Moeblis,"—WYCL. (M.), 445;

Thus the young ambition of the churls of rural England was doomed to a round of underpaid, compulsory, state-regulated toil. But one humane exception was allowed; for any man or woman, souter[1] or beggar, or in whatever rank of life, in spite of the protests[2] of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and monks, was henceforth free to put his son or daughter to learn their "lettrure"[3] in any school in the realm; a remarkable provision in a country supposed by its foreign critics to be given up to eating,[4] farming, soldiering, and general barbarism.

An instructive illustration of the power of a master over his servant is found in the records of the town of Nottingham.[5] John Lorimer, who lived in the Franksburgh, had a servant, Joan Potter. One Sunday, in the year 1403, she "gave him words";[6] upon which he rushed at her with a yard,[7] or an ell-wand, scoring her about the head and all over the body till the blood flowed. Her guardian sought to get damages, but

WYCL. (A.), I., 67. "Goods mouable and unmouable."—WYCL. (M.), 365, 369, 378. "Here mok and here meeble."—P. PLO., X., 272; XI., 96; XV., 182; XVI., 168; XVII., 12. "Mebles and unmebles."—*Ibid.*, IV., 425; XI., 185; XIV., 6; XX., 255. Cf. "moblez."—WILLS AND INV., 80. For "havure," see PROMPT. PARV., 231. [13] Not £20 *per annum*, as DENTON, 222.

[1] P. PLO., CREDE, 744; ANGLIA, IX., I. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 294. [3] CHAUCER, MONK'S TALE, 14414; CANONS YEMAN'S TALE, 16314; P. PLO., I., 137; X., 198; XII., 210; XV., 49; HIGDEN, I., 191; II., 427; III., 343, 467; IV., 281, 313; VI., 7, 117, 223; VIII., 9; PROMPT. PARV., s.v. lecture. Cf. "Symple is my gost and scarce my lettrure."—HOCCL., DE REG., 675. "Ne lerned hath no lettrure."—S. TURNER, II., 287. [4] Page 321. POGGIO, in SHEPHERD, 112-129; DENTON, 210. MACPHERSON (I., 616) is scarcely right in thinking that this "permission to learn to read was of little avail before the art of printing brought books within the reach of the poor." See STUBBS, III., 607. [5] NOTT. REC., II., 24. [6] T. SMITH, 392, 408. [7] *Ibid.*, 279; GOUGH, PLESHY, App. 27. "A meteyerd of England accounthid alway for iii. fete."—MONAST., VI., 1414. For the "yerde of castigation," see CHAUCER, SPEGHT, 335.

Of the yeerde sometyme I stood in awe,
To be scooryd that was all my dreede.—LYDGATE, 255.

"Be chasted with yerdes."—P. PLO., V., 112. Cf. GOWER, CONF. AM., 145, 245, 397; WYCL. (M.), 332.

Lorimer pleaded that the girl was his servant, that she had answered him back and deserved what she got; still, as he had drawn blood,[1] the court decided that he had carried his rights too far.

The year had been memorable for floods[2] and rains of exceptional severity, and wherever records are preserved, disasters are traceable in every part of Europe. The Garonne was frozen at Bordeaux,[3] and many vessels broke from their moorings. In Italy, the Po[4] was frozen and the mills were stopped in the early months of the year. On February 6th, 1406,[5] a snowstorm came on which lasted for five days, and the snow lay 3 feet deep in Bologna. Then came a rapid thaw and heavy rain.[6] Frosts in April killed the young vine shoots, and the vintage was almost a total failure. On May 8th, 1406, there was a terrific downpour of rain. At Pisa,[7] the Arno was in violent flood. In Ferrara,[8] the houses were flooded out, the streets and squares became vast pools of water, and, on the night of June 9th, the crops around the city were destroyed by a great storm of hail. In Paris (June 22nd, 1406),[9] the hail-stones were as large as two fists or a goose-egg. The French vintage was wrecked,[10] and more cider was made and drunk instead of wine than had been known for the last 100 years.

England, of course, did not escape. Along the Thames, the dykes[11] and causeways were broken between London and Greenwich; the bridges were in danger at Wallingford,[12] Staines,[13]

[1] Cf. BLACKSTONE, IV., 182, "where a master is *moderately* correcting his servant and happens to occasion his death, it is misadventure." Cf. CHANDLER, xiii.; DURHAM HALMOTE ROLL, I., 58, 101, 144, 154; also "ut decet," MUN. ACAD., 726. [2] GOBELIN, 324. [3] BOUILLONS, 558. [4] DELAYTO, 1035. See also FOGLIETA, 529, for Oct., 1407. [5] GRIFFONI, 215. PETRI, 978, notes the same at Rome. [6] DELAYTO, 1037. [7] ANTONINUS, III., 125; SOZZOM., 188; CAPPONI, 1134; circa Junii Kalendas. PALMIERI, 14, in GRÆVIUS, Vol. XX. [8] DELAYTO, 1039. [9] JUV., 438; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 288; BAYE, I., 160. [10] ST. DENYS, III., 390. [11] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 34. [12] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 29. [13] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 35.

Windsor,[1] Weybridge,[2] Kingston,[3] and Maidenhead;[4] the Lee marshes[5] were under water; the king's road was broken up between Stratford and Bow; 800 acres of corn land were flooded, and £2,000 worth of enclosures belonging to the Abbess of Barking[6] were swept away. The swollen Severn had well nigh wrecked the bridges at Montford[7] and Bridgnorth,[8] and the lands about Tockington,[9] Littleton, and Rockhampton, were all under flood. At York,[10] the Fossbridge was in ruins, and the Ousebridge[11] weakened. The bridge over the Wharfe at Tadcaster[12] was damaged, and the causeway thence to Boroughbridge destroyed. So also were the bridges over the Eamont[13] and the Lowther on the north-western roads passing by Penrith to Carlisle. The Wye was in flood between Bradwardine[14] and Whitney, and the cartway[15] between Whitney Bridge and Hereford was nearly swept away. Arundel,[16] Pulborough, Lewes, and the Kentish marshes from Rye[17] to Blackwose (or Blackooze) above Hythe, all suffered again. There were floods in the Waveney at Beccles;[18] the bridge over the Nene at Thrapston was broken,[19] and that over the Wensum at Attlebridge[20] could no longer bear the great traffic passing to and from the worsted[21] seld[22] at Norwich, and miles of country

[1] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 29. [2] *Ibid.*, 2, 8. [3] *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 17; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 2, 27. [4] *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 30. [5] *Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 1, 7. [6] *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 2, 7, August 16th, 1409, grants her exemption from tenths for ten years. For bridge at Heybridge, at the mouth of the Blackwater in Essex, see PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 28. [7] *Ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 28. [8] *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 2, 32. [9] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 2, 6; *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 19 d, 23 d. [10] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 35; *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., 24. [11] *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 7. [12] *Ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 1, 27. [13] *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 20; NICOLSON AND BURN, I., 413. [14] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 30. [15] GOWER, CONF. AM., 166. [16] CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 37. [17] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 5. [18] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 17 d. [19] PAT., 12 H. IV., 20. [20] *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 39. [21] In the estimate in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 345, 346, Norfolk figures as the richest county in England. It was famed for the manufacture of kerchefs (see CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 17, for kerchyffes de Norfolk) and of worsted cloths (known as Bolts, Mantells, Canon Cloths), worsted beds, &c.—ROT. PARL., III., 637; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 20; FOR. ACCTS., 12 H. IV. They were shipped at Lynn for Flanders, Zealand, and other parts beyond sea. [22] For "selde," see

were drowned in the flats of Holderness.[1] The banks of the Humber[2] were swamped from Hessle to the Derwent; and, in the Isle of Ely around Cambridge,[3] in the Marshland[4] between Lynn and Wisbeach, and in the Fen country[5] from Holland-bridge to Donington, roads, bridges, and causeways were wrecked and washed away. The sheriffs posted their outriders[6] requesting immediate contributions from abbots, priors, and landowners,[7] and indulgences[8] were freely offered by the Bishops to all who helped in making good the damage.

These precarious sources, however, were insufficient for the work to be done, and, in all directions, tolls and taxes were sanctioned, in the form of pavage[9] and pontage, to cover the cost of repairs. But, as the price of provisions was thereby enhanced, and the rich[10] were often exempt from pavage altogether, these means only served to increase the misery

A. WOOD, HIST., II., 113; LIB. ALB., xxxviii., 704, 732; SHARPE, I., 155, 236, 275, 339, 384, 412, 420, 422, 462, 472, 608; II., 242. Cf. "sheald," page 125, note 14.

[1] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 15, 24; *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 1, 14. [2] *Ibid.*, 2, 20 d. [3] *Ibid.*, 2, 10; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 1, 13 d. [4] *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 2, 24; 8 H. IV., 1, 31 d, 32 d; 10 H. IV., 1, 13 d, for Terrington, Walpole, Walton, Walsoken, Emneth, Wiggenhall, Tilney, Clenchwarton, Leverington, Newton, Tydd St. Giles, Elmwell, Littleport, Downham, Doddington, Haddenham, Wisbeach, and Ely. For damage to roads in the hundreds of Freebridge and Clackclose, between Marham Mill and the bridge at Setchy, see PAT., 14 H. IV., November 4th, 1412. [5] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 21. [6] CHAUCER, PROL., 166; ROT. PARL., III., 598; N. AND Q., 7th Series, VI., 425; 8th Series, I., 472; JESSOPP, VISITATIONS OF NORWICH, 214, 279. [7] Sometimes owners of adjoining wood would sell their timber to keep up the road.—PHILIPOTT, 136, from PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 12. [8] See pages 111, note 7; 207, note 16; 322, note 2. The work of making roads and bridges, and mending foul ways, was specially recognized in the bidding prayer in parish churches.—YORK MANUAL, I., 224; LAY FOLKS MASS BOOK, 65; VAUGHAN, I., 413; WYCL., LAT. SERM., I., 274; TAVISTOCK REC., 109; NICOLSON AND BURN, I., 414; WILLS AND INV., 78; HIST. MSS., 12TH REPORT, IX., 385; JUSSERAND, 37, 310; ROCK, III., 52; DENTON, 174; P. PLO., A. VIII., 30. For legacies for such repairs, see GIBBONS, 121, 130, 131, 135, 140, 163; FIFTY WILLS, 11, 15, 19; SHARPE, II., xvi. [9] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 27 (November 11th, 1407), grants pavage for the next three years to finish the new stone bridge over the Ribble at Preston. See Vol. I., p. 78. [10] LIB. ALB., I., xliii.; DENTON, 181.

already prevailing in the stricken districts. For instance, about ten miles of the great road between London and Southampton was foul with mud near Hartford Bridge. It was thereupon ordered[1] that, for the next three years, a tax of ½d. should be laid on every horse, cow,[2] load of corn or fish, and every barrel of herrings brought into Basingstoke for sale, 1d. for every six sheep, ¼d. for every pig, and so on, at the rate of ½d. for every 5s. of value:—equivalent to a tax of nearly 1¼ per cent., which, of course, was amply covered before the goods reached the consumer.

Efforts were also made to repair the fortifications of many walled towns, which, from one cause or another, had fallen into decay. At Canterbury,[3] the walls, towers, and gates were broken and ruined, the moat was choked with grass, trees, and rubbish, and it was feared that the French might effect a landing, and destroy the venerable Metropolis of the Church. At Yarmouth,[4] which was "the chief key and fortification" of the Eastern coast, the harbour was stopped[5] with sand and "totally destroyed," and £1,000 would be needed to make a new one. The town was, in consequence, so wasted, that all

[1] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 26. Cf. RYMER, VIII., 634. [2] In the time of Edward I., the best price for a cow was 10s.—LIB. ALB., I., lxxxi. In 1373, four "beffis" cost £6 13s. 8d.—GROCERS ARCHIVES, 44. In 1409, five calves are priced at 10s.—REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 10th). In 1410, five hogasters (*i.e.*, two-year-old sheep) fetch 5s., and fifteen fetch 20s.—*Ibid.*, PASCH., June 3rd, 1410; see also BOASE, 78. In REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (October 19th, 26th, 29th, 1411, and Feb. 26th, 1412), eight sheep cost 8s.; one cow, 6s. 8d.; one bullock (bovicli), 6s. 8d.; one ox, 10s.; but it is calculated that "the oxen, cows, and steers reared in the fifteenth century, were not more than one-third of the bulk of cattle in the present day, and probably many a sheep is now sent to London which would have outweighed the cattle of those days."—DENTON, 171, 219, 309. In 1399, one cock-chicken fetches 1s.—NOTT. REC., I., 356. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 28. *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 2, 5, August 14th, 1409, shows that a strong wall and ditch had been begun.—ARCHÆOL. CANT., XII., 28, 30; SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 138; HIST. MSS., IXTH REPT., I., 167. [4] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 9, July 23rd, 1409, grants £100 per annum for five years, for a new harbour. [5] Estoppez de zabule.—ROT. PARL., III., 620.

people of any means had withdrawn from it, with the prospect that it would soon be altogether abandoned. At Cambridge,[1] a portion of the castle walls had fallen, and the building itself was unsafe for use as a prison;[2] several houses had been burnt down; the population was falling away, and the mayor[3] and bailiffs had much ado to raise the annual fee-farm. At Newcastle,[4] a high tower had to be built on the wall, and the necessary funds were raised by levying a charge of 2d. on every chaldron of coals which left the Tyne. At Carlisle,[5] the gates and walls of the town were altogether unequal to defence against the borderers, and the castles at Kenilworth,[6] Norwich,[7] Leicester,[8] Donington, Higham Ferrers, Halton,[9] Devizes,[10] Nottingham,[11] Liverpool,[12] and Lancaster,[13] greatly needed repair. At Shrewsbury,[14] one of the towers on the waterside had been undermined by the current and had fallen with a crash, carrying away a large portion of the wall, which would take more than £200 to replace, and many of the townsfolk

[1] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 7; 11 H. IV., 2, 25; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 5; WILLIS AND CLARK, I., pp. vi., 323; II., 450; proving that CAIUS (quoted in FULLER, 5, 262) has confused Henry IV. with Henry VI.—C. H. COOPER, MEM., III., 120. [2] Other castles then used as prisons were Bedford, Exeter, Gloucester, Huntingdon, Marlborough, Newcastle, Northampton, Norwich, Oakham, Salisbury, and Winchester.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 14 d, 19, 24, 25 d, 30 d; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 11. At Oxford, the gaol near the north gate was called Bocardo.—PAT., 14 H. IV., 2; BOASE, OXFORD, 44. For Newgate gaol in London, see PAT., 14 H. IV., 19 d. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 515. [4] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 24. [5] *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 14. [6] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 67[1], has order dated May 28th, 1404, for sale of underwood (subboys) to pay for repairs. [7] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 14. For details of repairs, dated March 12th, 1410, see FOREIGN ACCTS., 11 H. IV. £29 13s. 7d. was spent in iron bars for windows, ac gumsis et vetmell', lime, sand, casks and pipes, ropes, sunvector', &c. In PAT., 12 H. IV., 22, March 8th, 1411, William Phelyp is made Constable of Norwich. [8] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 26 d. [9] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 65[1], May 4th, 1404. [10] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 24 d. [11] *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 2, 19. [12] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 106[III], February 8th, 1408. [13] *Ibid.*, 15, 63[1], Jan. 26th, 1404, shows 200 marks spent on repairs. See also LANC. PAT., 3, 5, September 1st, 1401. [14] Page 9, note 5. PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 5, March 1st, 1410, grants a murage for five years to fortify the town.

had voided to escape the fatigues of constant night-watching. So, too, the walls at Colchester,[1] Hereford,[2] Dartmouth,[3] Ludlow,[4] Southampton,[5] and Winchester,[6] were all unfit. In each case the necessary repairs were in progress, but, as the murage could only be raised by taxing[7] every farescart[8] bringing provisions into the place, the benefit to the poorer inhabitants was doubtful indeed. At Tenby[9] and at Whitby, the "Kaie" was damaged and broken, and a quayage[10] of 6d. (or 4d.) was levied on every ship (or boat) bringing herrings, beer, woad, grisevere,[11] pitch,[12] or other articles alongside.

On December 8th, 1406,[13] the council met and decided on the appointment of controllers and other officers whose business it should be to reduce the royal expenses. The Christmas festivities were to be held as usual, but, after they were over, the King was recommended to withdraw to some suitable place where more "moderate governance" could be introduced into his household, "to the pleasure of God and of the people." Sir John Tiptot,[14] the Speaker,[15] was appointed Treasurer of the Royal Household and Keeper of the Wardrobe, in place of

[1] COLCHESTER REC., COURT ROLLS, 25. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 42. [3] *Ibid.*, 1, 10 d. [4] *Ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 1, 17. [5] Page 327, note 3; PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 11 d. [6] *Ibid.*, 1, 20. [7] Not, of course, "regardless of its contents," as ZIMMERN, 102. [8] Carecta vocata "ffarescart."—PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 24; OXF. CITY DOC., 305. For "farecarter," see RYM., IX., 261. For pictures of carts (fourteenth century) drawn by dogs or horses, see JUSSERAND, 90, 93; GARDINER, 272, from MS. 10 E. IV.; and LUTTRELL PSALTER. [9] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 43. [10] Kaiagium.—*Ibid.*, 12 H. IV., 7. [11] Grisei operis, *i.e.*, badger's skin, see LIB. CUST., 94, 806; LIB. ALB., 225, 279; PROMPT. PARV., 209, 211; COTGRAVE, s.v. grisard; JAMIESON, II., 447, 452. [12] Page 74. For tar and pitch from Bergen, see ROGERS, I., 146, 463. [13] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 295. For the office of Controller of the Royal Household, the name of Sir Arnold Savage was submitted, or, as an alternative, that of Sir Thomas Bronflete (or Brownflete), a Yorkshire knight (*ibid.*, I., 157), who became Keeper of the King's Wardrobe on July 18th, 1408 (DEVON, 317, 319), in place of Tiptot, and retained the office till the King's death.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6\,8}{12}$, $\frac{9\,8}{15}$, Appendix B. [14] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1406. [15] Page 414, note 4.

Richard Kingston,[1] and Chief Butler[2] in place of Thomas Chaucer. He held these offices for about eighteen months, and his account[3] is still extant, dating from December 8th, 1406, to July 17th, 1408, during which time he had received £34,300 7s. 1½d. to pay big accounts for the King's wine and goldsmith's work, as well as the necessary porks, muttons, gross-beasts,[4] stock-fish,[5] poultry, avenery, coals and wood for everyday consumption, the pigeons[6] and hens for the royal falcons, and the plover, teal, quail, mallard, eels, grayling, pickerel, whelks, and other delicacies for the royal table.

On the last[7] day of the Parliament (December 22nd, 1406), the Commons voted a subsidy[8] of 43s. 4d. (and 53s. 4d.) on wools[9] for one year from next Michaelmas, a tenth[10] and a

[1] Page 5, note 4; also Vol. I., page 347. On January 7th, 1405, Kingston is Keeper of the King's Wardrobe (L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 13, 5, App. C); also October 19th, 1406 (ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH.; *ibid.*, PASCH., June 1st, 1407). In PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 3, September 10th, 1406, he is Treasurer of the King's Household. In REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 4th, 1406, he is *late* Treasurer of the King's Household. On February 17th and 26th, he is again Treasurer of the King's Household.—PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 2, and 2, 28; PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 31. See also ROT. VIAG., 9, April 5th, 1408. In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., January 20th, 1408, Tiptot is *late* Treasurer of the King's Household, though he is still called so on January 29th, February 23rd, 24th, 1408, in Q. R. HOUSEHOLD, $\frac{68}{12}$, App. B. [2] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 11 (May 13th, 1407); CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 6 (June 6th, 1407); PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 31 (October 31st, 1407). In CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 31 (January 20th, 1408), Chaucer is again Chief Butler. [3] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 13, 5, App. C. [4] PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 24, which refers also to capons, owes, gelyns, poncyns, and other poultry, as well as to the office of avenerie of the King's hostel. [5] For half-waxen stock-fish, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 29. [6] PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 23. [7] ROT. PARL., III., 568, 609. Not "as soon as the Parliament met," as PARL. HIST., II., 92. [8] For farmers of the subsidy, *i.e.*, contractors in each county who paid a fixed sum down and made what they could of the yield, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVIII., 230, 246. In REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., October 10th, 1409, Richard Landford is farmer of the subsidy and of ulnage of cloth sold in Kent; Simon Blackburn for Surrey and Sussex, &c., &c. Cf. FOR. ACCTS., 11 H. IV. John Fearby and William Worth for Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Herts.—REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (October 13th and November 5th, 1411), for Bristol, and *passim*. [9] In the Assize of Weights, the sack of wool had weighed 28 stone.—STAT., I., 204. For the sarpler or half-sack, see CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 24; RUDING, I., 477; SHARPE, II., 39. [10] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1., 24; REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH.

fifteenth (estimated to yield £36,000) for one year from next Lent, a tonnage of 3s. and a poundage[1] of 1s. The King might claim £6,000 for his personal use, but the rest was to be spent under the control of the council, for keeping the sea and defending the country. The members then dispersed[2] to their homes, and the "longest-lasting,[3] most-frequently-adjourned Parliament" of the Middle Ages, was peacefully dissolved.

The sum of its results would appear to have been :—1. The attempt and failure of "The Merchants" to protect the sea. 2. The withdrawal of the King from active public life. 3. The abolition of the War Treasurers. 4. The substitution of a permanent, paid, professional council, some of whom would remain in the capital, while others directed[4] operations at Calais, or on the Marches of Wales, or other distant parts of the country. The cost to the people was enormous, and contemporary writers[5] declared that it equalled the amount of the subsidy granted. The expenses[6] of the seventy county members

[1] *i.e.*, 1s. in the £, or 5 per cent. Not "on every pound in weight," as FONBLANQUE, I., 136; or "pound of general merchandise," or "the lb. of goods," as RAMSAY, I., 30, 50; though in I., 150, he gives "2d. on the £ of general merchandise." Cf. iii denarios de qualibet libra argenti æstimationis seu valoris rerum et mercandisarum.—LIB. CUST., 210. "3d. for the worth of every pound of silver."—HAKLUYT, I., 171. "An ad valorem duty of 3d. on every librate, or 20 solidi."—H. HALL, CUSTOMS, I., 66; II., 88. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 603; DEP. KEEP., 2ND REPORT, II., 184. [3] PRYNNE, II., 483; BROUGHAM, 40. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 298. [5] ANN., 418; WALS., II., 273. [6] PRYNNE, II., 478; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 7 d. The usual allowance was 4s. each per day for knights of the shire, and 2s. for burgesses.—DENTON, 188; though double these amounts were paid in 1388. —HOLT, 155. The allowance to members for Lynn, was 6s. 8d. per day in 1432, but only 2s. each in 1422.—ARCHÆOL., XXIV., 320, 322. In Nottingham (1436), it was 1s. 4d. each.—NOTT. REC., II., 423. See also T. SMITH, 134, 393. The members were paid from the day they left home till the day they returned, allowing for travelling at the rate of 20 miles a day.—DENTON, 187, quoting ROT. PARL., VI., 525; STAT., 19 H. VII., cap. I., sec. 2. See also DAVIES, YORK REC., 67, 145; STAT., 12 R. II., cap. XII.; BISHOP SWINFIELD'S HOUSEHOLD ROLL, page cxxii. (CAMDEN SOC.); ARCHÆOL. XXV., for Duke of Buckingham (1507). For other examples, *e.g.*, Rye, 1s. (1413); Romney, 1s. 8d. (1387), 2s. 6d. (1412); Canterbury, 1s. (1444); see DENTON, 188.

alone amounted to £2,499 12s. 0d., and, seeing that this sum was charged upon the hundreds, the farmers, who found themselves threatened by the sheriff with distraint[1] upon their beasts and hogsters, may well have grumbled at the result. The struggle was regarded by the country as useless, the democracy had been outwitted through the loans of the clergy and the traders, and the council remained undisputed masters of the field.

The King spent Christmas at Eltham.[2] One thousand pounds[3] had been set aside for the festivities, in spite of the distress prevailing in the country, and the usual costly purchases of rings, ouches,[4] and other trinkets were made from the London jewellers[5] and goldsmiths,[6] to be given away as handsels[7] or new-gifts[8] with the opening year. Soon afterwards,[9] Archbishop Arundel was appointed Chancellor for the fourth time, receiving the seals from Bishop Langley, on January 30th, 1407,[10] in the chapel of Our Lady of Pity,[11] in St. Stephen's at Westminster, in presence of the King and the

[1] PRYNNE, II., 490. [2] OTT., 260. [3] ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1406; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 296. [4] Of loves gefte or ouche or ringe.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 82, 302, 327; HOLT, 141. [5] GOWER, CONF. AM., 278. [6] ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., November 16th, 1407, has payment of £890 3s. 9d. on this account to Alderman Drew Barentin. PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 3, September 28th, 1408, shows that he had not yet been paid for a necklace (monile vocatum ouche) valued at 1,000 marks. Barentin was Mayor of London in 1398 (GROCERS ARCH., 81), and 1408-9 (CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 37, Oct. 12th, 1409; PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 10; *ibid.*, 2, 27 d; CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 6; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., 37, Oct. 12th, 1409; FAB., 385; SHORT CHRON., 53; ROT. PARL., III., 407; PRICE, 119, 146, 158). His family held lands at Haseley, in Oxfordshire, where John Leland was afterwards rector.—LEL., ITIN., VIII., 131; GIBBONS, 179; NOTES AND QUERIES, Series II., VI., 486. [7] GOWER, CONF. AM., 304. [8] For this custom, see MONSTR., II., 57; HOLT, 158; JAMIESON, s.v.; COTGRAVE, s.v. "estreine." For £104 18s., spent by Henry when Duke of Hereford, January 1st, 1398, "pro novis donis," see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., i., 4, 5, App. A. [9] *i.e.*, before January 14th, 1407.—T. BURTON, MELSA, III., 305. [10] RYM., VIII., 464. Arundel was at Lambeth on February 12th and April 18th, 1407.—CONC., III., 303, 304. [11] Notre Dame de la Puwe.—LOND. AND MIDD. ARCH. SOC., IV., 373; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVI., 281; XXXIV., 420, 422..

Prince of Wales, Langley being re-appointed[1] on the same day one of the King's Council, with a salary of 200 marks (£133 13s. 4d.) per annum. In February, 1407,[2] the Court had removed to Hertford, where the King remained[3] till well into April, removing to Windsor[4] for the feast on St. George's Day.

In order to assert their chartered rights over the fishing in the Thames,[5] the Londoners insisted that all wears, kiddles, and trinks that obstructed the stream should be immediately removed. But the claim was not allowed to pass unchallenged by the riparians. On February 9th, 1407,[6] an officer, acting in the name of the Mayor of London, lifted sixteen nets[7] whose meshes[8] were too narrow, in order to have them tested. Straightway the bells were rung from the church towers on both banks of the Thames. The people turned out to the number of 2,000. Boatloads of men, armed with swords, sticks, bows and arrows, put off, and pursued the officers from Erith to Barking, where they rescued the nets and carried them off in triumph. At length, after "great plea and discord," the mayor and citizens of London had their way, and all obstacles between Staines Bridge[9] and the Medway were removed, burnt, and destroyed.

[1] Pages 427, 429, note 1; ISSUE ROLL., 12 H. IV., PASCH., Aug. 28th, 1411; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 10th, 1412, and Feb. 6th, 28th, 1413. *Ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 16th, 1411, gives Arundel's receipt for £200 per annum as a member of the council since December 22nd, 1405. For composition of the council, see GNEIST, CONST., I., 398-480; PARL., 134. [2] ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., October 13th, 1408, has £13 13s. 4d. pro quo. Jantaclo, ordered for the Queen infra pcn. (? præcinctum) de H'tford, Feb. anno 8. [3] RYM., VIII., 479, March 27th, 1407. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, m. 108, has entries dated at Hertford, April 4th, 8th, 1407. [4] For entries dated Windsor Park, May 9th, 12th, 1407, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Part 3, mm. 75, 102. [5] FAB., 383. [6] LIB. ALB., I., 514; STOW, LOND., 23. [7] Les sesze reys.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 299. Cf. "reies."—LIB. CUST., 116. Also "Rez et filets pour prendre la endroit les gros poisson."—PISAN, II., 185. [8] LIB. ALB., I., 577. [9] CHRON. LONDON, 90; GREY FRIARS CHRON., 10. Not Kingston, as CAXTON, 219; or Mortlake, as CHRON., GILES, 49.

During the sitting of the Long Parliament, some notable Englishmen had died. Among them was Sir Thomas Rempston, a Nottinghamshire knight, who had been in Henry's service[1] when he was Earl of Derby. In October, 1396, he had accompanied him to Calais to attend the meeting of the Kings of France and England; he went into exile with him in 1398, and was one of those who landed[2] with him at Ravenser in 1399. He was made a Knight of the Garter in May, 1400,[3] Admiral of the Western Fleet (April 25th, 1401),[4] Constable of the Tower[5] for life, and Steward of the honor of Leicester (July 13th, 1401),[6] the manor of Donington, and the weapontake of Risley (co. Derby), and Allerton (co. Notts.). He was likewise Constable of Nottingham Castle,[7] Forester of Sherwood, and a member of the King's Council.[8] On Sunday, October 31st, 1406,[9] he got into a boat at Paul's wharf, to row to the Tower. The tide was flowing strong, and the boatmen[10] warned him that they could not venture through London Bridge; but he forced them to obey. On passing under the bridge, they were swept against one of the piles. Rempston tried to catch hold of it, but the boat capsized, and he was drowned "by his own folly." His body drifted back up the river, came ashore at Dowgate, and was laid out on Therdes

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, App. A, where he receives 1s. per day for wages infra cur. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 553. [3] BELTZ, clvi. [4] Vol. I., pp. 173, 227, 382; RYM., VIII., 310. [5] In ROY. LET., BOX 15, PUBLIC REC. OFFICE, is a document signed by him May 13th, 1401, as Admiral of the West and Constable of the Tower, "in our principal Court under our seal of Admiralty juxta Turrim London," showing that he was not appointed July 1401, as supposed in TEST. EBOR., II., 224. See also BAYLEY, 662; RYM., VIII., 346, February 9th, 1404. Richard Spice was his deputy on August 14th, 1406. See page 402, note 7. [6] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 35. [7] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 30. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 244; II., 99; November 21st, 1404, January 25th, 1405. [9] ROT. PARL., IV., 319. [10] For "boteman," see CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 12; FAB., 383; HOCCLEVE, 41; MINOR POEMS, 31; or "bargemen."—GREY FRIARS' CHRON., 11; LYDGATE, in SKEAT, 27; CHRON. LOND., 90, 264; GROC. ARCH., 149.

wharf,[1] near All Hallows Church. A hurried inquest was held, and the corpse was sent down to be buried in the parish church of Bingham,[2] near Nottingham. On November 1st, 1406,[3] his place as Constable of the Tower was taken by the Duke of York,[4] who had held the office before in the preceding reign, the actual resident work being performed by his deputy, Sir Ralph Bracebridge.[5]

Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, died before the first adjournment. He was a Yorkshireman, from Holderness, where his father is said to have been a sievier,[6] or bolter-maker, in the little "barren"[7] hamlet of Skirlaugh, near Swine. He passed as a scholar to Durham College[8] at Oxford, and, after holding various offices[9] in connection with the Cathedrals of York and Lincoln, he became Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1385. Within a year he was transferred to the see of Bath and Wells, and, on April 3rd, 1388, he was made Bishop of Durham. He continued to serve in embassies,[10] and, sometimes, came dangerously[11] near to the border-line of treason. He thus spent

[1] SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, II., 200, quoting RYLEY, PLACITA PARLIAMENTARIA, App., p. 675. Perhaps "Treiereswharf," in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill.—SHARPE, II., 118; or Reswharf or Risshewharf in Timberhithe.—*Ibid.*, I., 82. [2] THOROTON, 144. For his arms in the Chapter House at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 155. For his wife's will, dated 1453, see TEST. EBOR., II., 224. His son, Sir Thomas Rempston, appears as Constable of Flint Castle and Sheriff of co. Flint, February 4th, 1417, in place of Sir Roger Leche, deceased.—TAYLOR, 64, 97. See page 229, note 8. [3] Page 49. PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 16; FOR. ACCTS., 7 H. IV., November 13th, 1406. [4] With £100 per annum.—ISSUE ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 26th, 1408; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., MICH., October 13th, 1408. [5] *Ibid.*, 8 H. IV., MICH., December 13th, 1406. [6] PROMPT. PARV. s.v. Cf. "Cyftyn," *ibid.*; cribrarius="a maker of Ciffenes for meale."—LEL., ITIN., VIII., 42. For "syvyer," see CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 27 d; 9 H. IV., 14. [7] For the reason given in 1609, why the schoolmaster should be a bachelor, see BERNARD, CATALOGI LIBRORUM MSS., I., 229. [8] MONAST., IV., 676; TEST. EBOR., I., 308. For his autograph, see NICHOLS, 10 C. [9] LE NEVE, II., 57, 58, 187; III., 142, 184. [10] RYM., VII., 353, 354; CHAMBRE, clxii., clxxxiii. HUTCHINSON (DURHAM, I., 320) is wrong in supposing that he did not serve "in any public capacity in state affairs." [11] Vol. I., p. 355.

much time abroad, trusting, like other bishops, to suffragans[1] to do the work of his diocese at home. In an official document he is called an "eloquent and discrete doctor,"[2] but, on the testimony of one of his retainers, he is known to have been "a bit testy."[3] His fame, however, does not rest on his learning, though he wrote a commentary[4] on the Aristotelian treatise of Growth and Decay, one of the books prescribed[5] for the Arts course at Oxford, and gave the manor of Marks Hall[6] or Margaret Roding, in Essex, for the support of three fellows at the Mickel Hall, and a copy[7] of Lyra, and a Dictionary (each in three volumes), to be chained in the Hall Library.

His works that have lived after him are his princely buildings. He re-built, at his own cost, the old stone three-arched bridge which for 150 years spanned the Wear at Shincliffe,[8] near Durham. He bridged the Gaunless at Auckland, and the Tees at Yarm.[9] He built the great gates[10] at the entrance to the Palace at Auckland, began the cloisters[11] and the dormitory at Durham, and gave large sums towards building the central or lantern tower at York.[12] He also gave 200 marks[13] to found a chantry in his native hamlet at Skirlaugh. But his favourite residence during the closing years of his life was at the episcopal manor at Howden, on the flat land by the Ouse, in Yorkshire. Here he built the great quadrangle[14] of the

[1] *e.g.*, Bishop of Whitherne.—TEST. EBOR., I., 310. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 205; FOSS, IV., 96. [3] Quodammodo capitosus.—ENG. HIST. REV., V., 534 [4] A. WOOD, II., 58, from MS. in BIBL. ECCLESIÆ DUNELM.; AYLIFFE, I., 252. CASSON, 183, from BERNARD, says that the MS. is in the Bodleian. [5] MUNIM. ACAD., 34. [6] A. CLARK, 15. [7] On August 21st, 1404 (TEST. EBOR., I., 311, 323), when John Appleton was Master of the Hall.—ARCHÆOL. ÆL., II., 99. [8] SURTEES, IV., 108, says that it stood till 1752. See also ORD, 518; but LEL. (ITIN., VIII., 42), says it was "throwne downe two or three yeres agoo for lake of Reparations in tyme." [9] LEL., ITIN., I., 60; JUSSERAND, 60. Not Yarrow, as STOW, 334. [10] CHAMBRE, 144; ANGL. SACR., I., 774; LEL., ITIN., I., 61. [11] OTTERBOURNE, 676; GREENWELL, 77, 78. [12] FABR. ROLLS, 32. [13] TEST. EBOR., I., 309. [14] YORKSHIRE ARCH. AND TOP. JOURNAL, IX., 384.

house, and the tall bell-tower of the church, in imitation of the central tower at Durham, to serve as a refuge for the neighbouring villagers when the floods were out.[1] He repaired the collegiate church[2] and built the chapter-house adjoining.[3] He died at Howden on March 20th, 1406.[4] His body was conveyed to Durham on a car drawn by five horses,[5] and buried in the cathedral, as he himself had requested,[6] before the altar of St. Blase, beneath a marble stone and brass,[7] between two pillars in the northern part of the choir.

One of his executors,[8] his friend Thomas Langley, soon after succeeded him as Bishop of Durham, thereby solving the difficulty caused by the Pope's refusal to recognize his nomination to the Archbishopric of York. The *congé d'élire* was issued to the Prior and convent on the 25th of April, 1406.[9] The Pope's Bull is dated May 12th, 1406;[10] Langley was formally chosen Bishop, May 17th, 1406;[11] and, on June 8th,[12] the first-fruits, amounting to 2,500 marks (£1,666 13s. 4d.), were forwarded by letter-of-change, to be paid over to the Pope by Henry Bowet. Langley was consecrated by Archbishop Arundel on

[1] HUTCHINSON, DURHAM, III., 449. [2] Figured in GROSE, Vol. IV.; GARDINER, 230. For an inventory (temp. H. VIII.), see RELIQUARY, IV., 159. [3] GENT, II., 57. PENNANT called it "the most perfect example of Gothic architecture that he ever saw." HUTCHINSON, III., 466. [4] Not 1405, as SURTEES, I., lv.; FOSS, IV., 96. ANGL. SACR., I., 450, gives March 24th; but Prince John had the temporalities from March 20th.—PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 11. On July 1st, he handed them to Sir Ralph Ewer and Peter de la Hay, in consideration of a payment of £600.—ROT. PARL., III., 589; CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 13. It has been supposed (LEL., ITIN., I., 45; GENT, II., 57; GOUGH, III., 18; BLOXAM, 63;) that his bowels were separately buried at Howden; but a more recent examination of the inscription refers the viscera there to an earlier bishop, Walter Kirkham, who died in 1260.—YORKSHIRE ARCH. AND TOP. JOURNAL, IX., 398; CASSAN, 180. HUTCHINSON (III., 467) exposed the mistake. [5] Intended, perhaps, as mortuaries, see N. AND Q., 7th Series, V., 466. [6] WILLS AND INV., 44; CHAMBRE, cxcvi.; GREENWELL, 65. [7] Now lost.—RELIQUARY, IV., 39. [8] For Skirlaw's will, with many codicils, see TEST. EBOR., I., 306-325, proved April 21st, 1406. In this he leaves 1,000 marks to 1,000 poor men. For similar examples of "splendid but indiscriminate charity," see YORKS. ARCH. AND TOP. JOURN., III., 260. [9] CHAMBRE, cxcvi. [10] *Ibid.*, cxcviii [11] Page 345, note 8. [12] RYM., VIII., 441.

August 8th, 1406,[1] and received the temporalities on the following day.[2] He was succeeded as Dean of York (November 24th, 1406),[3] by the King's secretary, John Prophet,[4] who had just been made Keeper of the Privy Seal[5] on the promotion of Bishop Bubwith. The new Dean set to work vigorously to repair churches,[6] chancels, and manses which had fallen into decay during Langley's tenure.

On June 5th, 1411,[7] Bishop Langley was made a Cardinal, and, in the following year, he visited his birth-place at Middleton,[8] near Manchester, for the purpose of consecrating the fine

[1] CHAMBRE, 146; GODWIN, II., 331. [2] RYMER, VIII., 448; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 4. [3] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 13; *ibid.*, 2, 20; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 8. [4] ISSUE ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., December 1st, 1405, has payment to him of £100 as a member of the council in 1401-2. He had been Dean of Hereford since November, 1393.—LE NEVE, I., 476; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 79. In REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 10th, 1412, he sells underwood in the baillies of Dirle and Assheriggstopis (Hants and Wilts). In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 3, Master John Prophete, parson of the parish church of Ringwood, together with Sir John Berkeley and Elizabeth his wife, founds a chantry in the chapel of Mary, in Sir J. Berkeley's manor of Betesthorn (now Bistern), in the parish of Ringwood. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 149[III], is a grant, dated March 8th, 1409, of six oaks from Holtwood, near Wimborne, to Master John Prophet, Keeper of our Privy Seal, for repairing buildings in his rectory of Ringwood. For his preferments, see LE NEVE, *passim*; OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, II., 198. He was one of the witnesses (not executors) to the will of Henry IV. (not Henry V., as W. H. JONES, 407). For his will, dated London, April 8th, 1416, see TEST. EBOR., III., 53. For his brass at Ringwood, see GOUGH, III., 49; WOODWARD, III., 141. For his register of letters, see HARL. MS., 431. [5] Appointed October 4th, 1406.—HOCCL., MIN. PO., XIV. He is so named February 20th, 1407.—KAL. AND INV., II., 74; ISSUE ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., April 22nd, June 1st, July 15th, 1407; PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 5; also November 16th, 1407 (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 301); July 7th, 1408 (REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH.); December 3rd, 1408, February 13th, 1409 (ISSUE ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH.); November 26th, 1409 (*ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH.). In Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{13}\frac{5}{}$, App. B., he receives four ells of murrey (p. 183, note 4) cloth ingrain. [6] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 12. [7] PETRI, 1026; F. WILLIAMS, II., 191; CHRISTOFERI, 268. In some lists he is called Armellinus (CIAC., II., 803); or Armelini (MAS-LATRIE, 1205). [8] Page 344, note 3. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 124[III], May 20th, 1407, a daughter of Henry de Longley had married John, son and heir of John de Radcliffe, of Chadderton. *Ibid.*, XI., 15, 136, April 4th, 1401, shows Robert Hopwood appointed to church at Middleton.—BAINES, I., 471. For the beauty of Middleton ("the fairenesse of thy seate"), see R. JAMES, 4; ITER LANCASTRENSE, CHETHAM SOCIETY, VII., p. 2.

church which he had rebuilt there in stone at his own cost. Here he founded a chantry,[1] *i.e.*, he put up an altar in honour of St. Cuthbert, and paid £6 13s. 4d. per annum for a priest to "sing for his soul."[2] The cantarist[3] or chanter[4] was also to teach a grammar school free for poor children.[5] Every large monastery,[6] hospital,[7] cathedral,[8] and college,[9] had long had

[1] RAINES, CHANTRIES, I., 119. [2] PIERS PLO., VI., 48. [3] RAINES, I., xxvii. [4] EXCERPT. HIST., 416. [5] Cf. William Strickland, Bishop of Carlisle, who founded a chantry at Penrith, the priest of which was to be the schoolmaster.—NICHOLSON AND BURN, I., 94; WHELLAN, 594. The Bishop brought water from the Petteril to the Eamont for the benefit of Penrith, and he appears to have helped to build the castle there. All these facts point to Strickland, near Penrith, as his birthplace. He built the central tower of Carlisle Cathedral, and a tower at Rose Castle, where he died August 30th, 1419.—TRANSACTIONS CUMB. AND WEST. ANTIQ. SOC., X., 75. For his will, dated May 25th, 1419 (proved September 7th, 1419), see TEST. EBOR., III., 60. In KAL. AND INV., II., 81, he is called Bishop of Carlisle, October 27th, 1399; but he was not consecrated till August 15th, 1400.—TEST. EBOR., III., 60. In ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 247, is a reference to Bishop "Johan of Karlill," in a letter written between August 19th, 1401 (Henry Bowet made Bishop of Bath and Wells), and April 6th, 1404 (death of John Trevenant, Bishop of Hereford). [6] For Bury St. Edmunds, see MONAST., III., 105, 166; LYDGATE, in MANNERS AND MEALS, xliii.; St. Albans, CARLISLE, I., 508; Beverley, *ibid.*, II., 783; Bicester, BLOMFIELD, II., 171; Gloucester, CARLISLE, I, 449. See also CONC., II., 595; CARLISLE, II., 513; WILLIS AND CLARK, I., xlvi. [7] For St. Catherine's-by-the-Tower, see DUCAREL, p. 8; App., pp. 36, 39, where six poor scholars received 1s. each per day, and assisted the chaplains in church pro suo studio. At St. Leonard's Hospital, by Bootham Bar, in York, there were thirty choristers, and two schoolmasters to teach them music and grammar respectively.—ROT. PARL., IV., 249; DRAKE, 333; MONAST., VI., 607. For St. John's, Exeter, see *ibid.*, 697; CARLISLE, I., 266. St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street, London.—GROCERS' ARCHIVES, xxiii. [8] For Ely, see GIBBONS, 402, 403. Exeter, G. OLIVER, 266; BOASE, REGISTRUM, iii. St. Paul's, DUGDALE, 347. Norwich, BLOMEFIELD, II., 753; CARLISLE, II., 184. Winchester, KITCHEN, 154. Salisbury, SARUM STAT., 74. York, RAINE, 175. Hereford, CARLISLE, I., 488; LEWIS, TOP. DICT., II., 368. [9] For Cobham, see THORPE, 237; Queen's College, Oxford, LYTE, 150. At Ottery St. Mary, the schoolmaster received 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.) per annum, in 1413, for teaching the choristers, besides a quarterage of 20d. (pro quarterlegiis præter emolumentum scolarum).—G. OLIVER, 260, 265, 266, 280; CARLISLE, I., 322. In the little college of Bredgar, in Kent (founded 1393), the chaplain was required to read well, construe well, and sing well; the two clerical scholars (one of whom was to be akin to the founder) must be able at their admission to read well and to sing fairly *(competenter)*. They were to spend their whole time in attending services, and in the study of letters *(studio*

its room[1] where the choristers and novices were taught by the resident rector[2] or master their A B C,[3] their Priscian[4] and Donet,[5] and their Perfects[6] and Supines, together with their gamme,[7] plainsong,[8] and organ,[9] to chase the fiends and evil

literarum). They had each an upper room on the south side of the college, and an allowance of 10d. per week, on the understanding that they were to be ready to take sub-deacon's orders at 20 years of age, and not to remain in the college after their 25th year. Two poor scholars were attached in a menial capacity, and spent a good deal of their time in singing penitential psalms. The endowment consisted, *inter alia*, of the layings of eight hens, and half-a-pound of pepper!—MONAST., VI., 1391; HASTED, II., 586.

[1] Camera.—G. OLIVER, 283; STOW, LONDON, 63. [2] GERSON, II., 109. [3] NOTT. REC., II., 23; WALS., I., 420. For "abece," see LAST AGE OF THE CHURCH, xxviii., xxxi. For St. Gilbert teaching boys and girls their rudiments at Sempringham in the twelfth century, see MONAST., VI., Part II., lvi. For boys laughing and getting off their thrashing while the masters are falling out, see GERSON, V., 635. In 1301, a clerk named John Newsham, who was a teacher of boys *(doctor puerorum)* at Oxford, went out after dinner to the banks of the Cherwell, and climbed a willow to cut switches to birch his boys *(pro pueris castigandis)*, but he fell into the river and got drowned in the Temple mill-stank.—OXF. CITY DOC., 161. [4] NICHOLSON AND BURN, II., 411; BACON, 34; MUNIM. ACAD., 243, 286, 439. [5] PROMPT. PARV., 126; CATHOL., 104; P. PLO., VII., 215; KIRBY, IX.; GOWER, CONF. AM., 205. [6] FITZSTEPHEN, 5. [7] GOWER, CONF. AM., 345. [8] That is to say to singen and to rede,

As smale children don in thir childhede.—

CHAUCER, PRIORESSES TALE, 13430; ROCK, III., 280. For the new-song, descant, contre-note, small-breaking, knacking, and other such vain japes, see WYCL. (M.), 9, 76, 91, 116, 118, 124, 162, 169, 172, 177, 191, 253; WYCL. (A.), III., 482; LEWIS, 132; PURVEY, REM., 154. For counterpoint and sol-fa, see DESCHAMPS, VI., 112, 269; VII., 281; P. PLO., VIII., 31; BACON, 228; ALZOG, II., 403; J. W. FULLER-MAITLAND, ENGLISH CAROLS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. For motets and virelays, see MONSTR., II., 71; CATHOL., 244, s.v. motide. At Sion the organ was forbidden; the music was not to be curious nor high, but in all wise meek, sad, and sober, without breaking of notes or gay releasing.—MYROURE, 59; AUNGIER, 320. [9] At Ottery St. Mary, the chaplain was to instruct the choir boys tam in cantibus quam instrumentis organicis.—G. OLIVER, 266, 269. At Michelney Abbey, in Somersetshire, a cantor received a weekly pittance (see p. 26, note 1, and GOWER, CONF. AM., 324,) of seven gallons of the convent ale and seven of the old mitches, together with a yearly allowance of five marks in money, four cartloads of wood, and a gown, for teaching four boys and one of the monks to strike organs *(pulsare organa).*—MONAST., II., 359. In 1408, the High Master of the German Order gave a *clavicord* (costing six marks) to the wife of Duke Witold, of Lettowe.—VOSSBERG, 132. For organs, see page 405, note 8; ARCHÆOL., LI., 419. For a "tribull til faburdum," see T. BURTON, MELSA, 383.

spirits,[1] and melt the heart[2] to more devotion in the daily services. Two years after he came to the throne, King Henry IV. engaged to pay a chaplain £5 per annum for teaching grammar to the boys of the Royal Chapel, but we only know that the chaplain, John Bugby,[3] had to wait at least three years before he got a penny of his salary.

But other schools were fast springing up, apart from those held in the monastic buildings. As early as the twelfth century there was such a school at Derby.[4] Early in the thirteenth century there was a "Great School" at Colchester.[5] At Canterbury,[6] there was a city school, with an usher and a vice-monitor, before the beginning of the fourteenth century, and there are evidences recording the existence of similar schools at Penrith[7] in Cumberland, and Crofton[8] near Wakefield, in Yorkshire. At Ripon,[9] there was a school-house and a grammar master *(magister gramaticalis)* in Annsgate, as early as 1354; and before the close of the reign of Edward III., there were "High Schools" at Winchester[10] and Exeter;[11] and schools where children could "haunt the faculty of grammar"[12] at Nottingham,[13] Beccles,[14] Hartlebury,[15] Mildenhall, Melton,[16] Thetford,[17] Higham Ferrers,[18] and Vaux[19] (Berkshire). But it is certain that school-

[1] MYROURE, 36. [2] *Ibid.*, 32. [3] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{6}\frac{8}{8}$, App. B. [4] LYSONS, DERBYSHIRE, 124; CARLISLE, I., 218. [5] *Ibid*, I., 424. For the "Great School," see COLCHESTER COURT ROLLS, 15. [6] PECKHAM REG., III., xlvii. [7] HUTCHINSON, CUMBERLAND, I., 334. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 53 b, for permission to John Braker (or Bradley) tenir les escoles de Gramore in Crofton, August 8th, 1373. [9] RIPON MEM., III., 90, 98, 122, 129, and *passim*. [10] WOODWARD, I., 200. [11] CARLISLE, I., 271. [12] LYTE, 234. [13] NOTT. REC., I., 247; II., 13, 122. [14] MONAST., III., 105. [15] NASH, I., 570; CARLISLE, II., 757. [16] J. NICHOLS, II., i., 242, 258; CARLISLE, I., 778. [17] BLOMEFIELD, I., 457. [18] In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 27, May 16th, 1400, Master Robt. Orcheorerd, of Burton, is to be head of les escoles de Gramoñ at Higham Ferrers for la bon esploite et profit qu' il ferra de jour en autre as escholers et enfantz veuillantz haunter la faculté de gramoir desoubz sa discipline. [19] In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 126[III], Master John Maidenheth, mestre des ecoles de Vaux, has made his homage.

age was generally charged,[1] for we have a notice of a burgess at Nottingham being sued in 1433, for refusing to pay 4d. school-hire[2] for his boy.

In 1410,[3] an instructive dispute had arisen at Gloucester. The old grammar school had been under the monks of Llanthony,[4] just outside the town, time out of mind, and they had charged 3s. 4d. (or at the lowest, 2s.) a quarter for every child. Now, with the growth of population, another grammar school had started in the town, where the children were taught for 1s. a quarter. The Prior claimed damages, and the opinion of the Court was divided. It was argued, that if a man had a mill, and another man put up an opposition mill and reduced his profits, or if a rival market was allowed to beat down a neighbouring market, and the frequenters of the first one were attacked and disturbed, there would be a reasonable case for compensation. Appeal was also made to the precedent of the capital, where the school-master at Paul's claimed that there should be no other master in London except him. But the court held that the teaching of children was a spiritual thing; that there was no estate in a schoolmastership, but only a temporary ministry; so that it would be against reason to prevent a master from keeping a school where he liked. The

[1] *e.g.*, John Hermesthorpe, an ex-master of St. Catherine's Hospital in London, in his will dated December 12th, 1411, leaves 20 marks for a lad to be placed at the schools, to be taught for four years in the art of grammar.—DUCAREL, App. 75. In 1312, Nicolas Picot, Alderman of London, directs in his will that his two boys shall attend school, donec dictare et versificare sciant racionabiliter.—SHARPE, I., 234. In OLIVER, 284 (anno 1483), is a payment of 1s. 8d. to the schoolmaster at Ottery St. Mary, pro tribus annis scolagii filie Walteri Barter. In MANNING AND BRAY, II., 389, and SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 131, is a charge of 10d. per week for commons of a minor going to school at Oxted, near Godstone, in Surrey, together with 11d. for cloth to make a pair of hose, 1d. for sewing, and 10d. for two pairs of shoes. For Ipswich, see CARLISLE, II., 521. At Oxford, the fee paid by each scholar to his grammar master was not to exceed 8d. per term.—MUN. ACAD., 439; LYTE, 235. [2] NOTT. REC., II., 138; PROMPT. PARV., 449. [3] YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., HIL., p. 47. [4] Page 8.

mill theory would only apply to those who tried to foul the water, and so they declined to interfere. England, in fact, was getting overbuilt with schools, and, in 1439,[1] it was found that in the eastern half of the country alone (*i.e.*, to the east of a line drawn from Southampton to Coventry and Ripon), at least seventy schools had closed which had been in full working fifty years before. But Bishop Langley had already founded two schools on the Place (or Palace) Green,[2] at Durham, to be "free to all and sundry boys;" and, though many afterwards followed his example,[3] I know of very few instances[4] before his time of a bold liberality such as his, which offered the priceless pearl[5] of knowledge, without payment, to the children of the "nought-lettered tillers"[6] of the "rude county"[7] of Lancaster, in an age when out of any twenty men or women, there were not three "who knew surely a commandment of God,[8] or

[1] WILLIS AND CLARK, I., lvi.; MULLINGER, I., 349. [2] CHAMBRE, 146; WHITAKER, RICHMONDSHIRE, I., 46; HUTCHINSON, DURHAM, II., 271, 274; NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, New Series, VII., 25. Not "plaie green," as HOLINSHEAD, II., 532. [3] RAINES, I., xii.; CARLISLE, I., 616; II., 209, 289. [4] For Wotton-under-Edge, founded in 1385, for a master and two poor scholars, see CARLISLE, I., 468, and J. H. COOKE, SKETCH OF BERKELEY. For School of the Kalendars Gild at Bristol, see BARRETT, 452. For an early Free School in the Hall of the Trinity Gild at Worcester, though later than Middleton, see T. SMITH, 205, 206. I can find no confirmation of the statement in BAKER (CHRON., 237), that John Colepeper founded a Free School at West Peckham, near Tunbridge, in the reign of Henry IV. He may have confused it with the Preceptory of the Knights of St. John.—HASTED, II., 259, 270, 595; FOSS, 180. Davy Holbache (page 413) had not yet built his Free School at Oswestry, for he lived till after 1420, and the indenture to which his wife Gwenwhyvar was a party was drawn up after his death.—SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 3; VII., 258; LEL., ITIN., V., 33. In Elizabeth's time, the master's salary was 5 marks per annum and 21 car-loads of firewood, which the corporation reduced by 10 car-loads and 20s. per annum. For schools in France at the end of the fourteenth century, see ECOLE DES CH., 1873, p. 120. For Free Grammar Schools at Oxford, gratis omnibus venire volentibus, see MUN. ACAD., 354. [5] *Ibid.*, 291. [6] T. SMITH, 20, 22. Cf. "Symple-lettred."—ANGLIA, VIII., 107; PURVEY, REMONSTR., 21. "Symple laye man not letterde."—MYROURE, lix. For "land-tylynge men," see PIERS PLO., IX., 140; XII., 294. [7] BAINES, I., 472. [8] ENGL. GARN., VI., 83.

could say their Paternoster, Ave Maria, or Credo readily in any manner of language;" when there were "many unable curates[1] that kunnen not the Ten Commandments, ne read their sauter, ne understand a verse of it"; and when every "gentle of the shire"[2] was *Super Grammaticam*, living on his land, despising letters,[3] and farming sheep.[4]

> Wel may the barn blesse that hym to book sette,
> That lyvyng after lettrure savede hym lyf and soule.[5]

[1] WYCL., TRIALOGUS, 66, 72, in LEWIS, 38. Cf. "Thei ben so unkunning that men scornen hem in seynge of here servyce and redynge of here pistil and gospel.—WYCL. (M.), 167. For "lewed prestes" and "idiotes prestes," see P. PLO., B. XI., 308. [2] T. SMITH, 385. [3] Page 469; MONTREUIL, 1316. "Et science est des nobles despitée."—DESCHAMPS, II., 118. [4] POGGIO, in SHEPHERD, 127; DENTON, 258. [5] P. PLO., XV., 127. Cf. the dying words of Dean Nowell in 1602:—"Forget not Middleton School, where we and other of our brethren were taught in our childhood."—RAINES, NOTITIA CESTR., II., 101.

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